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THE TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT PARTY (AKP): A PARADIGM SHIFT?

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DEDICATION

I am dedicating this work to the people who supported me throughout this journey. I would like to dedicate this to Monteze Starling; without her belief in me and her support I would not have been able to return to the United States to study. I wish she could have lived to see me receive my degree. I only hope I can live up to the kind of person she believed possible for me to be. I want to thank my mother, Sukran Ormeci for bringing me into this world and supporting me throughout this journey and my sister Fatma Demirdas Calik, who always loved and encouraged me. I also want to thank my Uncle Nuri Ormeci, who helped me learn and who believed in me. Most of all, I would like to thank my daughter Marki for pushing me forward and sometime in the not-so-far future I will be helping her go through this same process for her degree. Finally, I would like to thank my dear love Susan Starling, whose infinite support helped me finish this dissertation and earn the degree.

.

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ABSTRACT

Understanding the Turkish foreign policy has become even more important in recent years given the developments surrounding the country. Furthermore, the last decade witnessed a radical change in the Turkish foreign policy making under the Justice and Development Party (AKP).

This dissertation aims to explain the nature of this change based on the application of the Policy Paradigms Theory, comparing the components of the AKP foreign policy understanding with those of the Kemalist, the status que paradigm that defined the foreign policy making in Turkey well into the early 21st century. The application of the theory provides evidence, based on the changes in ideological, institutional and practical settings, that a paradigm shift in Turkish foreign policy did indeed take place, but not in the manner of leaving the west in favor of the east but the paradigm shift was in the Kemalist understanding being replaced by the neo-Ottomanist approach.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP.....Justice and Development Party

CUP.....Committee of Union and Progress

PKK.....Kurdistan Workers Party

PRP .....People's Republican Party

TAF ..... Turkish Armed Forces

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objectives and Significance of the Study

The advent of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) to power by forming a super majority government in the Turkish Parliament in 2002 heralded far reaching implications not only for Turkey's social, economic and cultural makeup but also in the country's foreign policy. The foreign policy practices under the AKP coupled with the background and the pro-Islamic identity of the party brought about the oft asked question; "Is Turkey leaving its traditional westward foreign policy direction in favor of the East, creating a paradigm shift?" For example, the direction of Turkey's foreign policy orientation became a source of contention when Turkey set out to improve its relations with the Bashir Regime in Sudan, openly siding with the Hamas Government in Gaza severing the relations with Israel, and fostering more resilient ties with Russia and China. Therefore, in this context, the question of a paradigm shift was merely posed based upon the foreign policy snapshots of the time, omitting the bigger picture. What is missing with this approach is that it fails to properly establish the concept of "paradigm" in policy making and what constitutes "shift".

By applying the policy paradigms theory with the focus of Peter Hall's "Policy Paradigms, this research seeks to establish whether there is an actual paradigm shift in Turkish foreign policy happening under the Justice and Development Party (AKP) where

Turkey is leaving the West focusing on the East. Although predominantly applied to Economic policies, the major theoretical and methodological contribution of the dissertation is to set the groundwork for the application of the "Paradigm Shift" concept as applied to foreign policy. As part of comparative case study, process tracing and pattern matching techniques are employed. According to this, "process tracing focuses on the unfolding of events or situations over time…To characterize process, key steps in the process must be properly characterized." 1

In order to accomplish this objective, this dissertation compares the instrument settings, overall goals, instruments of policy and the ruling elite of the main paradigm, Kemalism, with those of the Justice and Development Party (AKP). Furthermore, the periods of the former prime minister and the president of Turkey, Turgut Ozal (1983-1993) and the former Prime Minister Necmeddin Erbakan (1996-1997) were also included in the comparative study as, like AKP, they too display signs of deviation from the Kemalist paradigm. Additionally, these two prominent figures, their ideology and their implemented policies culminated into the creation of those of the AKP.

This dissertation also aims to contribute to the literature on the impact of domestic politics on foreign policy. A substantial part of this dissertation is devoted to evaluating Turkey's social, economic and cultural evolution since its inception in 1923 and how the identity has had an impact on decision makers' thinking, determining the priorities and the means of the Turkish foreign policy.

[1] David Collier, (2011) Understanding Process Tracing, Political Science and Politics 44, No.4, p. 824.

The main idea of this dissertation, such that it corresponds to Hall's definition of a paradigm shift, is to examine if the AKP government has changed and reoriented the instrument settings, overall goals, and instruments of policy in Turkey turning it towards the East away from the West. The study has found that there is a paradigm shift. However, the findings disproved the supposition that Turkey is leaving the West and turning to the East as Turkey's economic and political interaction with the West has increased under the AKP administration. Turkey's increasing interaction with non-Western actors does not in fact constitute a complete detaching from the West but is attributed to the nature of the emerging post-Cold War international environment. Turkey's aspirations to be a regional power, as well as an important international actor is opting for more dynamic foreign relations, not leaving the West. It is just diversifying its foreign policy options to include the East.

Finally, the research carries policy relevance. Due to its history, geography and culture, Turkey's relations with state and non-state actors in a vast geography from Eurasia and Africa to North America, have important political, economic and cultural implications. Especially, in light of the current tumultuous situation in the Middle East, the Turkish-American relations in this context, political and economic changes in the European Union and the recent resurgence of Russia in the Black Sea rim have made it more important to understand the dynamics and practices of the Turkish foreign policy as well as the thinking of the policy makers in Turkey. Therefore, this dissertation hopes to be a broad source of information for those scholars and individuals who are interested in Turkish foreign policy. Furthermore, considering that the internal socio/political evolution of and the identity politics under the Justice and Development Party has evoked considerable

attention, this dissertation also endeavors to contribute to the literature providing relevant research information to understand the changes in Turkish domestic policy that brought about changes in Turkish Foreign policy development.

1.2 The Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter two establishes the theoretical framework on which this dissertation rests. Drawing from literature, it defines the concept of a policy paradigm, scrutinizing the conditions which bring about change in those paradigms as well as the nature of paradigmatic changes.

Chapter three conceptualizes the Kemalist paradigm in Turkey. It starts with a comprehensive analysis of the events that took place in the late stages of the Ottoman Empire that culminated into the creation of the Republic of Turkey by Mustafa Kemal and the establishment of a new paradigm. The second part of the chapter comprises an in-depth analysis of the ideological make-up of Kemalism, which has important implication for the domestic and foreign politics. The last part of the chapter explores the impact of the Kemalist ideology on the making of the Turkish foreign policy of the time referring to the cases that were reflective of the Kemalist worldview.

Chapter four provides a comprehensive analysis of how the Kemalist paradigm created and consolidated its ruling elite through institutional means, especially the military and the civilian bureaucracy. This chapter includes the exploration of the transition to democracy in the late 1940s and 1950s. The results of the first democratic elections of 1950 has had profound impact on the relations between the existing Kemalist ruling elite and the new rising, more conservative elite, whose five decade long of political, economic and social defiance to the status quo resulted in the advent of the AKP

to power. One of the most important parts of the chapter is the detailed examination of the praetorian Turkish Military, who has been considered to be the defender of the Kemalist values and the foundation of the republic. In this context, the means through which the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) established and maintained its privileged and sovereign status within the state bureaucracy as well as the methods it employed to control the civilian administrations based on Kemalist principles and the creation of a securitization culture by TAF are examined. I found that with the failure of the Kemalist civilian state machinery in 1950 to prevent the opposing entities from rising, the Kemalist elite began to rely heavily on the Turkish Military, part of the Kemalist elite itself, in the hopes of keeping such future challenges under control. Therefore, after the 1960 military coup, the Turkish military became the single most important Kemalist entity to navigate the civilian governments. Furthermore, this chapter provides an overarching inquiry of the military-civilian relations in Turkey and aims to contribute to the related literature.

Chapters five and six are an in-depth exploration of the political movements that display features that fall outside of the Kemalist realm in Turkey. Also, these movements represent the rise of an alternative elite to that of Kemalism and they preceded the Justice and Development Party, ideologically, especially in foreign policy, inspiring it. In Chapter five, I scrutinized the Turgut Ozal Era (1983-1993). His period is relevant for this dissertation in that Ozal challenged the status-quo oriented, stagnant, isolationist, reactive orthodox Kemalist foreign policy tradition that persisted for decades in favor of a more pro-active as well as culture based foreign policy, which then was coined as "neo-Ottomanism" since it aspired for Turkey to become a more dominant entity in the Balkans, the Middle East, the Caucasus and North Africa, where the Ottoman Empire

once was a dominant power. Ahmet Davutoglu, the architect of the AKP foreign policy stated that Ozal inspired him greatly in his foreign policy making. Ozal overtly criticized the Kemalist bureaucracy and ideology for its insufficiency to meet Turkey's growing demands in the post-Cold War era as well as the Kemalist demonization of the Ottoman past. He clearly shows his intention to revive Ottoman multi-culturalism, and the "glorious" days of that time.

I heavily resorted to qualitative document analysis by examining Ozal's speeches, related newspapers, parliamentary archives and documents. This chapter begins with examination of the social, political and economic conditions that brought Ozal to power. It scrutinizes his distinct personality and ideology that separated him from the mainstream Kemalist paradigm. The next part of the chapter examines the Ozalist foreign policy in action delving into the implications of the fall of the Soviet Union and how he perceived it as an opportunity to fulfill his foreign policy aspirations as well as promote his staunch pro-American stance during the Gulf War of 1991, which created friction with the Kemalist military and bureaucracy. In the end, I find that while Ozal's ten year tenure, which ended abruptly upon his premature passing, display thoughts and practices that run counter to traditional Kemalist approach, it cannot be said that he ushered in a paradigm shift in Turkey for the very reason that the institutional, bureaucratic and ideological fabric of the Kemalist paradigm remained intact despite Ozal's efforts to challenge them.

The sixth chapter dwells on Erbakan and his "Just Order Movement". The Erbakan movement represents the fruition of political Islam, the major blatant challenge to Kemalism as well as anti-West attitude in Turkey thus it is of relevance for the

dissertation. Furthermore, the rise of political Islam epitomizes the demographic shift in the form of a more Islamized population as well as the intensification of the identity politics, which also has important implications for foreign policy. Finally, understanding the movement is significant since the founders of the AKP are the former members of the Erbakanist movement, who broke apart from it after the 1997 military ousting of Erbakan, establishing the reform movement in Turkish political Islam.

The beginning of the sixth chapter offers a comprehensive explanation of the nature and the rise of political Islam in Turkey. This is followed by the analysis of the application of the Erbakanist ideology in Turkish foreign policy. While the Erbakan Era Turkish foreign policy displayed activism as well as neo-Ottomanist elements, its heavy reliance on pan-Islamic principles, limited the foreign policy priorities of the Erbakan government to the Islamic world. The forcible overthrow of the Erbakan government by the all-powerful Kemalist Turkish military demonstrated that the short lived Erbakan government failed to create a paradigm shift.

The final and the seventh chapter is the overarching examination of the AKP government. The first part of the chapter is divided into three parts; the examination of the process that led to the inception of the AKP, as well as an in-depth analysis of the ideological composition of the party and the subsequent successful ascent to power by forming single party government in the parliament; the power struggle with the Kemalist establishment, especially with the military and finally the consolidation of power, in which the AKP government managed to subdue the military and took over the Kemalist bureaucracy. The second part of the chapter seven is devoted to theoretical and operative analysis of the Turkish foreign policy under the AKP administration, resorting to the use

of case analyses. Additionally, export and import figures between 1994 and 2013, are charted in order to determine whether there is a change of direction in Turkey's economic policy vis-à-vis its immediate neighborhood. The final section of Chapter seven contains the comparative analysis of the institutional makeup of the foreign ministry under the AKP government with that of the pre-AKP era.

The eighth chapter concludes the dissertation by providing a comprehensive summary of the findings and the implications of the research to the Turkish foreign policy.

CHAPTER 2. PARADIGM SHIFT CONCEPT IN THEORY

2.1 Introduction

The importance of using the policy paradigm concept has been proven significant in evaluating and understanding the interplay between the ideas, organizations and related actors who are involved in political and organizational process. According to Marcus Carson et al. the policy paradigm concept can be used to explain the key ingredients of paradigms, how they form, develop, institutionalize and de-institutionalize as well as how paradigm shifts occur.[2]

Louis Moreno argues that overall, paradigms offer a novice means to gather scientific data, new problem solving techniques, and even enable us to find new solutions that existing paradigms fail to expound. Thanks to paradigms we are able to understand how important political and social actors behave when they attempt to solve important problems. He says, "Paradigms, value systems and réferentiels provide normative and cognitive elements, which shape principles and actions adopted by actors within the same frame."[3]

Policy paradigm, which Marcus Carson calls '*a powerful, cognitive-normative concept*', allows us to theorize such aspects of policymaking as interests, goals and solutions. A policy paradigm is defined as a "generally coherent complex of assumptions

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[2] Marcus Carson, Tom R. Burns, Dolores Calvo eds. (2009) Paradigms in Public Policy: Theory and Practice of Paradigm Shifts in the EU. Peter Lang GmbH. 1st edition. pp. 11-12.
3 Luis Moreno, "Europeanization, Decentralization and Welfare Reform" Paper presented at the International Conference: "Territorial Governance for the 21st Century", Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Arts & Sciences, Brussels, 16-17 September 2005. pp. 2-3

and principles, simplifying metaphors, and interpretive and explanatory discourses". It represents a shared conceptual framework through which adherents envision "how things should be" and "how the world works", and with which they define the kinds of issues that should be considered social problems. This conceptual frame-work helps impose order on a chaotic environment in which actors engaged in making or influencing public policy are frequently required to make decisions with limited expertise, inadequate or contradictory information, and often on a comparatively short time frame.[4]

One of the most widely recognized conceptualization of policy paradigm is that of Peter A. Hall. Hall derives this conceptualization from Charles Anderson's "*the Logic of Public Problems: Evaluation in Comparative Policy Research*" in which Anderson states *"the deliberation of public policy takes place within a realm of discourse...policies are made within some system of ideas and standards which is comprehensible and plausible to the actors involved."*[5] In other words, Hall is convinced that policymakers routinely work within a framework of ideas and standards that specifies not only the goals of policy and the kind of instruments that can be used to attain them but also the very nature of the problems they are meant to be addressing.[6] It is this point that Hall utilizes Thomas Kuhn's notion of *scientific paradigms* to better explain Anderson's "system of ideas and standards".[7] According to Hall, policy paradigms can be seen as one feature of the overall terms of political discourse. They suggest that the policymaking process can be structured

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[4] Carson et.al, p. 17

[5] Peter A. Hall. (1993) "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain", *Comparative Politics* 25 (3), p. 279. Quoted from: Charles Anderson, "The Logic of Public Problems: Evaluation in Comparative Policy Research," in Douglas Ashford, ed., Comparing Public Policies (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978), p. 23

[6] Hall, p. 279.

[7] Thomas Kuhn (1970) The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Chicago University of Chicago Press, pp. 43-51.

by a particular set of ideas, just as it can be structured by a set of institutions. He further argues that the two often reinforce each other since the routines of policymaking are usually designed to reflect a particular set of ideas about what can and should be done in a sphere of policy.[8]

Hall's main concern is to explain factors that bring about the stability as well as the precipitating factors that create paradigmatic change. Hall's dependent variable is policy change and he is more interested in explaining not a single change but the nature of change in general. Some of the questions of interest are "*Is it typically incremental, is it immune from radical change?" or, is it perhaps prone to the characteristics of punctuated equilibrium?*" This would indicated that policy change is minimal most of the time but liable, on rare occasion, to be quite dramatic. One of the most important explanatory variables is the ideas due to the fact that policy change is typically highly constrained because the ideas that support the status quo remain extremely powerful. However, in the presence of paradigmatic shifts the policies themselves can be transformed, creating a new equilibrium and a severe break from the past. [9]

In discussing paradigm shift, Hall identifies three orders of change in a policy environment or domain. The first-order is the *"process whereby the [policy] instrument settings are changed in the light of experience and new knowledge, while the overall goals and instruments of policy remain the same…*" The process of first order change is likely to display the features of incrementalism, satisficing, and routinized decision-

[8] Hall. p. 290
[9] Frank R. Baumgartner. (2012) "Ideas and Policy Change", Governance: An International Journal of Policy, *Administration, and Institutions*, Volume 26, Issue 2, p. 240.

making that we normally associate with the policy process.[10] First order change is likely to be ongoing, incremental and often routine - "normal" policymaking.[11]

With second-order change, the hierarchy of goals remains largely the same; however, the basic methods used to achieve these goals are altered due to dissatisfaction with the prevailing policy. Hall notes that such changes can lead to a situation where "*the instruments of policy as well as their settings are altered in response to past experience even though the overall goals of policy remain the same*"[12] Second order change represents increasingly "strategic action" in developing policy, but does not directly challenge the fundamental goals of policy, and is therefore less likely to be conflict ridden. [13]

Hall refers to the third-order change as policy making marked by radical changes in the overarching terms of policy discourse creating a policy paradigm shift. Third-order change entails simultaneous changes in instrument settings, instruments themselves, and the rearrangement of policy goals. He argues that the third-order change occurs when an emerging policy failure leads to the discrediting of an old paradigm, which subsequently leads to "*a wide-ranging search for alternatives and to a process of experimentation with modifications to policy*."[14] The movement from one paradigm to another that characterizes third order change is likely to involve the accumulation of anomalies, experimentation with new forms of policy, and policy failures that precipitate a shift in the locus of authority over policy and initiate a wider contest between competing

[10] Hall, p. 280
[11] Carson et al. p. 403
[12] Hall, p. 280.
[13] Carson et al. p. 403
[14] Hall, p. 291

paradigms. [15] This contest may well spill beyond the boundaries of the state itself into the broader political arena. It will end only when the supporters of a new paradigm secure positions of authority over policymaking and are able to rearrange the organization and standard operating procedures of the policy process so as to institutionalize the new paradigm.[16]

First and second order change can be seen as cases of "normal policymaking," namely of a process that adjusts policy without challenging the overall terms of a given policy paradigm, much like "normal science." Third order change, by contrast, is likely to reflect a very different process, marked by the radical changes in the overarching terms of policy discourse associated with a "paradigm shift." If first and second order changes preserve the broad continuities usually found in patterns of policy, third order change is often a more disjunctive process associated with periodic discontinuities in policy.[17]

Hall goes on giving examples to these three orders of changes. For the first order change Hall gives the example that the levels (or settings) of the basic instruments of British policy, such as the minimum lending rate or the fiscal stance, were altered at frequent intervals during the 1970-89 period, even when the overall goals and instruments of policy remained the same. Most of the adjustments made in the annual budget took this form: the settings of the government's policy instruments were modified in the light of past experience and projections for the future performance of the economy. We can call the process whereby instrument settings are changed in the light of

[15] Hall, p. 279
[16] Hall pp. 280-281
[17] Hall, p. 279

experience and new knowledge, while the overall goals and instruments of policy remain the same, a process of first order change in policy.[18]

Second, there were several instances in the 1970-89 period when the hierarchy of goals behind British macroeconomic policy remained largely the same but the basic techniques used to attain them were altered, as a result of dissatisfaction with past experience. These episodes included the introduction of a new system of monetary control in 1971, the development of a new system of "cash limits" for public spending control in 1976, and the movement away from strict targets for monetary growth in 1981-83. Changes of this sort, when the instruments of policy, as well as their settings, are altered in response to past experience even though the overall goals of policy remain the same, might be said to reflect a process of second order change.[19]

Finally, when monetarism replaced Keynesianism as the template guiding policy, there was a radical shift in the hierarchy of goals guiding policy; the instruments relied on to affect policy, and the settings of those instruments. Moreover, these changes were accompanied by substantial changes in the discourse employed by policymakers and in the analysis of the economy on which policy was based. In short, the third order change in British policymaking that occurred during this period was accompanied by a wholesale shift in policy paradigms.[20]

One aspect of the third order change that Hall emphasizes is the simultaneous shift in authority. He says the center of authority over macroeconomic issues began to shift. Although the movement began around 1976, the most intense break in policy came

[18] Hall, p. 278
[19] Hall, pp. 278-279
[20] Hall, p. 284

after a Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher was elected in 1979. Not only were the settings of policy changed but hierarchy of goals and set of instruments employed to guide policy shifted radically as well. Inflation replaced unemployment as the preeminent concern of policymakers. Macroeconomic efforts to reduce unemployment were rejected in favor of balanced budgets and direct tax reductions. Monetary policy replaced fiscal policy as the principal macroeconomic instrument, and it was reoriented toward fixed targets for the rate of monetary growth. Many regulatory instruments associated with state intervention, such as incomes policies, exchange controls, and quantitative limits on bank lending, were eliminated. To Hall, this was a clear case of third order change in policy.[21]

Frank Baumgartner asserts that Hall's "third-order" change, in order to happen, may require a serious degree of discredit to the status quo policy and to its protectors. Things that could produce such change include obvious policy failures or crises that occur "on the watch" of a set of incumbent policymakers. When the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 occurred, it was clear that major elements of U.S. intelligence had failed and that airport security procedures were insufficient. No one stepped forward to defend these policies, especially the private security firms that hired poorly paid and relatively ill-trained personnel to screen passengers in airports. The creation of the Transportation Security Administration was not particularly controversial in spite of the fact that it was a Republican administration creating a vast new public bureaucracy. So, it is clear that obvious policy failures can discredit the status quo, sometimes even to the

[21] Hall, pp. 283-84

level that the incumbents who benefit from or who implement the existing policy do not even mobilize to protect it, knowing that this is a hopeless cause.[22]

Lawrence C. Reardon states that paradigm shifts can be either comprehensive or sectoral. The former takes place when revolutionary elites undergo complex learning initiated by the absolute rejection of the polity adaptations adopted by the country's ruling elites. Such was the case in 1917 and 1949 when the Soviet and the Chinese communist revolutionaries became the new ruling elites; they fundamentally transformed the state's political, economic and social structures. Sectoral paradigm shift occurs when policy elites learn that adaptations of policy strategies have failed over time. According to Lawrence, this type of paradigm shift includes many of the anti-authoritarian "color" revolutions in Eastern Europe and Central Asia since 2000, which he classifies as political; China's transition from a revolutionary to techno-economic paradigm as economic; and the United States' adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as social.[23]

Marcus Carson, Tom R. Burns, and Dolores Carvo state that paradigm shifts entail fundamental, conceptual and organizational changes, which guide policy in a markedly different direction than previous paradigms. Such shifts are the result of the creation of a new-problem solving model within a particular policy sector. These shifts manifest themselves in the reconfiguration of the core principles used in defining the nature of policy problems and in guiding political problem solving activities.[24]

The term paradigm shift is best used to characterize what amounts to conceptual and organizational tipping points in an ongoing, often incremental process of adjustment

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[22] Frank Baumgartner. (2013) Ideas and Policy Change, Governance, Volume 26, Issue 2, April, p. 253.
[23] Lawrance C. Reardon. (2012) Shifting Global Paradigms and Obama's Adaptive Foreign Policy, in William Crotty (ed.) *The Obama Presidency: Promise and Performance*. Lexington Books. pp. 116-17.
[24] Carson et al. p. 377

that began long before the actual "shift" is said to occur and is likely to continue for some time afterwards. That is to say, Carson et al. define the concept of paradigm shift as the articulation of a new model and the initial concrete steps taken to realize that model in practice. Given the nature of the process, they continue to argue, it is likely that the actions constituting paradigm shift cannot be pinned down to a single moment in time and that should be considered as a phrase in a broader process of change. Therefore, the institutionalization of paradigm shift is best understood as a process rather than a point of time and constitutes changes in the institutional arrangement, a rule regime that gives effect to reordering of guiding principles and redefinition of policy problems through changes in regulatory, organizational, and relational structures. [25]

Another important point that Carson et al. make regarding the policy paradigm shift is that due to its lengthy duration of institutionalization, and such institutionalization must frequently take place within a variety of existing, organizational/ institutional cultures, policies adopted after the paradigm change may not be greatly consistent with the new paradigm. An operative policy paradigm may not be necessarily contemporaneous with the conceptual framework that has guided it.[26]

Paradigms are complexes ideas of how to conceptualize, analyze and deal with public issues. In that vein, one of the important features of policy paradigms is that paradigm transformation entails a fundamental restructuring of elements of such problem-solving and organizational complexes and the relations between them. This reconfiguration may or may not entail the introduction of new principles or goals. Carson et al. found in their case studies that new principles are introduced and adopted

[25] Carson et al., pp. 377-378
[26] ibid

incrementally as considerations that temper the application of existing institutionalized paradigm. The paradigm shift can be identified in some form of the re-ordering of core principles. When competing goals came into conflict with one another, the new paradigm is distinguishable in terms of a different priority ordering of principles, and thus different kinds of problem definitions, preferred remedies, authorities and experts, and ultimately different outcomes.[27]

The paradigm shift can be identified in some form of re-ordering of core principles whereas changes in the periphery do not constitute a paradigm shift. When competing goals come into conflict with one another, the new paradigm is distinguishable in terms of different priority ordering of principles and therefore different kinds of problem definitions, preferred remedies, authorities, experts and eventually different outcomes.[28]

In general, the analytical strategy is to trace the process of fundamental policy change as it evolves from ideas and through action to become institutionalized. The basic elements of this change process include: a) the emergence of new phenomena that are defined as problems or the redefinition of existing phenomena as pressing problems, then impelled by new claims and demands for structural change made by organized interests and policy entrepreneurs, b) the replacement of an established complex of policy ideas with a new one that is not comparable in the same terms, and c) the institutionalization of the new set of ideas in the form of new norms, policy competencies, revised or new

[27] Carson et.al., pp. 378-379
[28] ibid.

organizational structures and goals, and new types or groups of actors defined as having a legitimate role to play.[29]

Replacing an earlier elite to institutionalize the new paradigm may occur relying on force, as in coup d'état or violent revolution or through democratic process, such as elections or nominations, societal negotiation, or generational cohort shift. A new group or coalition with a new paradigm or model of institutional arrangements appears on the scene and assumes a position of power, enabling it to bring about a substantial shift in the institutional paradigm and arrangements. This may be, but is not necessarily, proceeded by a breakdown in consensus among established power elites about the appropriate paradigm or about reform of the existing paradigm. However, a breakdown in consensus facilitates a coalition between parts of the elites and the contender groups, which refuse to defer to the established authority or to adhere to the established, rule regime and its organizing principles and norms. Such new, emerging coalitions were apparent in the case of "peaceful" revolutions in, for example, Poland or Hungary, in 1989, which involved negotiated settlements and elections. In Poland the negotiated elections brought unexpected victory to groups advancing liberal market and political paradigms.[30]

Carson et al. summarize the conditions of paradigm shifts as follows:

(1) Policy failures, anomalies. A "paradigm crisis" arises when policy failings occur and accumulate, or cognitive and control problems emerge (policies and programs lead to unacceptable or negative unintended consequences), and the status and authority of the original policy paradigm is undermined. The negative judgments may be those of

[29] Carson et.al, p. 21
[30] Carson et.al, p. 388

key authorities or experts associated with the established paradigm- or, more often, challengers to the authority and expertise of the established groups.

(2) Emergence of new ideological ideas, a change in the normative context. Initiatives to change paradigm, in such a way, that a restructured paradigm is perceived or judged to fit better or to be more compatible with global values and norms. Those responsible and/or experts are driven to adopt these ideas and values or are pressured by their constituencies or the general public. These generalized norms may concern gender equality, security, health, etc.

(3) Power gain. Power agents propose (or adopt) a new paradigm as a way of enhancing their power and/or undermining the power of those associated with the established paradigm. There may be no anomalies or performance failings of the established paradigm.

(4) Competition. Political or group competition may pressure a group to differentiate themselves from others. Interest in differentiating "them" from "us" results from agential processes in a group configuration or network.

(5) Breaking of Solidarity. A key shift in a paradigm, such as a transformation of dominant values (e.g. increased value placed on the environment or social welfare (or on the market) in conjunction with an economic crisis (and relative decrease in government revenues, or increases in the cost of fuel) may contribute to conflicts and the breakdown of an existing coalition, e.g. in an oligarchy or a majority within a polyarchy. For instance, this has happened in the case of social welfare coalitions; or, environmental groups that were integrated earlier.

(6) Problematic change in practice. Paradigm shifts result more from changes in institutional practices. The Marxian conception of the "contradiction" between institutional arrangements/cognitive-normative components ("the relations of production"), on the one hand, and new knowledge, new technologies, new practices ("the forces of production") sets the stage for "revolution" (of course, there are other possibilities, such as suppression of "forces of production").

(7) Failure of Change Efforts. The failure of mass mobilization to bring about a paradigm shift when structural conditions (problem situation or crisis) seem otherwise ripe may be accounted for by the absence of a resonant paradigm and/or insufficient power to overcome a dominant regime.[31]

While changes may involve one or more of these dimensions, changes in radical nature would include significant changes in multiple dimensions. Even if only a few dimensions are changed initially, some changes have much greater secondary consequences than others. Examples of such changes are:

- Shift from public agency responsibility to private (the laws, incentive structures etc. differ substantially),
- Shifts from covering one population (the middle class) to another (lower classes or marginal groups), or both,
- Shifts from narrow scope of policy to comprehensive scope, which will affect many more us and involve a much greater array of methods, types of knowledge and expertise.[32]

[31] Carson et al. pp. 386-387
[32] Carson et al. p. 379

Michael J. Oliver and Hugh Pemberton refer to Hall's propositions as deliberate evocation of Thomas Kuhn's argument that scientific paradigms "gain their status because they are more successful than their competitors in solving [the] problems that the group of practitioners has come to recognize as acute"[33] In Hall's schema, Oliver and Pemberton argue, first and second order change are essentially the same as Kuhn's "normal science" but third order change amounts to a revolution in ideas and practice in policy and the replacement of one policy "paradigm" by another.[34]

While ideas as policy solutions may exist, their proponents must wait for the right opportunity to present them and have them adopted. This shifts the focus from an 'idea whose time has come', suggesting inevitability to the need for a range of conditions to be satisfied before a policy will change, suggesting uncertainty and that the receptivity to, and acceptance of, the idea is more important than the idea itself.[35]

Robert C. Lieberman suggests, an idea's time arrives not simply because the idea is compelling on its own terms, but because opportune political circumstances favor it. At those moments when a political idea finds persuasive expression among actors whose institutional position gives them both the motive and the opportunity to translate it into policy-then, and only then, can we say that an idea has found a time.[36]

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[33] Kuhn, p. 23

[34] Michael J. Oliver Hugh Pemberton, Learning and Change in Twentieth-Century: British Economic Policy, *Center for European Studies*. Working Paper No. 09, p. 3 (http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~ces/publications/docs/pdfs/OliverPemberton.pdf)

[35]Kettell Steven and Cairney Paul (2010) 'Taking the Power of Ideas Seriously - the Case of the United Kingdom's 2008 Human Fertilization and Embryology Bill', *Policy Studies*, 31: 3, pp. 303- 304. http://www.researchgate.net/publication/232911183_Taking_the_power_of_ideas_seriously__the_case_of_the_United_Kingdom's_2008_Human_Fertilisation_and_Embryology_Bill

[36] Robert C. Lieberman (2002) Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change. *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 96, No. 4, p. 709.

Table 2.1 Order of Changes

Order of Changes	*Features*
First Order	-The [policy] instrument settings are changed in the light of experience and new knowledge, while the overall goals and instruments of policy remain the same. -It is likely to be ongoing, incremental and often routine - "normal" policymaking. -It can be considered "normal policymaking," namely of a process that adjusts policy without challenging the overall terms of a given policy paradigm.
Second Order	-The instruments of policy as well as their settings are altered in response to past experience even though the overall goals of policy remain the same. -It does not directly challenge the fundamental goals of policy, and is therefore less likely to be conflict ridden. -It can be considered "normal policymaking," namely of a process that adjusts policy without challenging the overall terms of a given policy paradigm.
Third Order (Paradigm Shift)	-A policy making marked by radical changes in the overarching terms of policy discourse creating a new paradigm. -Major departure from the way that policymaker think and act. -Simultaneous changes in instrument settings, instruments themselves, and the rearrangement of policy goals. -A serious degree of discredit to the status quo policy and to its protectors. -The accumulation of anomalies, experimentation with new forms of policy, and policy failures that precipitate a shift in the locus of authority over policy and initiate a wider contest between competing paradigms. -The new paradigm is institutionalized when the supporters of the new paradigm secure positions of authority over policy making.

CHAPTER 3. THE KEMALIST PARADIGM

3.1 Introduction

It is crucial to recognize that the fundamentals of Turkish policy were conceived and implemented by the founder of the republic, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk between 1923 and 1938. These standards and code of conducts that he created became so embedded in the Turkish politics that literally every government and policymaker who came after him strove not to veer off from them and those few who did or believed to have done so were labeled as the traitor to his legacy and to the republic. Therefore, it would not be wrong to call these principles "*indisputable dogmas*" to denote that they are religiously perceived unquestionably and implemented unconditionally.[37]

This chapter is an in-depth exploration of many aspects of the Kemalist paradigm in Turkey. The chapter starts with an analysis of the conditions of the very late stages of the Ottoman Empire, out of which the Kemalist ideology was born. A good grasp of the historical background of Kemalism is important as it will be a useful tool to compare between the Kemalist paradigm, which is seen as the anti-thesis of the Ottmanism, and the Justice and Development Party (AKP) policy making, which is considered to have undertaken the task of reviving the principles of the Ottomanist policy making. The second part of the chapter will analyze the birth and the institutionalization of the Kemalist ideology in the newly created Turkish Republic. The final part will study how

[37] Mustafa Aydin (2003) The Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, and Turkey's European Vocation, *the Review of International Affairs*, Vol.3, No.2, Winter, p. 318.

the Kemalist ideology and the conditions of the time laid the foundations of new republic's foreign policy as well as its evolution after the death of Mustafa Kemal.

3.2 In Search of a Paradigm

Mustafa Kemal was a soldier in the last decades of the crumbling Ottoman Empire. Therefore, his experiences during his time in the Ottoman army greatly shaped his worldview, thus it shaped the paradigm he would create for Turkey. The late 19th century was extremely gloomy for the Empire. Among the territories that had already been lost was Greece (1832), Egypt (1882) Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878). To make matters worse, Trablusgarb (today's Libya) was occupied by the Italian forces only to be lost in 1912. The sultans and the bureaucrats endeavored to implement a series of reforms to amend the military and daily life but they were proven ineffective. The most detrimental development for the empire turned out to be the impending upsurge of nationalism and ensuing involvement of European powers in the Ottoman domestic politics. Because of "*the capitulations*", the Ottoman Empire continued to lose power against Russia, Great Britain and France, as these powers intensified their patronage over such Christian subjects as the Greeks and the Armenians.

It is important to point out that the Ottoman Empire did not constitute a nation state nor were its subjects recognized based on their nationality. The *Millet System*[38] that

[38] Bernard Lewis states that the relationship between the Ottoman state and its non- Muslim subjects was bound by the Islamic law. Because Islam recognizes Christianity and Judaism and their followers as being the people of the book, they were allowed to practice their faith and tradition; were guaranteed their personal and property security. The adherents of these religions were subject to their respective jurisprudence, not to the Islamic Sha'ria Law as were the Muslims. The non-Muslims were exempt from military service. While there was a sense of tolerance in the Ottoman Empire toward the non-Muslims, there were also certain restrictions imposed on them such as the way they had to dress, the beasts they rode etc. Majority of these restrictions were symbolic. The most important tangible inequality manifested itself by the imposition of taxation called chizya, Lewis contents that it was generally overlooked in rural parts of the empire rather than enforced. (Braude, Benjamin, and Bernard Lewis, eds. Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society. Vol. 1. New York: Homes & Meier, 1982, pp. 4-10.

the Ottoman Empire implemented for centuries to govern its vast territories stipulated that the subjects be divided into Muslims and non-Muslims, rather than their ethnic background. Therefore, such concepts as Arab, Greek, Armenian and Turk were foreign to the Ottoman ruling elite. This aspect of the Ottoman governance would later play a great role in the creation of ideologies that were aimed to save the Ottoman Empire from collapsing.[39] This is an important point because it will play a great role in shaping Ataturk's policy making before and after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and has serious implications in the debate whether the AKP government, which adopted a more pro-Ottoman approach in both domestic and foreign policy, is shifting its foreign policy making paradigm away from the established Kemalism.

Bernard Lewis concedes that it was the religion of Islam not the ethnic background of Muslims that kept them loyal to the Ottoman sultan, who was at the same time the Caliph. He was considered to be the ultimate epitome of Islam for the Ottoman society while at the same time acted as the commander in chief. His religious role overshadowed all his other roles, including the military one. Because of this reason, the Sultan was a Muslim before anything else. Hence, it would not be wrong to assume that the concept of Turkishness as we see in the Kemalist Turkey was not applicable to the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the ruling elite and the Sultan did not really resort to the concept of Turk or Turkishness to define themselves or the empire, although they were cognizant of their ancestral background. This began to change through the mid-19th, the Tanzimat (*Reorganization*) Era, when it became evident to the ruling elite and the sultan that serious measures had to be taken to halt or even reverse the fast implosion of the empire. While the need for a drastic change was acknowledged, what was not agreed

[39] Banu Eligur. The Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey Cambridge University Press 2010. p. 38

upon was the method by which it was to be implemented. Because of this divergence, several movements were put forward. Most important of these were Ottomanism, pan-Islamism and Westernism/Turkism. [40]

In the following section, I will explain these streams of ideologies that impacted the last decades of the Ottoman Empire.

3.2.1. Ottomanism

One of the ideological movements was the Ottomanism. According to this the empire could be saved if the non-Muslim entities were to be declared equal with the Muslims in order to construct, what Yelda Demirag of the Baskent University coins, a "*we-feeling of being Ottoman*" and an incorporating "*Ottoman nation*".[41]

The roots of this movement go back to the Greek independence. The secession of the Greeks prompted the need for a new constitution by the sultan, named the Tanzimat Fermani (*Imperial Edict of Reorganization*), which was declared in Istanbul in 1839. This ensured the legal equality of the Muslim and non-Muslim subjects. Although the ruling elite of the Empire hoped that this new constitution would quell the resentments of non-Muslims, fortifying their loyalty to the sultan and thus the empire, the European powers deemed it an exceptional tool to meddle with domestic politics of the Ottomans. The new reforms only deteriorated the situation in the Balkan territories of Ottoman, where the majority of its non-Muslim subject lived, only aggravating the nationalistic feelings.[42] Through the end of the 19th century it was evident that Ottomanism was due to fail.

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40 Eligur, p. 39
41 Yelda Demirag, (2005) Pan-Ideologies In The Ottoman Empire Against The West: From Pan-Ottomanism To Pan-Turkism, Turkish Yearbook Vol. 36. p. 145
42 Hasan Kayali (1997) Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 10.

The signs of failure began to emerge when the Muslim subjects expressed displeasure that they were rendered equal with non-Muslims. The Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78 was the real blow to the Ottomanist idea as the Ottoman Empire lost its Balkan territories (Romania, Serbia and Montenegro), where most of the non-Muslims Ottomans lived. The Muslim influx from these territories into the Ottoman heartland, Anatolia, and the only remaining territories outside Anatolia, albeit under the British and French threat, were those of the Middle East and North Africa. The influx of Muslims into Anatolia brought the idea of pan-Islamism.[43]

3.2.2 Pan-Islamism

The dismal defeat against the Russians prompted the rescinding of the constitution by Sultan Abdulhamid II (1842-1918). Having realized that the European style governance did not work, he resorted to the idea of Muslim unification in order to save the empire. The fact that now the Muslims in the empire made up of the majority of population reinforced his hopes. His title "Caliph", the ruler of all Muslims, would be functional not only to coalesce the Muslims at home but also those who were in India and South East Asia. The emphasis in the splendor of bygone Arab-Islam past which appealed to Muslims, especially those in the Middle East only resulted in the Arabs' gaining their national consciousness. This even resulted in the emergence of such ideas among Arabs such as Arabic is the language of the Qur'an, hence Arabs were the chosen people of Allah. All this was in conjunction with the rising British and French influence on Arabs. In the early 20th century, with the dismantling of the Ottoman Middle East, it was proven that pan-Islamism too was in vain.[44] Eventually, it became evident that

[43] Demirag, p. 147.
[44] Kayali, p. 37

Islamism turned out to be a futile effort to save the empire as the Arabs, one of the most important Muslim nations in the empire, put their ethnicity in front of the religion. Despite Abdulhamid's efforts to use Islamism, the empire was losing territories in the Middle East and North Africa.

3.2.3 Pan-Turkism/ Westernism

When Abdulhamid's pan-Islamist movement failed to address the problem of dissolution, secular ideas gained prominence. In this regard, the Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) was established by the Young Turk movement in 1889 in defiance of the Sultan. The Young Turks were heavily influenced by such European streams of thought as scientific materialism and Social Darwinism. Pan-Turkism was also part of their worldview.[45] Also, pan-Turkist ideology was a principal one in the CUP.

Among the prominent members of CUP and pan-Turkist, Yusuf Akcura, who at the same time was a close friend of Mustafa Kemal, urged the Ottoman rulers to embrace pan-Turkism, which aimed at resuscitating the Turkish nationalism and uniting not only the Ottoman Turks but also the Turks in the Caucasus and Central Asia. This idea of uniting the Turks across the Eurasia was a new concept in history.[46] To him, this endeavor was a new one and not even Genghis Khan, let alone the Ottoman Empire, whose founders were of Turkic origin, had ever pursued such an ideology.[47]

The prominent Turkologue Jacob M. Landau argues that the secular nature of pan-Turkism in the second part of 19th century is worth noting because it meant that the

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[45]M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, (2010) *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 138.
[46] Hanioğlu, pp. 146-147 (Quoted from Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-I Siyaset* (Cairo: Matbaa-I İctihad, 1907), pp. 4-12.)
[47] Yusuf Akçura (1907) *Üç Tarz-I Siyaset,*: Matbaa-I İctihad,, pp. 19-37.

pan-Turkists had been convinced that Islam was not strong enough an identity to retard the dissolution of the empire.[48]

One of the most remarkable developments in the late history of the Ottoman Empire took place in 1906 when the anti-Abdulhamid opposition of bureaucrats, military officers and members of the CUP united under the Ottoman Freedom Society, in the then Ottoman city Salonika (in today's Greece). Now, with the military on their side, there was virtually nothing blocking the path of the CUP to keep them from openly confronting the sultan. In July 1908, the CUP staged a coup against Abdulhamid, which culminated into a revolution, whose motto was "*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Justice*". According to Sukru Hanilioglu, this revolution is different from other European revolutions such as the French and Russian in that the purpose was not to replace the absolutist monarch but to reinstate the constitutional governance as well as the parliamentary rule, which had been dissolved in 1878. Hanilioglu notes that the CUP members did not want to eradicate the monarchy because they wanted to "*pull the levers of imperial power*". From its ascendance to power in 1908 to the end of World War I, the CUP was the sole ruler of the Ottoman Empire rendering the monarch powerless but left as a figure-head.[49]

In conjunction with their ideology, the CUP began to carry out reforms to secularize many aspects of the Ottoman life, from education, such as mandatory foreign language, to judiciary, by which they sought to diminish the authority of religious clergy over the Sultan. As part of their attempt to westernize the Ottoman society, the CUP

[48] Jacob M. Landau (1995) *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation*, Hurst&Co Publishers. p. 29.
[49] Hanioglu, pp. 150,151.

abolished polygamy, introduced women's rights, and supplanted the fez in favor of European type head gear.[50]

Most members of the Young Turk movement were staunch advocates of 19th century German materialistic idea of "*Vulgärmaterialismus*", which combines the principles of materialism, Darwinism and scientism, thereby they aimed to maintain such scientific understanding in the society. The roots of the official state ideology that we have in modern Turkey has its roots in the Young Turks period.[51] The official state ideology of modern Turkey was shaped during the period of the early Young Turks and to this day has continued to influence Turkey's intellectual and political life.[52] It would not be erroneous to assume that being a member of the Young Turks movement, the founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal, was heavily influenced by the policies that were conceived and implemented by the CUP.[53]

It is at this point that it is important to examine how the Young Turks influenced Ataturk and in turn how his policies created and shaped the future of the newly established Republic of Turkey.

3.3 The Birth of the Kemalist Paradigm in Turkey

The end of World War I sealed the fate of the 600-year-old empire. Having been an experienced and successful commander in the Ottoman ranks, Mustafa Kemal capitalized on the power vacuum created by the implosion of the empire. Having won the Turkish independence war against the British, French, Italians, Greeks and Armenians, the Kemalist clique deposed the Sultan and established the new Turkish republic in 1923.

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[50] Yucel Bozdaglioglu, Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish Identity: A Constructive Approach, pp. 43,44.
[51] M. Sukru Hanioglu (2011) Ataturk*: An Intellectual Bibliography*, Princeton University Press. pp. 49-50
[52] M. Sukru Hanioglu. The Young Turks in Opposition. p. 3.
[53] Stephen Vertigans (2003) *Islamic Roots and Resurgence in Turkey: Understanding and Explaining the Muslim Resurgence* ,Westport, CT: Praeger, p. 46, http://www.questia.com/read/102053475.

The Kemalist triumph of Westernism marked the end of a power struggle among the ideologies that competed to save the empire. Given his experiences in the battlefronts and the CUP ranks, M. Kemal was convinced that it was impossible to continue with the legacy of the Ottoman Empire hence the need for a clean slate. That is to say, to Ataturk, this newly emerging nation-state, of which he was the architect, ought to be completely detached from its past. Therefore, first and foremost, the Kemalists launched a comprehensive de-Ottomanisation campaign to eradicate the Islamic/Ottoman state institutions. The complete overhaul of state alone would not have been meaningful if the society remained Ottoman. Thus, the extensive restructuring of the society was set to be one of the major endeavors of the Kemalists. M. Kemal was adamant about creating a society and a state identity based on western values. To him, the two had to go in hand in hand because the divergence between state and social identity would create a legitimacy problem.[54]

Above all, the catastrophic experiences of the past century that lead to the impending collapse of the empire prompted the Kemalist elite[55] of the newly established republic to concede that in order to be able to hold onto the hard earned territory, a strongly centralized state and ethnically homogenized nation was paramount. Therefore, the Turkification efforts in the new republic went as far as changing the Kurdish or

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[54] Yücel Bozdaglioglu (2003) *Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish Identity: A Constructivist Approach*, New York: Routledge p. 45, http://www.questia.com/read/106192540.

[55] According to Bozdaglioglu, the Western oriented Kemalist reforms contributed greatly to the creation of the Kemalist elite. He further states that the Kemalist elite in Turkey vowed to protect unconditionally the Kemalist doctrine, which basically chaped the domestic and foreign policy of the republic's entirety.
The emergence of the Kemalist elite in modern Turkey is the result of the transformation of the state from a theocratic empire into a modern, secular nation-state through Kemalist reforms. The Kemalist elite was responsible for preventing any deviations from the Kemalist principles, carried important implications for both Turkey's foreign and domestic politics, which will be evaluated in the later chapters of this work.
Yücel Bozdaglioglu (2003) *Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish Identity: A Constructivist Approach* (New York: Routledge, p, 51.

Armenian names of settlements in the text books. By law, every citizen of the republic was considered to be "Turkish".

Another prerequisite for consolidation of power was the establishment of elitism. The justification for elitism arises out of the conviction that the majority of citizens of the new republic were "*ignorant and illiterate*", which at the same time was the elitist view of anything Ottoman. This contemptuous view from the elite, not to mention the survival instinct, called for a stringent implementation of the reforms, which naturally were top to bottom.[56] The disparity between the ruling elite (the core), who predominantly lived in urban areas and the ruled, who resided in rural Anatolia (the periphery), began to constitute a contentious matter with the latter's gradual movement into the former's habitat in early 1970s.[57] The gradual rise of the periphery eventually would result in the advent of the AKP government. This situation will be extensively discussed, in the following chapter.

The effective permeation of reforms into society as well as the eradication of the entrenched Ottoman beliefs and state system depended greatly on the degree of their radical character. Therefore, M. Kemal believed that the envisaged cultural, social and economic reforms had to be radical in character. [58]

Finally, Michael A. Raynolds depicts the essence of Kemalism. He says; *"[t]he conceptual matrix that provided the ideational basis of the Turkish Republic is known as Kemalism, after Mustafa Kemal, the general who led the military campaign that culminated in the creation of the republic and then ruled it until his death in 1938.*

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[56] Bozdaglioglu, p. 7
[57] ibid
[58]Osman Okyar(1984)"Ataturk's Quest for Modernism," in *Ataturk and Modernization of Turkey,* ed. Jacob M. Landau (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, p. 51.

Kemalism functioned as a comprehensive worldview that supplied both a historical diagnosis of the challenges facing Turkish society as well as a vision of how to overcome those challenges." [59]

3.4 Pillars of the Kemalist Ideology

Ataturk's view of Islam, his absolute belief in western/European ideas and the overall state of domestic and foreign politics of the early 1920s shaped the Kemalist ideology, which is also called "the Six Arrows". These principles were officially adopted in 1931 and put in the constitution in 1937. The fact that these principles were accepted as the symbol of M. Kemal's party, the People's Republican Party (PRP) is a testament to their significance. Out of these six principles, (Nationalism, Secularism, Republicanism, Populism, Etatism, and Revolutionism)[60] I will dwell on Republicanism, Nationalism and Secularism due to the fact that they bear the most important implications for foreign policy.

Republicanism stipulates that, as opposed to the Ottoman period where the legitimate ruler was the sultan, in the newly established Turkish republic the Turkish people own the sovereignty and have the legitimacy to rule. The purpose of Atataurk's adoption of this principle was to leave no room for the resurrection of revisionist, imperialistic monarchy or totalitarian regimes in Turkey. This partially aims to rule out any possibility of the Caliphate regime, which he abolished in 1924. Opposing any

[59]Michael Raynolds (2012) Echoes of Empire: Turkey's Crisis of Kemalism and the Search for an Alternative Foreign Policy. Analysis Paper number 2. June 2012. p. 6

[60] Mustafa Aydin (2003) The Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, and Turkey's European Vocation, *the Review of International Affairs*, Vol.3, No.2, p. 318

expansionist objectives, M. Kemal conceded that preserving the existing international status quo was important.[61]

Nationalism is one of the pillars that has been subject to heated debates. The origins of the controversy go back to the establishment of the republic and the way it was initially interpreted and implemented. The type of nationalism that M. Kemal envisioned was built upon common citizenship rather than of ethnocentric. It was argued that given the circumstances of the early stages of nation building in Turkey, such an understanding of nationalism was a prerequisite. According to this "individuals from many different ethnic backgrounds but, according to the Turkish Constitution, all citizens of Turkey are Turks".[62] Leonard A. Stone states that the Kemalist understanding of nationalism is, unlike that of Germany, not of ethnic or racial. [63]

Yet, divergent opinions about the Kemalist understanding of nationalism are plenty. According to Aydinli, while M. Kemal strived to form an identical Turkish nation via constitutionalism with the broad support of Turkish people, he ended up disenfranchising non-Turkish aspects of society, particularly the Kurds.[64]

To Philip Robins, M. Kemal's was inspired by the European understanding of nationalism, which is ethno-centric. What the Kemalist nationalism doctrine envisioned was that those non-Turkish entities of the new republic could not retain their identities, they must be united under the banner of 'Turkishness'. In this regards, attempts to deny,

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[61] Mustafa Aydin (1999) Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4, p. 172.
[62] Mustafa Aydin.(1999). Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs. Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 35, No. 4. .pp. 170-174.
[63] Leonard A. Stone (2001) Turkish Foreign Policy: Four Pillars of Tradition. Journal of International Affairs Volume VI-Number 2, p. 2. (Paper accessed at http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Leonard-A.-Stone.pdf)
[64] Aydin 1999. p. 175

eradicate and change non-Turkish components of society were made as the Kurdish language was strictly restricted and village names were 'Turkified'.[65]

Aydin points out that this repression of the Kurds would eventually result in the emergence of Kurdish consciousness in 1970s, which was followed by the Kurdish armed struggle against the Turkish state in early 1980s.[66] This is important to note because the Kemalist elite's perception of nationalism culminated in one of the thorniest issues of the Republic of Turkey, "the Kurdish question", which has had considerable implications for both domestic and foreign politics of Turkey.

At this point, we must also note that although Ataturk's ideas were partially shaped during his time in the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), which also pursued revisionist, expansionist pan-Turkism[67] he chose not carry it over to the new republic. M. Kemal was well aware that considering the fragile state of newly established republic, it would have been unwise to pursue unobtainable, utopian pan-Turkism. Instead, he restricted his understanding of Turkism within the borders of the republic, for which he had already been trying to secure after the War of Independence. Mustafa Aydin comments that any adventurist endeavor would greatly harm the gains that had been made with great difficulty. Therefore, M. Kemal rejected such utopian ideas such as pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism. Consequently, his rejection of the utopian ideas of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism,[68] had its implications, in later decades, in the Turkish foreign policy.

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[65] Philip Robins (1993) The Overlord State: Turkish Policy and the Kurdish Issue. *International Affairs*, Vol. 69, No.4. p. 611.
[66] Aydin, Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs, p. 175.
[67] Turkkaya Ataov (1980) The Principles of Kemalism, *the Turkish Year*book, Vol. 20, p. 21 http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/44/1567/17013.pdf
[68] Metin Aydin, Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs, pp. 170-174

The Kemalist ideology also called for strict employment of secularism. It was important for M. Kemal predominantly because it was one of the strong elements of his efforts to eradicate the remnants of the Ottoman past. To this end, he set about to implement the daunting task of expunging the entrenched influence of Islam in the society and state. One of the reasons for his obstinacy in this matter was his strong conviction that it was Islam that impeded the progress in the late stages of the Ottoman era, which rendered it lagging behind the prosperous, civilized Europe. More importantly, the perpetuation of Islam and its sway over the masses would have spelled a predicament for the Kemalist elite in their infliction of top-to-bottom reforms, most of which were of Western/secular nature.[69] The Caliphate represented one of the most powerful elements of Islam in the state and over the people, thus it was abolished in 1924, along with the religious courts.

The dress code of the public that was of Islamic was not spared from strict enforcement campaign of reforms. Western style hats became the symbol of the Kemalist/Western reforms and replaced the turban and fez with strict enforcement. One radical reform was the replacement of the language of the Qur'an, Arabic, as well as the Farsi alphabet with Latin.[70] One reason for the eradication of Islam, according to Raynolds, was that it ran counter to M. Kemal's attempt to make the 'Turkish' nation superior over other nations. The Islamic creed instructs that it is not the nationality that determines one's preeminence but his/her level of devotion to Allah. Due to the influence

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[69]Resat Kasaba(1997)Kemalist Certainties and Modern Ambiguities, in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey,* ed. in Resat Kasaba and Sibel Bozdogan,Seattle: University of Washington Press, p. 28.
[70] Bozdaglioglu, p. 49

of Islam during the reign of the Ottomans, the Kemalists argued, the Turks had lost conception of their ancestral roots.[71]

Nilufer Gole argues that M. Kemal's reforms are the continuation of the positivist and secularist Turkish modernity that commenced in the early 19th century and reached its climax during the Ataturk era. She posits that positivism was utilized by the new Turkish elite as a tool to justify the reforms of modernity. August Comte's positivist ideology served as guidance to the liberal elite from the Young Turks to the Kemalists. Furthermore, 'social engineering', which is conceived as a natural result of positivist approach, became an instrument for the elite to enlighten and remodel the Turkish society. To those reformers, the positivist axiom "progress and order" and 'national order' were intimately intertwined because their existence secured the consolidation of secularism in a Muslim country.[72]

Scholars establish correlation between the Turkish and French secularization attempts in that the main purpose of both was to establish the dominion of the secular elite over the royalist and totalitarian 'religious establishment.[73]

Since 1950, by which time the multi-party system had been introduced in Turkey, secularism had been aggressively enforced by the Turkish military and it did not shy away from staging military coups against governments or politicians that were perceived

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[71] Raynolds, p. 7

[72] Nilufer Gole (1997) Secularism and Islamism in Turkey: The Making of Elites and Counter-Elites, *the Middle East Journal,* 51, no. 1, p. 48. Quoted from: M. aukrfi Hanioglu, The Young Turks in Opposition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 3-32

[73] Didem Buhari-Gulmez, « Ümit Cizre, Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey: The Making of the Justice and Development Party », European Journal of Turkish Studies [Online], Book Reviews, 25 January 2011, Connection on 18 October 2014, quoted from Kramer, Heinz (2000), A Changing Turkey: The Challenge to Europe and the United States, Washington, DC, Brookings Institution Press. http://ejts.revues.org/4350

to be a threat to the secular foundations of the republic. Therefore, Turkish secularists refused to accept other ideas contrary to Kemalism.[74]

Binnaz Toprak argues that in Turkey, the source of law and education under the Kemalist paradigm has been rationalism.[75] The Article 24 of the constitution stipulates that individuals are not only entitled to freedom of religion but they also have protection from religion.[76]

According to the European Court of Human Rights (EHRC), in their verdict for the case of *Leyla Sahin* v. *Turkey*, the secular principles were added to the constitution due to legacy of the past and the idiosyncrasies of Islam. Secularism was considered to be an integral part of democracy and ensured freedom of religion. Moreover, secularism curbs the state from displaying any sort of favoritism towards a particular faith, preventing any involvement of dogmatic decrees in the process of making legislature. The court further stated:

> *"Secularism is the civil organizer of political, social and cultural life, based on national sovereignty, democracy, freedom and science. Secularism is the principle which offers the individual the possibility to affirm his or her own personality through freedom of thought and which, by the distinction it makes between politics and religious beliefs, renders freedom of conscience and religion effective. In societies based on religion, which function with religious thought and religious rules,*

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[74] Kuru, Ahmet (2007) 'Passive and Assertive Secularism: Historical Conditions, Ideological Struggles, and State Policies toward Religion', World Politics, Vol. 59, p. 591.
[75] Buhari-Gulmez, Ümit Cizre, Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey: The Making of the Justice and Development Party », European Journal of Turkish Studies, quoted from Toprak, Binnaz (1981) *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*, Leiden, E. J. Brill.
[76] Buhari-Gulmez, quoted from Rose, Richard and Özcan, Yusuf (2007) 'First European Quality of Life Survey: Quality of life in Turkey', Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

political organization is religious in character. In a secular regime, religion is shielded from a political role. It is not a tool of the authorities and remains in its respectable place, to be determined by the conscience of each and every one...”[77]

Comparing the secular properties of the United States, France and Turkey, Ahmet Kuru finds that Turkey’s secularism is of an “*assertive*” nature. This means that the state enforces secular principles such that the public sphere is rendered free from any religious footprint.[78] Gole draws attention to a discrepancy between Turkish and French secularism. Whereas in the latter the establishment was bottom up, but in the former it was a forceful imposition of the idea that was top down by the secular elite to the bottom, which resulted in the estrangement of the masses. Gole concludes that secularization turned out to be a byproduct of social engineering rather than a consequence of the work of a public collective.[79]

It must be noted here that while the Kemalist understanding of secularism presupposed the strict separation of Islam and the state, it did not opt to totally eradicate religion and espouse an “atheistic” type of application. Rather, the stringent oversight of state in the way Islam is practiced was found to be the solution. In this regard, the Directorate of Religious Affairs was founded in 1926 with the special duty “*to execute the works concerning the beliefs, worship, and ethics of Islam, enlighten the public about their religion, and administer the sacred worshipping places*".[80] Today, the government

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[77] European Court of Human Rights, Leyla Sahin v. Turkey, App. No. 44774/98, Eur. Ct. H.R., 108 (2004). http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/sites/eng/pages/search.aspx?i=001-70956#{"itemid":["001-70956"]}
[78] Ahmet T. Kuru. 2009. Secularism and State Policies Toward Religion: The United States, France and Turkey” Cambridge University Press. p. 11
[79] Gole, p. 48
[80] Quoted from the official web site of the the Directorate of Religious Affairs: http://www.diyanet.gov.tr/english/tanitim.asp?id=13

is responsible for financially supporting the directorate and its staff, including the mosque imams.

There are certain political implications of the Kemalist ideology in Turkey. One is "*a secularized and westernized homogenous nation-state*", which is the result of the fact that due to its preset rules, Kemalism does not really leave room for a popular debate to establish a social contract. The second is that the dogmatic nature of Kemalism results in its innate repugnance for alternative ideologies and way of lives for they may pose detriment to the idyllic world that it envisages for Turkey. The third is for Kemalism, "politics" is only a tool to establish its own dogmas. Lastly, the exclusionist nature of Kemalism, which those who wholeheartedly adopt and promote the Kemalist principles are entitled to political participation and promotions whereas those who resist are excluded from public space and labeled as reactionist, old fashioned and backward. The Turkish military was 'appointed' to safeguard the Kemalist principles of the republic and is authorized to punish or 'correct' those who have deviated from Kemalism. This entitlement coupled with the military might resulted in, after 1961, the creation of the National Security Council (NSC), which serves as an advisory board to the government in domestic and foreign policies (and before the AKP administration), Turkish Armed Forces dominated the civilian members of it. This rendered the NSC the ultimate authoritative body in domestic and foreign affairs. This situation virtually reduced the civilian Parliament to an institution whose duty is to pass laws that are aimed at protecting and perpetuating the Kemalist hegemony over the state and society. It is important to state that the NSC was composed of the Kemalist military-bureaucracy, who

did not hesitate to step in and interfere should there be a perception that the foundations of Kemalism, national security and/or territorial integrity of the republic was at jeopardy.[81]

Table 3.1 Pillars of Kemalist Ideology

Pillars of the Kemalist Ideology	
Republicanism	• Sovereignty belongs to the Turkish nation • A barrier against the monarchic and totalitarian of government. • The state pursues the welfare and the happiness of the nation and the country without pursuing any expansionist desires
Nationalism	• All citizens of Turkey are Turks • Homogenous Turkish nation state • Ethno-centric • Rejects non-Turkish entities • Opposes pan-Turkism
Secularism	• An undertaking aimed to remove the influence of Islam in state and society • Goes hand in hand with positivist modernity in Turkey • Classified as assertive secularism. • It was largely imposed as a top down elite project. • The state controls how Islam is practiced • The Directorate of Religious Affairs was established in 1926

The nature of NSC and how it steered the politics in Turkey will be extensively discussed in the next chapter.

3.5 Goals and Priorities of Kemalist Foreign Policy

The Turkish foreign policy during the M. Kemal era evidently was a reflection of his personality and worldviews. First and foremost, the new republic had an existential goal of recognition as a sovereign state in the international arena. Having realized the fundamental relationship between the domestic and foreign policy, M. Kemal made domestic consolidation his priority in order to succeed in foreign policy. Therefore, his

[81] M. Hakan Yavuz (2003) *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 46-47. http://www.questia.com/read/119118437.

main focus was the reforms that he embarked on to transform the Turkish people and state.[82]

M. Kemal said, *'What particularly interests foreign policy and upon which it is founded is the internal organization of the state. It is necessary that foreign policy should agree with the internal organization*.' Therefore, with his famous motto - *'peace at home, peace in the world'* – Ataturk emphasized the relationship between internal stability with international peace and order, prioritizing the home front.[83]

The hard earned independence and the struggles to draw the borders of new republic largely determined the official foreign policy priorities during M. Kemal's time. More importantly, the reality that the entire nation and the territories it rests on came, in the WWI, to the brink of extinction was more than enough to create a severe trauma for the founding fathers. It is because of this reason that the Turkish foreign policy was erected on the premise that the *'physical protection of the country against potential or actual threats endangering or violating its territorial integrity, especially those originating in the immediate surroundings*.'[84] This situation has had long lasting impact on the way the Turkish policy makers handled both domestic and foreign affairs. One result of it was the prevalence of securitization, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The makers of Turkish foreign policy largely pursued the policy of upholding the state's security and territorial integrity. Yasemin Celik calls the Turkish foreign policy

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[82] Metin Aydin, Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, p. 171.
[83] Mustafa Aydin, Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs, Sylvia Kedourie ed., Seventy Five Years of the Turkish Republic, Frank Cass Publishers, 2009, p. 17.1
[84] Yasemin Çelik (1999) *Contemporary Turkish Foreign Policy.*(Westport, CT: Praeger, pp. 29-30. http://www.questia.com/read/120092099. Quoted from Sezer, "Turkey's Grand Strategy Facing a Dilemma," 19.

between 1923-1945 '*cautious, realistic and generally aimed at the preservation of the status-quo and the hard won victory of 1923'*.[85] Moreover, the Ottoman immersion in multiple conflicts in the late years of the empire that brought the empire down to its knees taught an important lesson to the new republican elite; the Turkish republic was to pursue an independent foreign policy and it was only possible by remaining neutral to the conflicts that surrounded it.[86] The rare exceptions to this policy were the resolution of the Mosul problem with the Great Britain and the Sancak (Hatay) issue with France, which stemmed from the Treaty of Lousanne.[87] This isolationists and neutral tendency in Turkish foreign policy was later to be criticized by such statesmen as Turgut Ozal, Necmeddin Erbakan and Ahmet Davutoglu, who put forward a more pro-active foreign policy, for becoming an obstacle on Turkey's rising influence in its region.

In the same vein, the newborn Turkish republic refrained from pursuing such revisionist policies as pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism. Therefore, M. Kemal opted not to reclaim the lost Ottoman territories of the Western Thrace and the Middle Eas- although doing so could have been justified under the then existing status quo. One exception was the Hatay issue, which was resolved not through force but through diplomacy.[88] This too became one of the fundamental doctrines of the Turkish foreign policy; the pursuit of international law, not resorting to forceful coercion.[89]

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[85] Çelik, *Contemporary Turkish Foreign Policy,* quoted from Zurcher, Turkey: *A Modern History*, 209.
[86] Ibid. quoted from Udo Steinbach, "The European Community, the United States, the Middle East, and Turkey," *Politics in the Third Turkish Republic*, ed. Metin Heper (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1994), 104.
[87] Çelik, *Contemporary Turkish Foreign Policy* , p. 30
[88] Leonard A. Stone (2001) Turkish Foreign Policy: Four Pillars of Tradition. p. 3. http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Leonard-A.-Stone.pdf
[89] Mehmet Gönlübol and Ömer Kürkçüoğlu (1985) A General Look at Turkish Foreign Policy During the Period of Atatürk, *Turkish Review, November*, p. 35.

Simon V. Mayall agrees that if the settlements of the details of the Lousanne Treaty are held exception, the Kemalist foreign policy dictated non-expansion and non-aggression. The source of legitimacy for the Ottoman sultans was the degree of territorial expansion. Being against the Ottoman principles, M. Kemal opposed this idea. Furthermore, although he was pro-Turkish, he did not pursue pan-Turanist foreign policy, which aims to unite the Turks. One reason why he did not adopt a pan-Turkist policy, besides the absence of means was to attract the Soviet support which was part of the essential international recognition effort. The Soviets had ascended to control much of the Turkish world in Central Asia and the Caucasus.[90]

Needless to say, endeavoring to unite the Islamic world was the last thing M. Kemal would have done. That is to say M. Kemal declined 'romantic foreign policy'. Instead, rebuilding the new republic from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire and its strengthening became paramount. This would have been possible by rejecting assertive and revisionist foreign policy. What is more, a need for a strong military was justified given that preserving the territorial integrity of the new republic was another priority.[91]

According to Baskin Oran, the Kemalist foreign policy can be defined as 'pro-Western' and 'status-quo preserving'. He says '*maintaining the established order within the existing borders and balances*' and '*realization of a Western oriented foreign policy formation*' are the fundamentals of the Kemalist foreign policy.[92]

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[90]Turkish Ministry of State Ahat Andican's speech at the Ataturk Research Center in Ankara. http://atam.gov.tr/yuksek-kurum-ve-bagli-kuruluslarinin-15-kurulus-yildonumlerinde-yaptiklari-konusma/

[91] Simon V. Mayall, (1997) The Exercise of Turkish Foreign Policy: Ataturk to Ozal, *McNair Papers*, no. 56, Institute for National Strategic Studies-National Defense University. p 37.

[92] ORAN, Baskin ed. (2006); Türk Dış Politikası; Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar, 12.Baskı, Cilt I, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, pp. 46-49.

Emphasizing the 'non-aligned' aspect of the Kemalist foreign policy, Nur Bilge Criss states that 'to create a strong, modern state which could defend its territorial integrity and political independence, without external assistance, against external aggression; and to make Turkey a full, equal member of the Western European community of nations' became the fundamentals of Turkish foreign policy.[93]

One of the indispensable components of the Kemalist Turkish foreign policy is that it is radically pro-western[94] and has always wanted to be in the western camp. Turkey's NATO membership, Turkish-American partnership and the age old Turkish bid for EU membership can all be considered as Turkey's desire to be part of the western camp.[95] Hence, it would not be wrong to assert that the 'the Kemalist identity and its profound one dimensional pro-Western character was what dominated the Turkish foreign policy, which resulted in Turkey's utter and deliberate political, cultural and economic negligence of the Middle East, North Africa'.[96]

This brings us to one of the most criticized foreign policy practices of the Kemalist elite. The Turkish policy vis-à-vis the Middle East was largely framed by its staunch pro-Western state identity. The notion was 'to keep the hands off the Middle East'. Despite the fact that the new republic established mutual relations with the Arab

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[93] Nur Bilge Criss (1997) Turkish Foreign Policy toward the Middle East. *MERIA Journal* Volume 1, No.1. http://www.gloria-center.org/1997/01/criss-and-bilgin-1997-01-03/

[94] For example: Bacik, Gökhan/ Aras Bülent (2004); Turkey's Inescapable Dilemma: America or Europe? Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations, Vol.3, No.1, Spring 2004, pp. 57-58; Çalış, Şaban (1996); The role of identity in the making of modern Turkish foreign policy, PhD Thesis, University of Nottingham, pp. 7-8; ; Aydin, Mustafa (2004); Turkish foreign Policy: Framework and Analysis, SAM (Center for Strategic Research) Papers, December 2004, Ankara, p 9; Enes Bayrakli (2012) Turkish Foreign Policy in Transition: The Emergence of Kantian Culture in Turkish Foreign Policy (A holistic Constructivist Approach) pp. 77-78. University of Wien PhD Doctoral Dissertation; Baskin Oran's speech "Turkey's Changing Place in the World in Old Alignments and New Neighbors" at the International Conference, Oxford 30 April-2 May 2010. Published by South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX) in 2011.

[95] Bacik, Gökhan/Aras Bülent, p. 58

[96] Enes Bayrakli (2012) Turkish Foreign Policy in Transition: The Emergence of Kantian Culture in Turkish Foreign Policy (A holistic Constructivist Approach), Doctoral Sissertation, University of Wien,p. 1

states, the rule of thumb was to 'leave the Arabs alone'. The nature of the Sadabat Pact of 1937 that Turkey signed with Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan signifies that instead of engaging in pro-active alliance formation, Turkey chose to consolidate its non-interference/neutral stance toward its eastern neighborhood.[97] Therefore, it can be said that the early decades of the Turkish republic witnessed an utter deterioration of relations with the Muslim world, especially with the Middle East.[98]

Several factors came into play in this regard. First is the presence of mutual distrust. The perception that the Arabs betrayed the Turks in WWI was reciprocated by the notion that the secular, pro-western nation building efforts of M. Kemal further alienated Turkey from the Islamic world. Saban Calis and Huseyin Bagci state; "*Turkish and Arabic secular circles "sought to remove what was seen as the dead weight of Islam and the Ottoman Empire by exaggerating the differences between Arab and Turk and vilifying one another*"[99] In addition to this, the Kemalist reforms were disapproved by conservative Arabs and interpreted as Turkey's breakaway from Islam.[100]

Another blow to the Turco-Arabic relations came when the Hatay province seceded to Turkey from Syria after the plebiscite in 1939.[101] A source of further deterioration was the abrogation of the caliphate. One consequence of this move was that

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[97] Criss, Turkish Foreign Policy toward the Middle East.
[98] Saban Calis and Huseyin Bagci (1990) Ataturk's Foreign Policy Understanding and Application, http://www.iibf.selcuk.edu.tr/iibf_dergi/dosyalar/791347988248.pdf quoted in Gökalp, I. and Georgeon, F. (1990), Kemalizm ve Islam Dunyasi (Trans. By Akalin Istanbul: Araba pp:31-45
[99] Ibid quoted in Yavuz, M. H. and Khan, M. R. (Fall 1992), "Turkish Foreign Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict", Arab Studies Quarterly , Vol.14, No.4, p:71
[100] Ibid. quoted in 1993), "The Palestinian Question in Turkish Foreign Policy from the 1950s to the 1990s" International Journal of Middle, Eastern Studies, Vol.25, No.1. p:91
[101] Ibid. quoted in 1987), "Development of Turkish-Arab Relations: A Historical Perspective", in Tashan and Karaosmanoglu (eds) Middle East, Turkey and the Atlantic Alliance, Ankara: Foreign Institute, p: 13

Turkey ceased all of its claims to be the spearhead of the Islamic world.[102] Calis and Bagci argue that the idea that Turkey was no longer the leader of the Muslim world was consolidated when the removal of the caliph disappointed the hopes of people of those territories that were under the Western colonial yoke.[103]

Furthermore, due to its extreme pro-western attitude, Turkey largely overlooked the rising pan-Arab sentiments in its Middle Eastern neighborhood. For example, Turkey was the first Muslim state to recognize the state of Israel, supported the French claims against Algeria and gave permission to the American troops to use its Incirlik Base in their operations to Lebanon in 1958. Turkey further openly displayed its military along the Syrian border in 1957 after the communist military takeover in Damascus. Finally, Ankara's call for a western intervention to reinstate the monarchy in Baghdad in 1958 further deepened the chasm between the Arabs and Turks.[104]

The Kemalist ruling elite saw the Middle East and Islamic world to be the representation of backwardness, which has persisted throughout the existence of the republic.[105] In this regard Philip Robins states that *"[T]he essence of Kemalism oriented Turkey firmly toward the West to transform it into an advanced and westernized state. For well more than half a century under the rule of Ataturkists, Turkey behaved almost*

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[102] Saban Calis and Huseyin Bagci (1990) Ataturk's Foreign Policy Understanding and Application, quoted in A. J. Toynbee (1927), Survey of International Affairs 1925: The Islamic World since The Peace Settlement, Vol.1, London: Oxford Universty Press.p:179.
[103] Ibid quoted in Toynbee, 1927, pp: 62-63.
[104] Omer Taspinar (2008) Turkey's Middle East Policies: Between Neo-Ottomanism and Kemalism, Carneige Endowment, No.10, pp. 7-8.
[105] Larrabee, F. Stephen, and Ian O. Lesser (2003) Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty. Santa Monica, CA: Rand, p. 132

literally as if the Middle East did not exist. That region represented an unhappy association with Turkey's past."[106]

According to Calis and Bagci, the persistent anti-Middle Eastern/Islamic world attitude of the Kemalist elite is identity related, mandating that the republic face only towards the west, eradicating the religious traces of the Ottoman Empire. While cutting ties from its oriental and Islamic past[107] for a new and secular state, religion was not a valid basis for a political relationship in international relations as well.[108] This foreign policy implementation was consistent with the radical secularization of domestic scenery. Such a policy was "an extension of domestic law which [held] that the use of religion for political purposes is subversive to a secular state, and hence, illegal. To use religion in international politics would therefore be at odds with a clearly defined domestic policy.[109]

Another disincentive for Ataturk to develop relations with the Middle East was the fact that the region had become a competition ground for the colonizing powers, which rendered it chaotic. Furthermore, to M. Kemal, the Middle East represented a mindset, which was devoid of man-woman equality, individual rights and technological advancements. These reasons being against his understanding of modernity, M. Kemal resorted to a complete disengagement with the Middle East. Thus, as a natural outcome,

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[106] Philip Robins, (1991) Suits and Uniforms, London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs and Pinter Publishers, p. 59

[107] Saban Calis and Huseyin Bagci (2003)Ataturk's Foreign Policy Understanding and Application, SU IIBF Sosyal ve Ekonomik Arastirmalar Merkezi, 1(6), p. 203. Quoted in Geoffrey Lewis.1974. Modern Turkey, London: Ernst Benn p. 133

[108] Ibid. quoted in Richard D. Robinson. 1965. The First Turkish Republic: A Case Study in National Development, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. p: 171.

[109] Ibid. quoted in Robinson.1965. pp. 171-172.

his foreign policy neglected the Middle East and Islamic world solely concentrating on the west.[110]

To sum up, the Kemalist foreign policy aimed to perpetuate the existing status quo, refraining from any revisionist ideals that would challenge the international system. In 1921, M. Kemal said; "*Let us recognize our own limits, Turkey does not desire an inch of foreign territory, but will not give up an inch of what it holds*."[111] Turkey under M. Kemal respected the balance of power. It is because of the legacy of the early years of the republic that the Turkish foreign policy in principle was status quo oriented and stagnant. This maxim was followed by the Turkish policy makers and governments in the decades to come.

3.5.1 Kemalist Foreign Policy in Practice

The interwar period brought about important developments to the international political system, which increased the need for security. Turkey could not remain disengaged from these developments.[112]The dissolution and removal of the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire from the international system and rapid proliferation of politically and economically unstable states indicated further turmoil. Once a multi-national empire, Turkey had been reduced to being a nation state. It neither possessed the means nor aspiration for territorial expansion. What it needed was a realistic foreign policy that would resist the dangers of the international system to the best

[110] Zeyno Baran (2010) *Torn Country: Turkey between Secularism and Islamism.* Hoover Institution Press Publication. p. 107.
[111]Patrick Kinross(1993) Ataturk: The Rebirth of a Nation, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, P.458.
[112] Mustafa Kibaroğlu and Ayşegül Kibaroğlu (2009*) Global security watch-Turkey: a Reference Handbook*, Preager Security International. pp. 31-32

means possible without jeopardizing the well-being of the newly created fragile state.[113] Mustafa and Aysegul Kibaroglu state that the Kemalist answer to the emerging international security dilemma was "to create zones of peace and security in Turkey's immediate neighborhood."[114]

M. Kemal's concerns were not unjustifiable. The rising aggressive stance of the Italo-German alliance was heralding trouble for Turkey's Aegean and Mediterranean shores. The Balkans and the Middle East were not exemptions from the threat. Therefore, M. Kemal set his focus on securing Turkey's neighborhood.[115]

In his conversation with Joseph Grew, the U.S Ambassador 1927-1932, Tevfik Rüstü Aras, the foreign minister of Turkey during the Ataturk era said; "Our foreign policy is simple and direct; we seek friendship with all, alliance or groupement with none." Therefore, M. Kemal embarked on, what Mayall describes as, "a burst of pactomania."[116]

In January 1929, the Briand-Kellogg Pact was passed by the Turkish Grand Assembly stating that war was not an "instrument of national policy." Turkey signed the pact directly after the Unites States and France even though it had already signed a neutrality agreement with Rome seven months before. This neutrality pact bound both Italy and Turkey regardless of third-party involvement. It also assured arbitration to be the first plan of attack. Even though there were still unresolved issues regarding Lausanne, The Turkish-Greek accord of June 1930 led the way for amicable relations.

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[113] Mustafa Aydin (1999) Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs. *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4, Seventy-Five Years of the Turkish Republic (Oct., 1999), pp. 156
[114] Kibaroğlu and Kibaroğlu. (2009), pp. 31-32
[115] Kibaroglu and Kibaroglu. p. 32
[116] Simon V. Mayall (1997) *Turkey: Thwarted Ambition*, McNair Ppaer No: 56, p. 37

Even though Turkey has these strategic relationships with countries in their general area, Ankara knew that strategic alliances with major world powers like Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union were key to national security. This led to the Turko-Soviet Treaty of Friendship in December 1925, which assured continuous amiability with Moscow. Ankara bettered their relationship with London by welcoming the British Mediterranean fleet in October of 1929 leading to an official alliance in 1939.[117]

The encroachment of Italians in the Horn of Africa and their designs towards the east Mediterranean got Turkey, Iran and Iraq together, with the signing of the Saadabat Pact on October 2, 1935, in Geneva. Kibaroglu and Kibaroglu point out that the entente should be classified as one, which was aimed at respecting each other's territorial integrity, internal affairs and security, rather than a military agreement.[118] Kibaroglu and Kibaroglu further state that the Turkish foreign policy in the Balkans, the Middle East and eastern Mediterranean can be viewed as a "pursuit of concerted action with involvement of regional states against the threats emanating from outside the region." Turkey, as a newly established state, greatly benefited from the peace treaties. The treaties denoted that the signatory states acknowledged and respected Turkey's territorial integrity, leaving a great breathing space abroad, making it easier for Turkey to focus and consolidate the social and economic reforms, which were gravely needed to rebuild the country from the ashes of the WWI. It can be said the successful solution of the problems inherited from the Lausanne Treaty, except for the Mosul issue, can largely be considered a diplomatic achievement.[119]

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[117] Faroz Ahmad (2004) The Historical Background of Turkey's Foreign Policy, in Lenore G. Martin, Dimitris Keridis (eds), *The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy*, Belfer Center-Harvard University, p. 19
[118] Kibaroglu and Kibaroglu p. 34
[119] Ibid p. 35

Whereas the diplomatic maneuvers of Turkey between two world wars may imply an active foreign policy, it was not the desire to pursue a pro-active foreign policy, but the international system of the time required a more cautious and defense oriented foreign policy. In a sense, the Turkish foreign policy was isolationist and neutral. Brock Millman states that the purpose of Kemalist foreign policy in the early years of the republic was to;

"*...keep the alliance and cooperation with Russia in order to have secure borders in the East and the Black Sea, to ensure common action of Balkans in case of any external threat, as in the example of the Balkan Entente, and lastly the rapprochement with the West with the aim of providing security against the Italian and German threats, and to guarantee security in his South borders with Iraq and Syria.*" [120]

3.6 Summarizing the Main Principles of the Kemalist Foreign Policy

If we take into account the model used by the Kemalists, we can say that his foreign policy can be categorized as "pacifist and isolationist, legalist, pragmatist and realist."[121] These early foreign policy paradigms are a result of several different major events in Turkish history including the War of Turkish Independence, the Ottoman Empire's legacy, and the personal traits of Ataturk. Ataturk was opposed to elongated military action as Turkey was a new nation with little financial reserve, few military resources, and little energy left in the people to take on another conflict. These factors led the government to believe that their best course of action was to work on reforming themselves internally and become a passive and isolated country internationally. The

[120] Brock Millman (1995) Turkish Foreign and Strategic Policy, 1934-1942, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.31, No.3, pp.487-490.
[121] Sedat Laciner (2001) From Kemalism to Ozalism: The Ideological Evolution of Turkish Foreign Policy. Doctorate Dissertation at King's College University of London. Pp: 123-128. https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/from-kemalism-to-ozalism-the-ideological-evolution-of-turkish-foreign-policy(55e5d147-992b-4516-8b87-a215bfff71d0).html

Kemalist elite was under the impression that Turkey, like other weaker states, would benefit from the international law given that Turkey was somewhat insignificant in relation to large countries such as the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and other major powers that surrounded it. Turkey believed it was wise not to resort to military action, even for those concerning borders such as the Hatay problem and the Straits issue in order to conserve military resources and energy. Even though it would have been easy for Turkey to step in with force, it chose to utilize legal action to resolve these problems. It was the Kemalist elite who led the charge on this legalist approach in order to be considered part of the "civilized" Western world. This legalistic approach continued to be an important strategy even after the era of Ataturk.[122]

Neutrality is also a cornerstone of foreign policy for the Kemalist elites due to the reasons stated above as well as the unfortunate alliance of the Ottoman Empire with Germany leading to disaster. This led Turkey to avoid partnerships politically or militarily in order to keep the peace with strong countries within their region such as Italy or the Soviet Union. The Balkan Pact and the Bagdad Pact don't seem to align with Turkey's neutral stance except that they were entered into as a defensive measure and not in relation to any particular third party. One of the strongest examples of Turkey's neutral stance in foreign relations was during World War II, during which time Turkey adamantly remained neutral.[123]

Sedat Laciner concurs that Kemalism was a revolutionary movement with unbendable dogmas but adds that it was a pragmatic one too. Just as the Ottoman Empire had to play off between the great powers for its survival, exploiting their competition, M.

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[122] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism p. 126
[123] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism p. 127

Kemal too followed the same balancing policy. Whereas Turkey benefited from the Communist Soviet Union in military and financial aid, it also pursued good relations with the British, Italians and the French to counterbalance Russia. [124] Even at the time when Hitler and Mussolini were rising, Turkey sought to maintain relations both with Germany and Italy as well as Britain, the United States and France.[125]

3.7 Conclusion

Understanding conditions out of which the Kemalist ideology was born, the process whereby it gained prominence as well as the course it took to consolidate itself in the early decades of newly created republic are important to elaborate and understand for there is a strong relationship between the aforementioned aspects of Kemalism and the manner in which the Turkish foreign policy was shaped and implemented in the decades during and after the time of Mustafa Kemal, the founder and the ideological father of the Republic of Turkey.

Mustafa Kemal was a prominent soldier, who served in the ever crumbling Ottoman Empire. More importantly he took part in the Turco-Italian War of 1911-1912, the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, and World War I that sealed the fate of the empire as well as the subsequent War of Turkish Independence after which he became the sole leader of Turkey.

Several ideologies surfaced aspiring to save the empire from collapsing. The relevance and fate of these ideologies were largely determined by the political and military developments that took place in the last decades of the empire. For instance the Ottomanism was proposed to create a feeling of unity among the Ottoman subjects

[124] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism, p.127.
[125] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism, p. 128.

(especially Muslims and Christians) by elevating the status of the latter to the former throughout the empire. Although this idea gained prominence after the Greek independence in 1832 to prevent other non-Muslim entities rising and declaring independence, the increasing Russian, British and French intervention in the Ottoman domestic affairs, (especially with regards to Bulgarians and Armenians as well as the territories lost in the Balkans), rendered the Ottomanist ideology irrelevant. The Ottoman statesmen turned to Islam, thus pan-Islamism, in their attempt to gain the support of the Muslim subjects especially in the Middle East, which came to be the last remaining territory outside of Anatolia, (today's Turkey). However, as was the case with the Greeks, Armenians and other non-Muslim subjects, the Muslims of the Middle East were not immune to the European meddling. The rise of the Arab nationalistic sentiments among the Muslims in the Middle East, especially instigated by the British and the French and the subsequent Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire surely showed that the efforts to promote the concept of *Ummah,* the unity among Muslims*,* was pointless.

The apparent failure of the Ottomanism and pan-Islamism justified the rise of the pro-western, secular/positivist and nationalistic pan-Turkist ideology. Having lost the Balkan and Middle Eastern territories, for the Ottoman Turks, Anatolia was left to be the only remaining territorial entity on which they could survive. In other words, Anatolia represented the maximum extent of the territorial retreat. It is this point that Mustafa Kemal gained prominence. He and his comrades not only fought against the invading forces of Britain, France, Italy, Greece, Russia and Armenia, they embarked on a struggle against the Ottoman sultan, who they accused of being a collaborator and traitor in the face of the invasion of Anatolia, the only remaining territory for the Turks.

The end of the World War I sealed the fate of the 600 year old Ottoman Empire. It is this point that Mustafa Kemal rose to prominence by cleaning the Turkish heartland of the invading forces after the Turkish War of Independence and establishing the Republic out of the ashes of the imploded Ottoman Empire. His policies in the aftermath of the declaration of the republic were reflective of his world view as well as his experiences when he was an officer in the Ottoman Army. For once, he wanted a clean slate and completely detached the newly established state from its predecessor. This required radical decisions and their implementation in the same manner they had been envisaged. Not only was the state to be created but also the society, (which had inherited the Ottoman past), had to be molded and modified into the newly created state and its machinery. Therefore, anything reminiscence of the Ottoman was to be eradicated. The influence of Islam in state and society was reduced to the lowest level possible. The caliphate and monarchy were abolished. Secularism became one of the most important pillars of the Kemalist worldview. This Kemalist ideology impacted the foreign policy. The perception that the Arabs sided with the invading forces during the WWI as well as the perception that the Middle East represented backwardness and Islam created two of the Kemalist foreign policy principles; to remain distant from the Middle East as much as possible and to not conduct foreign policy based on religious affiliation. The extent of Turkey's relations with the Middle East, therefore, was limited to establishing defensive pacts; such was the case with the Sadabad Pact of 1937. As Larrabee put; "... *more than half a century under the rule of Kemalists, Turkey behaved almost literally as if the Middle East did not exist. That region represented an unhappy association with Turkey's past*."[126]

[126] Larrabee, F. Stephen, and Ian O. Lesser (2003*) Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*. Santa

This is in conjunction with another important aspect of the Turkish foreign policy; overwhelming pro-Westernism - the new republic and its people ought to solely pursue Western/European values, which would promote advancement and prosperity in Turkey. The Kemalist paradigm, therefore, staunchly aspired for Turkey to be part of the West. Turkey's desire to become a member of the European Union and the NATO membership, although the Soviet threat played a role to a great extent, can be cited as notable examples of this aspect of Turkish foreign policy.

Furthermore, despite the victory in the war of independence, the newly established republic was rather frail due to the devastation of WWI, therefore M. Kemal focused on reinforcing its existence through international recognition, which led to a very cautious, status quo oriented foreign policy understanding. In fact, it can be said that M. Kemal spent most of his energy to domestically consolidate the foundations of the republic as well as to preserve the hard earned borders of the country.

Finally, the painful experiences of WWI traumatized the Turkish policy makers and people, which generated the perception that Turkey is surrounded, from within and abroad, by enemies. They, who have intended to destroy the Turkish nation before, are relentless in their aspirations and if the Turkish state is rendered weak, especially militarily, they would not hesitate to accomplish their unfinished task of destroying the Turkish nation. The Sevres Syndrome, in other words, led to the securitization of Turkish foreign policy throughout the decades to come. This notion later was perpetuated by the Turkish Armed Forces and its intervention in civilian politics was thereby encouraged and justified by the Kemalist elite.

Monica, CA: Rand, p. 132.

All the above mentioned considered, M. Kemal and the new Kemalist elite crafted a new foreign policy culture whereby Turkey is to be part of the west, keeps its relations with the Middle East and the Muslim world minimum, remains reserved, status quo oriented and reactive. Such new policy culture called for a state machine that would ensure its consolidation and perpetuation.

The next chapter will examine the components of this machinery and how it created and maintained the fundamentals of the Kemalist paradigm in Turkey.

CHAPTER 4. THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION of THE KEMALIST ELITE AND THE KEMALIST BUREAUCRACY

4.1 Introduction

The discussion of the elite formation and the subsequent institutionalization of the elite is an important part of the paradigm shift debate. As mentioned earlier, Reardon states that paradigm shifts can be either comprehensive or sectoral. The former takes place in such a radical manner that the new elite's complex learning process may result in the complete rejection of the polity adaptations embraced by the country's ruling elites. For example in 1917 and 1949 when the Soviet and the Chinese communist revolutionaries became the new ruling elites; they fundamentally transformed the state's political, economic and social structures.[127] Additionally, Carson et al. argue that replacing an earlier elite to institutionalize the new paradigm may occur by relying on force, as in coup d'état or violent revolution, through democratic process, such as elections or nominations, societal negotiation, or generational cohort shift. A new group or coalition with a new paradigm or model of institutional arrangements appears on the scene and assumes a position of power, enabling it to bring about a substantial shift in the institutional paradigm and arrangements. This may be, but is not necessarily, proceeded by a breakdown in consensus among established power elites about the appropriate

[127] Lawrance C. Reardon. (2012) Shifting Global Paradigms and Obama's Adaptive Foreign Policy, in William Crotty (ed.). *The Obama Presidency: Promise and Performance*, Lexington Books. pp. 116-17

paradigm or about reform of the existing paradigm.[128] This being said, in the following section I will discuss about the elite formation and consolidation process in Turkey.

4.2 Creation of the Kemalist Elite

Unlike most European modernity efforts, the Turkish modernity, for almost two hundred years, during the Ottoman and the Turkish Republic, was top-down. The Ottoman Empire, especially in the last decades of its life, had its own elitism culture. Therefore, it is not surprising that the newly established Turkish republic, although having severed all ties with its predecessor, inherited this elitism culture. Considering the fact that the military-bureaucratic elite were the spearhead of modernity in the Ottoman Empire, they too became the new elite of the newly established republic.[129] Therefore it is vital to examine the nature of the new Kemalist Turkish elite as it had effectively controlled the Turkish politics, military, legal system, economy and almost the entire aspect of life in the country. I believe that the establishment and the consolidation of the new elite created a new paradigm in the new republic, which was defined by their own terms. However, it is the increasing friction, especially after the 1950s, between the new elite (the core) and the rural Anatolia (the periphery) that determined the Turkish domestic and foreign politics for decades to come. Therefore, examination of the Kemalist elite is important to establish a solid ground in the discussion of the paradigm shift.

Dietrich Jung and Wolfgang Picolli's explanation of the nature of the new Turkish elite is precise. They argue that;

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[128] Carson et al. p. 388

[129] Dietrich Jung and Wolfgang Piccoli (2001) *Turkey at the Crossroads: Ottoman Legacies and a Greater Middle East,* Palgrave, p. 100

"In a clear analogy with still vivid forms of patriarchal authority, high-ranking Turkish bureaucrats view the state as a father figure acting with compassion and justice towards its children. Although an initiator of democratic procedures, the bureaucracy perceives democratic rules merely juridical forms. From the bureaucratic perspective, it is the bureaucracy itself that designates democratic structures as a formal set of rules. Democracy therefore has to facilitate policies thorough enlightened debate rather than organize conflicting ideas and interests through adversarial politics. Consequently, the bureaucratic detestation of party politics resembles that of military and like the generals; bureaucrats consider themselves as being apart from and above the rest of society." [130]

M. Kemal moved forward with extensive reforms once he knew that the elite were the ruling party as he then had the power to redesign the way the government and society functioned. He found no opposition and even enjoyed loyalty from all institutions. M. Kemal instituted important societal changes to the Ottoman tradition.[131]

In 1925, both the religious shrines and the dervish convents were closed followed by turban and fez from as far back as Sultan Mahmut II being prohibited and replaced with the more Western hat or cap. The general population stubbornly resisted these cultural changes as the shrines and convents played an important role in the Muslim life led by a majority of the population and the Westernized hat flew in the face of Islam as being a symbol of Christianity. In order to suppress the resistance to these changes, the Independence Tribunals were utilized under the power of the Law on the Maintenance of Order. This law brought about the arrest of 7500 Turks with 660 of them being executed. M. Kemal continue to deviate from the Ottoman culture in the beginning of 1926 by

[130] Jung and Piccoli, p. 100, quoted from (Heper 1993, 39-42)
[131] Laciner, p. 89.

replacing what was cultural with the European calendar, the civil code from Switzerland, and Italy's penal code. Several laws passed to restructure the banking sector and all courtesy titles were done away with except for those in the military.[132] The Kemalist government instituted these changes to usher the society into Western methods, which they considered more civilized. [133]

A final attempt to stop these reforms barely made it off the ground. Those attempting to obstruct the reforms by assassinating Kemal were arrested by security forces. Some of those groups who were involved in the alleged conspiracy included the Islamists. Some liberals claimed that the reports of an assassination attempt were simply a counter-conspiracy by the Kemal regime to blame those who opposed their changes. Whether this is true or not, M. Kemal took advantage of this supposed assassination attempt to put down any remaining opposition to his government. Most of the Unionists also known as the People's Republican Party (or PRP), except Hüseyin Rauf and Adnan, they were arrested and charged with the planning of a rebellion. Sixteen of the PRP members were executed. Kazim Karabekir, All Fuat, Cafer Tayyar and Refet, leading military heroes, were handed pardons to placate the masses and because they were no longer a threat to the Kemalist regime.[134]

The changes made by the Kemalist government flowed into the 1930s without much opposition. During these changes, M. Kemal strengthened the alliance among the Party (PRP), military, government, and the intellectuals, all Kemalist groups. The ideology set forth by Kemal was named Atatürkcülük or Kemalizm but was truly more a

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[132] Erik Zürcher (2004) *Turkey: A Modern History* (3rd Edition). London, GBR: I.B. Tauris, p. 173. Quoted from Mete Tuncay (1989) T.C.'de tek Parti Yonetiminin Kurulmasi (1923– 1931), Istanbul: Cem, 169. This figure does not include the (much higher) number of executed deserters.
[133] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism, p. 90
[134] ibid

description of the spirit behind his ideals than a true detailed ideology.[135]These reforms to modernize Turkey culturally and socially were unprecedented and were presented with the belief that the new Kemal elite were the only and best resort for the nation.[136]

Due to the overwhelming control of Turkish politics by the Kemal regime, Kemalism, the state, and the PRP became considered one and the same; thus any opposition to any of these was considered treason. In order for the regime to convert the Turkish nation to its Kemalist views of building a new Westernist nation, they launched a campaign by the state, the party, the official (and only legal) press, and schools. This attempt to bring all Turks on board utilized not only Kemal's ideals but also heroic images. This campaign came to be called the Ataturkculestirme (convert people Kemalist) and even infiltrated elementary schools. Kemal's purpose was to create a new nation free from religion and negativity and filled with nationalists. Through heavy political propaganda, a new generation of Turks was growing up who would be taking over as the country's elite.[137]

The memoirs of journalist Selahaddin Gungor describes dramatically what effect this propaganda had on the people of Turkey: *`It was nighttime, and I was sleeping. I woke up when my older brother started to shake. He was shouting `Wake up... Hurry. I will take you to Atatürk. 'I thought I was in a dream: `Atatürk? You are kidding me. Can eyes see Atatürk? 'I asked my parents, `Atatürk is God? Does he eat? Does he drink like us? '...* " [138]

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[135] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism, p. 91
[136] Vahram Ter-Matevosyan (2011) Republican Origins of Kemalism: The Early Phase of its Evolution Framing the Personalizarion of Kemalism, International Review of Turkish Studies (IRTS), Winter, Volume:1, Issue:4, p. 52.
[137] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism, p. 91
[138] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism p. 91 quoted from Selahaddin Gungor, Cumhuriyet (Daily, Istanbul), 15 November 1938.

The group that claimed and consolidated the power were soon called the Kemalists[139] or the Kemalist elite. Laciner argues that allegiance to the state of the Kemalist elite was not solely on ideological grounds but also stemmed from the fact that they deemed it to be their biggest source of wealth. The party of the Kemalist elite, People's Republican Party, had quickly been turned into an instrument used to handle the state funds and offered the ruling Kemalist elite a social status and a lifestyle. To Laciner, this occurrence created a chasm between the ruling elite (the Kemalists) and the rest of the Turks (later called the "the Anatolian people"). The difference between the two could be seen in their lifestyle. For example, whereas the Kemalists found such habits as drinking, dating, and wearing mini skirt acceptable, the Anatolian conservatives would frowned upon these habits. Over time, the Kemalist elite began to perceive itself as the guardian of the state, considering the party and the state integral. Because of this reason M. Kamal assigned the elite the duty of protecting and perpetuating the reforms.[140] In one of his speeches he summarized the Kemalist elite's role as follows:

`The duty of these citizens [intellectuals and the Kemalist elite] is to mix the best path to follow in order to ensure their progress and their renaissance. That is how I see our people. The interests of different groups can be reconciled perfectly and there are no means of dividing them into classes. All our citizens enter into the group, which we call the People. Thus the People's Party will be the school of education in citizenship for all our people. ' [141]

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[139] Ibid.
[140] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism, pp. 91-92.
[141] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism p. 92. Quoted from John Parker and Charles Smith, Modern Turkey, (London: Routledge, 1940), p. 72.

Having monopolized the governance and possessed '*locus standi*', the Kemalist elite differed from the European middle class, (which sought compromise between the upper and the lower classes), in that it was ideologically oriented and tends to possess autocratic leanings, which is very typical of the third world bureaucracy and intelligentsia. This uncompromising nature of relations between the Kemalist elite (the core) and the Anatolian majority (the periphery) would, in the second part of the 20th century, become a major issue. Omer Taspinar states that the governments in this period ruled "For the people, despite the people!"[142]

The party became a medium, in its conventions and meetings, where the state ideology and policies were discussed and created. One example of the symbiotic relations, to Laciner, was that the rural representatives of the party were, at the same time, the governors of their provinces, who represented the state there. Furthermore, the chief of the party was also the head of the state. This was placed in the constitution and the party program in 1937. [143]

While the party served as a means of governance, it was also used to educate the Kemalist class. The Halkevleri (People's Houses) and schools played a great role in this. In addition, the party was used to make Kemalism, what Laciner calls, "a frozen ideology", which cannot be disputed or revised. In time, the Kemalism grew not only to be an ideology but also it came to represent the interest of the Kemalist elite. The elite never wanted to lose the privileges and their yoke over the state they attained through Kemalism.[144] The 1935 PRP Program stated; "*the fundamental ideas that make up of the*

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[142] Omer Taspinar (2012) Turkey: the New Model, Brookings, April 2012. http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2012/04/24-turkey-new-model-taspinar
[143] Ibid.
[144] Laciner, p. 93 and 98, 99.

PRP party program are the same as the implementations of the Kemalist Turkish revolution…and implementation of these extend well into the future."[145]

Furthermore, the party officials ensured that the Kemalist ideology become a "frozen ideology" by elevating it to such dogmatic levels so that is it not debated or opposed. That is to say any challenging counter argument against Kemalism not only meant a defamation of the ideology but the elite per se. The amalgamation of the party and the state affairs created a situation where, the opposition to the misdeeds of the Kemalist elite and the opposition to the state became blurry. Laciner argues that Ataturk used the foreign policy to underpin his political and economic reforms at home. Therefore, due to the autocratic nature of the Kemalist system, it would not have been possible to "produce a pluralistic foreign policy" in which he was the sole decision maker in foreign policy. [146]

The following section discusses the nature and the development of the Kemalist bureaucracy. The important point to be taken into consideration in the following is the reaction of the Kemalist elite/bureaucracy[147] (the core) to the rise of the opposition, which is defined as the "periphery". The power struggle between the two, especially after the advent of true democratic elections in 1950 defined the political, social and economic evolution of Turkey in the second half of the 20th century.

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[145] The PRP's 1935 party program, pp.1-2. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/eyayin/GAZETELER/WEB/KUTUPHANEDE%20BULUNAN%20DIJITAL%20KAYNAKLAR/KITAPLAR/SIYASI%20PARTI%20YAYINLARI/197000602%20CHP%20PROGRAMI%201935/197000602%20CHP%20PROGRAMI%201935%200001-0068%20BOLUM%2001.pdf
[146] Laciner, p. 93.
[147] The terms elite and bureaucracy are used interchangeably.

4.3 The Ruling Kemalist Bureaucracy

4.3.1 Bureaucracy

As mentioned earlier, there was an intricate cohabitation between the Kemalist bureaucracy and the leadership. The same was the case with the foreign policy bureaucracy. This bureaucracy had been the forerunners of the westernization attempts and reforms in the last phases of the Ottoman Empire. It did not change with the advent of the republic. From Ismet Inonu to Tevfik Rustu Aras, the ministers were replaced but the bureaucracy remained largely unchanged. Dankwart A. Rustow states that 93% of the Ottoman staff officers and 85% of the civil servants had continued to occupy their positions even after the fall of the Ottoman Empire.[148] This ensured the continuity and constancy of foreign affairs bureaucracy. Moreover, the republic era foreign bureaucracy revered M. Kemal, hailing him as a hero.[149] Therefore, the foreign ministry has been one of the staunchest advocates of Kemalism in Turkish bureaucracy. [150]

Ataturk believed that the bureaucrats had a duty to control the society from political, economic and social perspectives. Ilter Turan states that the Kemalist bureaucracy is regulative rather than representative or mobilizational when it comes to governance. As they are the representatives of the state across Turkey, they are responsible for the entirety of people. In the words of Turan, `*the ruled were seen not as citizens but as subjects whose prime duty was obedience to their benevolent rulers*."[151]

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[148]Laciner, p. 94. Quoted from: Dankwart A. Rustow, "the Military" in Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow eds. Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey Princeton University Press 1964, p. 384.
[149] Laciner, p. 94. Quoted from: Feridun Cemil Erkin, Disislerinde 34 Yil, Anilar-Yorumlar, 1. Cilt, (34 Years in Foreign Ministry, Memories-Comments, Vol.1), (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1980)
[150] Laciner, p. 95 Quoted from Turan, Continuity… p. 163.
[151] Ilter Turan (1984) Continuity and Change in Turkish Bureaucracy: The Kemalist Period and After in Jacob M. Landau ed., *Ataturk and Modernization*, Westview Press, p. 103.

Ataturk adopted what J.H.G. von Justi called the machine model. According to this, "*A properly constituted state must be exactly analogous to a machine, in which all the wheels and gears are precisely adjusted to one another and the ruler must be the foreman, the mainspring, or the soul, which sets everything in motion*."[152]

Metin Heper argues that M. Kemal believed that the government should function like a machine. Even the Turkish Grand National Assembly, which according to Ataturk was "substratum administrative", was no exception. The civil bureaucracy was "a lesser part of the governmental machine, a mere instrument (*kabil-i istimal bir cihaz*)". As in the Prussia of Frederick II (1740- 1786), it should be an impersonal organization structured on the basis of strict hierarchy and staffed by civil servants acting in accordance with the letter of the law; these functionaries should receive a practically oriented education. To Heper, Ataturk revived the Turkish version of Richelieu's *commissaire*- the agent of monarchical discipline. [153]

Von Justi says Ataturk was not part of the machine but a supervisor of its working.[154] He wanted more than efficiency; the civil servants were to be loyal to the Republic's goals (Cumhuriyet Mefkuresi). For them, rationality would be defined in the form of the Kemalist principles of republicanism, nationalism, populism, secularism, etatism and reformism.[155] Finally, Heper argues that "*the bureaucratic ruling tradition during the early republican period was similar to Plato's government by guardians who personified the essence of the public interest and the approved ideology and, and who*

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[152] Martin Krygier (1979) State and Bureaucracy in Europe: the Growth of a Concept, in Eugena Kamenka and Maartin Krygier, eds., Bureaucracy: The Career Concept, London: Edward Arnold, p. 17.
[153] Metin Heper, (1984) Ataturk and Civil Bureaucracy, in Jacob M. Landau, Ataturk and Modernization of Turkey, Westview Press, p. 92
[154] Heper, p. 92
[155] Ibid

were to be their devoted instruments."[156] As the perceived threat from the multi-party system mounted, the bureaucracy's reflex was to resist the change, which also threatened their privileges and "caste characteristics". In order to preserve it, they pursued "negative politics", denouncing the legislation, to which they officially were accountable.[157]

4.3.2 The Beginning of the Multi-Party Era and its Implications for the Kemalist Elite

As was discussed previously, the earlier years of the republic was marked by the conception and implementation of top-to-down reforms, which turned the new regime into a more authoritarian one. With the dominance of the single party and its intertwined relation with the state contributed to this authoritarian role even more. The year 1946 was a milestone for Turkish democracy. The devastating effects of WWII on Turkey, (although remaining neutral), were excruciating. The already weak economy was on the verge of collapse. The only immediate solution was to accept the American aid, which was to be released on the condition that the Inonu government allows for a multiparty democracy. Then head of PRP Ismet Inonu had no choice but to accept the American financial aid. The dissidents from the ruling People's Republican Party (PRP), notably Adnan Menderes, Fatin Rustu Zorlu and Hasan Polatkan, formed the Democrat Party (DP). It was now evident that the PRP and DP were the embodiment of the ideological fissure that first surfaced during the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), those who advocated statist, centralized, strictly secular polity and those who advocated a more decentralized governance, liberal economy and less strict form of secularism.[158]

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[156] Heper, p. 93 (Quoted from Fritz Morstein Mary, The Administrative State: An Introduction to Bureacuracy (The University of Chicago Press, 1957, p. 55.
[157] Heper, p. 93
[158] Meliha Benli Altunisik and Özlem Tür (2004) *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change,* New York: Routledge, p. 25.

The first multi-party elections, although not considered fully fair, yielded 62 seats for the DP. However, the following elections in 1950 resulted in what Feroz Ahmad calls "A White Revolution"[159] in which the DP gained a whopping 415 seats while the PRP got only 69.[160] This marked an important shift in Turkish politics in that for the first time the change came from bottom to top, as people displayed their displeasure to the single party regime. What was important about the overwhelming victory of DP is that it showed that the party of M. Kemal had lost the support of the masses and when given a chance, those masses would display their dissatisfaction.[161]

What was remarkable about the decisive victory of the DP was that the governance that had been limited to the privileged elite was now open to the vast majority of the republic.[162] Furthermore, for the first time in history, the Turks determined their government with a bottom to top approach.[163]

The DP government displayed considerable differences compared to the PRP. The majority of the DP members consisted of rural youth as well as those people who had little or no connection with the established Kemalist elite and bureaucracy. The DP election campaigns showed the ideological differences too. The party demanded religious freedom, support for private entrepreneurship, political and economic liberalization. Furthermore, as opposed to the heavily centralized Kemalist type bureaucracy, the DP advocated granting local governments more sovereignty. This created a conflict of

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[159] Feroz Ahmad (1977) *Turkish Experiment in Democracy*, London C. Hurst, p. 38.
[160] Suleyman Gungor (2010) 14 Mayis 1950 Secimleri ve CHP'de Bunalim, SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Mayıs, Sayı: 21, p. 202
[161] ibid.
[162] Cihat Goktepe, The Menderes Period (1950-1960), The Journal of Turkish Weekly, April 13, 2005. Quoted from: Ali Yaşar Sarıbay, "The Dmocratic Party, 1946-1960, in Political Parties and Democracy in Turkey, ed. Metin Heper&Jacob M. Landau, I. B. Tauris, London 1991, pp. 119-133 http://www.turkishweekly.net/article/60/the-menderes-period-1950-1960.html
[163] Cihat Goktepe, The Menderes Period.

interest between the elected government and the established bureaucracy. In this regard Erik Jan Zurcher says: "*In the period of PRP government, the state administration and party organization were so bound up with each other that the party became one of means of state only to inspect and administrate society. With the coming of DP to power, eventually this relation was cut off. Democrats did not trust bureaucracy and army that were inherited from the previous administration, and thus they were struggling too much to take them under control. For this reason, there emerged a new tendency of unification between state and party, particularly at the top of state. In addition, what was different from the Kemalist period was that party controlled bureaucracy*."[164]

Until the advent of the DP, the state and political elite coexisted harmoniously which are called 'unity of elites', Ali Yasar Saribay states;

"*Under the Kemalist rule, the elite is said to have become accustomed to unchallenged power and the prestige that accompanied it. Thus the PRP was bureaucratized and bureaucratic and political power was fused to create an apparatus to impose the officials' will on the public."*[165]

However, 'unity of elite' was disrupted with the DP in power. The Democrat's distrust toward established bureaucracy and military prompted the new government to resort to some measures, one of which was 'to try to separate the CHP from the state'. As Yapp argues, the new government launched several measures 'to try to separate the CHP from the state'.[166]

In 1951, the DP closed Halk Evleri (the People's Houses), which were considered

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[164] Zürcher, Modernleşen Türkiye p. 322
[165] Meliha Benli Altunisik and Özlem Tür (2004) *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change* (New York: Routledge, 30, cited from Ali Yasar Saribay, The Democratic Party, 1946-1960, in Metin Heper and Jacob Landau, Political Parties and Democracy in Turkey, I.B Tauris, 1991, p. 128.
[166] M.E. Yapp (2013) *The Making of the Modern Middle East*, 1792-1923, Routledge, p. 313

to be the propaganda tools for the PRP. In 1953, the government usurped the CUP properties including the Ulus newspaper, which belonged to the party. [167]

Ercüment Yavuzalp, who served the foreign affairs in the Menderes period and used to be the private secretary of Menderes, summarizes the foreign policy of the Menderes era:

"*When Menderes came to power, the main purpose of foreign policy for Menderes remained behind what it should have been, and thus he believed that it needed the first priority. In order to achieve a substantial economic development, he thought that the security of country should be relied upon strong bases. The purpose of Menderes was to get rid of the state as being the state of a small minority and having a few developed centers but to make it a state which would expand from top to bottom throughout the country and to defeat poverty. For this reason, it was necessary to abandon the most praised past but to accept that our country was undeveloped without being in complex and then to make effort to get rid of this condition. Thus, it was necessary to resolve the question of security in the foreign policy, which was not only a vital priority, but at the same times it needed an urgent action*."[168]

Another striking aspect of the DP government was that its support base was composed of businessmen, tradesmen, small businesses, conservatives, Islamists, religious people, villagers and liberals. Thanks to economic and political liberalization

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[167] Meliha Benli Altunisik and Özlem Tür (2004) *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change* (New York: Routledge, 30

[168] Cihat Goktepe, The Menderes Period (1950-1960), The Journal of Turkish Weekly, April 13, 2005, cited from Ercüment Yavuzalp, Liderlerimiz ve Dis Politika, Bilgi yay. Ankara, 1996, pp. 74-75 http://www.turkishweekly.net/print.asp?type=2&id=60

the support base of the DP became wider. This support balanced the opposition, and gave the DP public support in foreign policy problems.[169]

It was clear that the DP would follow policies different from those of traditional Kemalist. However, the members of the DP never argued that they were embarking on a cleansing project against the Kemalist revolution, but claimed to be against the PRP. As the anti-PRP rhetoric began to be uttered more explicitly, the threat perception of the established Kemalist elite became more grounded. While the DP became the government of the state, the Kemalists still had a tight grip on civil and military bureaucracy. Thus a hidden opposition against the DP, besides the PRP, began to form. Therefore, one can say that early 1950s witnessed the birth of the hidden opposition of the civil and military bureaucracy against future popularly elected governments. Such opposition would in later decades incite and/or stage military coups that would topple governments that they perceived non-Kemalist.

Laciner argues that during the Inonu era, the Turkish bureaucracy gained its real class-consciousness. Therefore, when an outsider with different ideology and agenda, the DP, came to power, the civil and military bureaucracy, who had perceived themselves the owner and the protector of the Kemalist state, considered it as a source of threat to their privileges.

This led to a situation where the Kemalists no longer constituted the sole owner of power but part of it. The business class and working class, which were not really represented by the previous PRP government now found an opportunity to express themselves. The economic and political liberalization allowed once suppressed portion of society to have more upward mobility. One of the results was the internal migration

[169] Laciner, The Democratic… p. 150

where those people who lived in Anatolia, which also was called "the periphery", began to move to the urban areas, which had traditionally been occupied by the elite. This social movement manifested itself in bureaucracy too.[170]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was no exception. Due to the inherent Kemalist structure of the ministry, the diplomats were uneasy about the ongoing changes in the society and the ministry. For instance, then ambassador Mahmut Dikerdem called Koprulu, the first Democratic Minister of Foreign Affairs, a koylu (villager, a pejorative term).The established bureaucracy in the Ministry opposed Prime Minister Adnan Menderes' overt pro-American stance. The Ministry had been the leader of the Westernism in Turkey, yet they were publicly against activist interventionism. The Turkish diplomats' memoirs prove that the Ministry was particularly against the Democrats' Middle Eastern policy as it was viewed as a clear deviation from Kemalist foreign policy.[171] Indeed for the Kemalist bureaucracy the DP did not take the Kemalist foreign policy principles into consideration when it was forming Turkey's external relations. For them, the Democrats neglected secularism, pacifism, realism, legalism and the non-alignment of principles of Kemalism.[172]

It did not take long for the DP to take aim at the foreign ministry bureaucracy. For example, ambassadors were being replaced with those who were close to the ideology of DP, even with the relatives of the DP members. For example, then foreign minister Fatin Rustu Zorlu's brother, Rifki Rustu Zorlu served as the Turkish ambassador to Cairo between 1954 and 1957.[173]

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[170] Laciner, The Democratic p. 151-152
[171] Laciner, The Democratic Foreign Policy Approach, pp. 151-152.
[172] Laciner, The Democratic Foreign Policy Approach, p. 152.
[173] ibid

The Arabic call to prayer was once again permitted throughout the country being reinstated in every mosque overnight and Islamic education was expanded to the point that instead of opting in to religious education, parents had to opt out which was rare due to social pressure. Even the number of schools for preachers was greater. More mosques were built every day and religious literature was once again published and sold throughout the country. The Democratic Party's secular form of government was very similar to that seen in the 1950's under the PRP. Even with all of the religious freedom, Kemal Pilavoğlu, leader of the Ticani dervish order, was arrested, sent to prison, and then put under house arrest after leading members of the Ticani dervish order chose to destroy busts of Atatürk after the victory of the DP's election.[174]

The Democratic Party continued to integrate religion into the government and preachers remained civil servants. Even the existence of autonomous religious organizations like brotherhoods were accepted and validated when the DP accepted the help of the religious Nurcu movement in the elections of 1954 and 1957. All of this came together to support the DP's belief that religion was compatible with development. However, this admission threatened the ruling power of the educated elite. Civil servants, teachers, academics, and officers who had internalized the Kemalist viewpoint owed their elite status to the fact that they supported the positivist, Western outlook. Zurcher states that all this led these Kemalist advocates to believe that the DP was betraying their traditions by openly supporting the Islam religion. This mindset was particularly held by the military, which saw themselves as the keepers of Atatürk's heritage.[175]

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[174] Meliha Benli Altunisik and Özlem Tür, Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change, p.30
[175] ibid

Its rivals saw the DP as a party bent on integrating Islam back into Turkish politics. In actuality, the Democrats were trying to make the modernization project acceptable to the masses as opposed to it being considered elitist. In order to aid in this, the DP opened the secularization pillar to debate and allowed room for religion, thus uniting the rural masses behind capitalist development, nationalism, and greater support of Westernization.[176]

With the Turkish rural population moving in larger numbers into urban areas, the relaxation of secularist policies allowed the masses to bring their Muslim faith with them into the cities. This is considered a great resurgence of Islam within Turkey by intellectuals at this time and later. Even though Muslim fundamentalist groups were at work, it was truly the traditional culture of the masses that reasserted its self to bring Islam back to the forefront.[177]

With the Democratic Party coming to power, Turkey experienced a new Assembly and truly a new government as the DP members were dramatically different from those in the Kemalist regime. For example, the average age of the DP MPs was much younger than the Kemalists during their time of ruling. Also, their election districts and supporters were more intimate. Because the Kemalist regime was made up of the elite, there was a higher percentage of highly educated people than what was seen in the DP. Perhaps the most marked difference between the governments of the DP and the PRP was that the PRP leadership was made up of a lot of members of bureaucratic or military

[176] Altunisik and Tur, p.30
[177] Erci J. Zurcher, Turkey: A Modern History, p. 234

backgrounds compared to the Democrats. These differences show that a dramatically dissimilar government came to power in Turkey with the Democratic Party.[178]

4.3.3 The DP and Kemalist Foreign Policy Bureaucracy

American-style Westernism was the goal of the Democratic Party as opposed to the PRP's radical Republican Westernism based on the French Revolution. This new kind of Westernism was a slow change as opposed to a quick and complete revolution.[179]

The goal of the Democratic Party was to create a "little United States" out of Turkey due to their belief in the political and financial model of the United States. It must be stated that the İnönü government too attempted to strengthen its friendship with the US after World War II and even suggested changing some of the Turkish politics to better resemble those in America. As a result, Turkey brought the multi-party regime into their system. However, the PRP's embracing pro-American policies was tactical. Whereas İnönü, thus the Kemalists, were of the opinion that the pro-American foreign policy was purely instrumental for survival under the conditions of the time and required for American aid, to Menderes and the DP, Americanism was more than an instrument, it was considered a goal, which was liberal, Western and democratic. The Kemalist regime was against the Democratic Party's form of Americanism, stating that the DP was not aiming to Westernize Turkey but to make it truly a Western institution.[180]

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[178] Cihan Goktepe, The Menderes Period (1950-1960) The Journal of Turkish Weekly, Quoted from: Erik Jan Zürcher, Moderleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi, İletişim, İstanbul 1998, p. 321 http://www.turkishweekly.net/article/60/the-menderes-period-1950-1960.html

[179] Laciner states that while the Republican Westernism was revolutionary, the people's choice and welfare were the priorities in DP policies. For the DP, people should decide their own fate, not the elite. They argued that the state was the servant of the people and the state was for the people. The Democratic Westernism was also secular, yet it did not consider religion as dangerous.

[180] Laciner, pp. 114-115 Quoted from: Niyazi Berkes, 'Satılık Memleket' (A Home-country to Sale), Yön, No. 98, 12 February 1965, p. 8.

The Democratic Party viewed American civilization as the ultimate goal for Turkey as opposed to the PRP who left no doubt that they were opposed to American values. Because of this, the DP saw itself as representing the people of Turkey in their governmental transformation into a land that is modern, democratic, liberal, and lining up with the Western ideals. All of this led the DP to model a systematic American approach to politics and pioneered the Americanist political regime in their country.[181] Therefore, the DP government greatly benefited from the economic boom and the ensuing rise in prosperity in the post WWII Europe. This was one reason why the DP yet again won in 1954 with landslide.[182]

The rising communist threat from its north prompted Turkey to abandon its decade long 'western skeptic'[183] foreign policy to fully embracing the west, forcing the DP into strong alliance commitments with the West. This solidarity among various countries was also very advantageous for Turkish interests. Thus, the Democratic Party supported cooperation with international allies against attacks from the Soviet Union.[184]

The passive principles of the Kemalists along with their policies for Middle Eastern relations were heavily criticized by the Democratic Party. The DP sided more with not committing to any particular position with Middle Eastern countries which was quite different from the previous traditional policy. It was the first time since the Ottoman Empire's alliance with Germany that Turkey identified national interests with another country's interests. We see this in Turkey's relationship with Iraq and Syria as Turkey came very close to involving themselves militarily in their affairs in order to side

[181] Altunisik and Tur, p. 31
[182] Ibid
[183] This will be extensively discussed through the end of this chapter under "the Sevres Syndrome"
[184] Laciner, the Democratic Foreign Policy Approach, pp. 114-115.

with the United States. This deviation from Kemalist policies challenged the original foreign policy bureaucracy of the Kemalist regime.[185]

It was the induction of Turkey into the Western block seen during the Menderes government that largely resolved its position in both the Balkans and the Middle East. US Secretary of State John F. Dulles depended on Turkey as a key partner in the effort to counter the Soviet threat with NATO alliances. The US first tried its hand in building alliances in the Middle East in 1951-52 by attempting to bring together Turkey and Egypt although neither country was very enthusiastic about the opportunity. This was soon followed up by a treaty involving cooperation and mutual assistance between Turkey and the Kingdom of Iraq led by Nuri al-Said in February of 1955. This treaty, called the "Baghdad Pact," was also entered into by Great Britain, Iran and Pakistan, but the US simply observed the treaty.[186]

Similar to the earlier Kemalist approach, Turkey's Middle Eastern policy was a very important part of its policies of relations with the West. However, instead of the earlier Kemalist direction of its dealing with the Middle East consisting of being defensive and an extension of relationships with the West, Turkey was now an active participant in Middle Eastern politics along with the West. Turkey was actually a key component in the strategy put forth by Great Britain and the US to organize the Middle Eastern countries against the Soviets. The Democratic Party's policies in the Middle East also differed from those of the Kemalists by being much more active. To prove this,

[185] Laciner, the Democratic Foreign Policy Approach…, p. 155, quoted from Richard D. Robinson, The First Turkish Republic, A Case Study in National Development, Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 186.
[186] Zurcher, Turkey: A Modern History, p. 236

Foreign Minister Fuat Köprülü made it known that he was not happy with the former policies of Atatürk and İnönü in relationship to Arab states while promising a change.[187]

As we've explored, the policies of the Democratic Party differed greatly from those followed by the Kemalist regime. While the DP saw many things such as religion as an opportunity to bring people together, the Kemalists saw many of these same things as dangerous. While the DP never came out directly against Kemalism, they actually claimed they were the "best Kemalists" and that they truly understood the true concept of Kemalism which the PRP had misunderstood. Whether one agrees with this claim or not, those who supported traditional Kemalism such as the PRP and the civil and military bureaucracy saw the Democrats as a threat to their ideals and the whole Kemalist revolution. Unexpectedly, history also saw that the Marxists joined in on lobbying against the DPs stating the DP regime was undemocratic especially compared to the one-party regime seen under Ataturk. [188]

This led to a hidden opposition beginning; the government may have been under the control of the elected Democratic Party, but the Kemalists still ruled the bureaucracy. Under these conditions, conflict, whether ideological or even physical, between the Kemalist resistance (the army, bureaucracy, parliament, and press) and the DP elected was inexorable.[189]

4.3.4 The End of the Menderes Era

The military and its leaders began to lose their identity as a privileged group with the advent of multi-party rule. The military also lost financial power as well as direct

[187] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism, p. 134.
[188] Laciner, the Democratic Foreign Policy Approach…p. 150 Quoted from Mihri Belli, Milli Demokratik Devrim, (National Democratic Revolution), Aydinlik Yayinevi, 1970.
[189] Laciner, the Democratic Foreign Policy Approach…pp. 150-151

representation in the political process compared to other classes due to the DP's anti-elitist policies and the inflation these policies caused. The government, which was once made up largely of military and formerly military leaders started becoming more civilian after the 1950 election as Menderes changed up the leadership. Semih Vaner explains the results as, "*the change in ruling elites, which derived from important social transformations and reflected a shift in political structures, was perceived by the army as the degradation of its own institutional prestige and a challenge to its image within society*."[190]

The relationship between civilian and military continued to decline after control was taken decisively by the Democratic Party in the 1954 elections. This worsened as the military realized they were now under civilian authority.[191]

However, the perceived 'dictatorial' policies of the Democrats led to political upheaval within the military and PRP elite by the mid-1950s leading them to recognize that they were losing their authority among the bureaucrats of the regime. The DP began to resort to more controlling methods such as investigative committees. In addition, the leaders of the Democratic Party began to censor the press leading, as well as bringing economic problems into the country, causing many university students and academic personnel to join the military and civil bureaucrats in their opposition to the DP. This led to university campuses being paralyzed by large-scale student demonstrations leading to violent confrontation with police. Even the declaration of martial law was not able to

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[190] Sedat Laciner, The Turkish Foreign Policy Between 1960-1971: Neo-Kemalism vs. Neo-Democrats? In Sedat Laciner, Mehmet Ozcan, Ihsan Bal, Halil Ibrahim Bahar eds. USAK Yearbook, Vol.3, 2010, pp. 173-174. (171-234) Quoted from: Semih Vaner, 'The Army', in Irvin C. Schick and Ertugrul Ahmet Tonak (eds.), Turkey in Transition, New Perspectives, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 236-265, pp. 237-238.

[191] Laciner, The Turkish Foreign Policy… p. 174

restore order to the situation. On top of the student uprisings, the military forces were also unhappy with the difference in rule from the traditional Kemalist program. With so many groups in opposition, the leaders of the Democrats started offering special treatment to ministry groups to foster support and increase unity.[192]

They also removed more religious restrictions hoping to gain support but only causing religious fundamentalists to feel more freedom to speak out against Ataturk. This attempt at building unity and grasping at support led to corruption in the highest levels of government leading the military to openly criticize the DP's economic policies. [193]

Because of all of this upheaval, a majority of the military leaders asserted that they were truly Kemalist soldiers and that the Democrats had irrevocably damaged the Kemalist ideals. The officers believed there was no other option but to stage a coup – which the Kemalist elite actually called a "revolution." The Constitution Commission was created out of the coup and claimed that the government led by Menderes was "antagonistic to the army, courts, university, and Ataturk's reforms."[194] This coup, affirmed the presence of the military within the political[195] arena as protectors of true Kemalism.[196] In this revolution, the DP leaders including Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Foreign Minister Fatin Ruutu Zorlu and Finance Minister Hasan Polatkan were executed on September 16-17, 1961, by a military court with 12 more political

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[192] George Harris argues that as an example to this, tribal leaders in the Kurdish areas were allowed great autonomy in running tribal affairs. Thus one of the first acts of the military government in 1960 was to deport many of these leaders from their tribal areas. George S. Harris, The Role of Military in Turkish Republics, Middle East Journal, Vol.19, No.2, Spring 1965, pp. 170-171, quoted from Friedrich-Wilhelm Femau, "Le Neo-Kemalisme du Comite d'Unite Nationale," Orient, no. 16 (1960), p. 66.
[193] Harris, The Role of…, p. 171.
[194] Laciner, The Turkish Foreign Policy between 1960-1971, p. 174 , Quoted from Türkkaya Ataöv, 'The 27th May Revolution and Its Aftermath' *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations*, 1960-1961, p. 20.
[195] Laciner, The Turkish Foreign Policy between 1960-1971, p.174, quoted from: Vaner, '*The Army...*' p. 328.
[196] Laciner, The Turkish Foreign Policy between 1960-1971, p. 174, quoted from: Andrew Mango, *Turkey*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), p. 89.

leaders sentenced to death. The Democratic Party was shut down with 200 other governmental leaders put in prison. [197]

The removal of the Menderes government in 1960 was an attempt to decrease the political participation of leaders who were backed by the masses, who were more conservative and traditional. With regards to the 1960 coup, Samuel Huntington states; "*In such societies politics is, so to speak, upside down rather than right side up, with the defenders of the traditional order on the bottom rather than on the top*."[198]

This brings us to probably the most influential Kemalist institution in Turkey, the Turkish Military, which was steered, directly or indirectly, the Turkish domestic and the foreign policy until the AKP consolidated its power mid-2000s.

4.4 The Most Influential Kemalist Institution: The Turkish Armed Forces

"*The Turkish Armed Forces are the most effective guarantor of the Republic in Turkey, which is a secular, social, and lawful state.*"

Ex-Chief of Staff, İsmail Hakkı Karadayı

One of the most important features of the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) is that it is the only other prominent institution besides the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Turkey that is deeply pro-western, which rendered it the most trusted one for the Kemalists. M. Kemal, who was also a general and a hero, was also considered by the Turkish Military to be its congenial leader. Prominent founders and members of the PRP, like Fevzi Cakmak, Ismet Inönü, Kazun Özalp, Ali Fuad Cebesoy, Kazim Karabekir and Refet Bele were all once officers. Laciner states that this situation created a situation where the military practically was ruling. The military considered itself the protector of the Kemalists and

[197] Laciner, The Turkish Foreign Policy between 1960-1971, p. 174
[198] Samuel P. Huntington (1968) *Political Order in Changing Societies*, Yale University, p. 224.

Kemalist principles. What is more, the law granted TAF unprecedented duties and rights to uphold those principles.[199]

The PRP party program of 1935 stated: `*We especially take care that the army of the Republic, which is the unshakable foundation of the high State organization, and which protects and guards the national ideal, the national existence, and the Revolution, as well as its valuable members, be always honored and respected...*'[200]

The supra-politic aspect of the army was affirmed at the same party program: `The Turkish army is above all political considerations and influences'.[201] The 1935 Ordu Ic Hizmet Kanunu /1935 Law of the Army Internal Service and the Constitution endorsed this view. That the military and the single party government PRP shared the same ideology did not necessitate a military intervention in the early decades of the republic. Instead, the military's main duty in those years, according to Devrim Pusat, was to repel the domestic threats to the foundation and the unity of the newly establish republic.[202]

The TAF rose to prominence especially after it forcefully removed the politically elected Menderes government in 1960. In the decades to come, it acted as either a supervisor or as a decision maker, occasionally as ruler. These aspects of TAF were seen in 1960, 1971, 1980 and 1997, when it directly or indirectly stepped in and intervened in democratically elected governments.[203]

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[199] Laciner, From Kemalism… p. 96. Quoted from: Semih Vener, The Army, in Irvin C. Schick and Ertugrul Tonak eds. Turkey in Transition, Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 237
[200] The 1935 Program of PRP adopted by the 4th Congress, (Ankara: CHP), Article 73.
[201] The 1935 Program of PRP adopted by the 4th Congress, Article 72.
[202] Laciner, From Kemalism…p. 97. Quoted from: Devrim Pusat, Militarizmin Tarihsel Sürekliligi, Ordu ve Siyaset, (The Historical Continuity of Militarism, Army and Politics), (Istanbul: Nam Yaytncihk, 1996), pp. 113-133.
[203] Ilhan Uzgel (2003) Between Praetorianism and Democracy: The Role of the Military in Turkish Foreign Policy, Turkish Yearbook, p. 178

Due to its unique sovereign status, TAF represents what Ilhan Uzgel calls "praetorian" characteristics, which denotes that the military has a self-perceived mission to keep the civilian rule under its control. Eric Nordlinger says the upper echelon in the military becomes praetorian when they make it clear that they may resort to force or actually do so, in the name of overseeing the political arena.[204] A political system can be called to possess praetorian characteristics if the civilian government is perceived inept, devoid of legitimacy, weak or unstable and if there is deterioration of the political system. Under these circumstances military is inclined to intervene.[205] An important point here is that the Turkish Military assumed the roles of modernizing and praetorian military and it has wielded its praetorian powers when it felt threatened that its modernizing role had been compromised.[206]

The Turkish Armed Forces have utilized certain political, legal and economic institutions to perpetuate and reinforce its interventionist agenda and influence in civilian governance simultaneously retaining its institutional and social class sovereignty.[207] In his study of Latin American military interventions, J. Johnson observes that '*the direct control of government by high ranking officers or military juntas is only a crude indication of the role that the armed forces may be playing at a given moment, for men in uniform have sundry ways of making their will felt.*''[208] Therefore, the role that TAF has played to shape Turkey's political, social and economic life cannot be grasped unless the

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[204] Ilhan Uzgel, Between Praetorianism and Democracy: The Role of the Military in Turkish Foreign Policy, p.180, quoted from Eric Nordlinger, Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments, Englewood-Cliffs, 1977, p. 3
[205] Uzgel, p. 180, quoted from Amos Perlmutter, Political Roles and Military Rulers, Frank Cass, 1981, pp. 11-13, 19.
[206] Uzgel, p. 180
[207] Gerassimos Karabelias, Military Control and Perpetual State Control in Turkey, EUI Working Papers, 2002/12, Mediterranean Programme Series, p. 1,
[208] John J. Johnson (1964) *The Military and Society in Latin America*, Stanford University Press, p. 7

sources of political and economic hegemony of TAF are fully understood. Equally important is the knowledge of conception and permanence of cultural, political, legal and financial instruments and institutions, thanks to which TAF has endured and reinforced its supremacy in Turkish politics.[209] The following section will dwell on these issues.

4.4.1 How the Kemalist Military Class Perpetuated its Supremacy

According to Murinson TAF assumed the role of the definitive mediator in Turkish high politics predominantly because of the Sevres Syndrome/Phobia, which derives its name from the ominous peace treaty of 1920 that aimed for partitioning of the defeated Ottoman Empire among the Allied forces. Although the treaty was aborted and never was implemented, its legacy continued to remain entrenched in the minds of most Turks, exclusively the Kemalists, and the excessive concern that Turkey would be dismembered or the territorial integrity would be compromised by domestic and foreign enemies was used to justify military interventions, especially in 1960, 1971, 1980 and 1997. This made the Turkish Armed Forces the most important driving force of Turkish domestic and foreign policy.[210] Three most significant ideological threats to the Republic of Turkey throughout its lifetime have been identified as Communism, Kurdish nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. These ideological and other perceived foreign threats were used by TAF to rationalize its intervention in politics. [211] The military elite in Turkey established a long-standing practice of institutional supervision over the executive, legislative and judiciary branches of government. In the following section I am

[209] Karabelias, p. 1
[210] Alexander Murinson (2010) Turkey's Entente with Israel and Azerbaijan: State Identity and Security in the Middle East and Caucasus, Routledge, p. 44 quoted from Cf. George Haddad, Revolution and the Military Rule in the Middle East, Robert Speller& Sons, 1965, p. 13
[211] Murinson, p. 44

going to explain the institutions and means by which TAF perpetuated its grip on Turkish polity.

4.4.1.1 Military Tradition in Turkish Culture: A Culturalist Approach

There are perhaps few things more important to the Turks than soldiering. As historian, Albert Lybyer puts; "*The Ottoman government had been an army before it was anything else…in fact, Army and Government were one. War was the external purpose, Government the internal purpose, of one institution, composed of one body of men*".[212]

The Ottoman officers during the Young Turks period pioneered the modernizing efforts up until their miserable defeat subsequent to WWI. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, who founded the Turkish republic out of the ashes of the Ottoman Empire, was a prominent soldier. He endeavored not only to establish a Western/secular nation-state, but also he accentuated the reciprocal relationship between the embryonic nation and its military. It was evident to Jenkins that, Ataturk, who was an Ottoman officer, had been greatly influenced by the beliefs of German General Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz (1843–1916), who had been assigned the duty to rehabilitate and vitalize the Ottoman officer contingents and died in Baghdad in 1916 fighting alongside the ranks of the Ottoman Empire against the British. His book Das Volk in Waffen ('the nation in arms'), which was translated into Ottoman in 1884, was prescribed as a requisite textbook for the trainees in the Ottoman Army. Von der Goltz strongly believed that the armed forces represent the purest core of a nation and it should solemnly assume the responsibility of shaping the nation to which it belongs.[213]

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[212] Albert Howe Lybyer (1913) *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 90-91

[213]Gereth Jenkins, Continuity and Change: Prospects for Civil-Military Relations in Turkey, International Affairs Volume: 83, Issue: 2, 2007, [339-355] p. 340

Since the inception of the Turkish Republic, the notion of "military nation" was indoctrinated in the education system. Every Turkish child was taught that they were born soldiers and therefore part of the Turkish Army. 209 B.C is considered by the Turkish military as its birth date, when the Hun Emperor Mete Han first established the organized armed forces. According to the Turkish Armed Forces, "by personally devoting themselves to the military profession Turks have demonstrated to the entire world that they form an army-nation."[214]

The mandatory military service was first put into effect in 1927, which consolidated the ties between the nation and military. Jenkins argues that the scope of military service is not limited to giving military training but it also includes educational and 'civilizing' undertaking to shape the ideology of new recruits with the new republic's principles. [215]

In explaining the military culture in Turkey, Nilifer Karli draws attention to the importance of such elements as convictions, beliefs, symbols, and certain ceremonies by which militarism is forged. According to this militaristic perception, there is a vital connection between the military and the society's security, which renders the former the most important institution. Such strong views as "every Turk is a born soldier" and "being a martyr is the highest level of exaltation" bolster the reverence and heroic feelings towards the military.[216]

Furthermore, the established conviction that "the military protects us against the internal and external enemies" only contributed to its "mystical supremacy". The sanctity

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[214] Jenkins, p. 340. Quoted from: http://www.tsk.mil.tr/genel_konular/tarihce.htm.
[215] Jenkins, p. 340
[216] Nilufer Narli (2009) Changes in the Turkish Security Culture and in the Civil-Military Relations, Western Balkans Security Observer, Year 4, No:14, July-September, p. 61.

of the military institution was further buttressed by calling the military "the home of the Prophet Mohammed" (Peygamber Ocagi"), a phrase that goes back to the Ottoman times. The militarist culture is perpetuated by the formal school institutions. On national day celebrations such as the Independence Day of October 29 and the Victory Day of August 30, school students marched in formation as the soldiers do, (a practice which was abolished by the AKP). Also, the school textbooks contain substances that praise the military culture.[217]

4.4.1.2 The Institutionalist Approach: The National Security Council (NSC)

As mentioned earlier, the main principle for TAF to intervene in politics was to uphold the Kemalist principles and reprimand those parties and politicians who failed to do so.[218] The 1960 Military Coup was a turning point in that it was the beginning of the true institutionalization of the hegemony of the TAF over the civilian authority. The quintessence of the institutionalization was the National Security Council (NSC).[219]

Having first established in 1933 on a legal basis, it was the 1961 constitution that granted full scope of constitutional authority. Although its duty was, according to the constitution, to function as an advisory board, in fact it became a medium in which the ever-powerful military generals submitted their recommendations, which actually carried the weight of 'orders' to the civilian governments and representatives. The NSC's functions are outlined in Article 118 of the Turkish Constitution as "*the formulation, establishment and implementation of the national security policy of the State.*" [220]

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[217] Narli, Changes pp. 61-62
[218] Murinson, p. 44, quoted from Gareth Jenkins, Context and Circumstance: The Turkish Military and Politics," Adelphi Papers, 337, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2001, p. 4
[219] Murinson, p. 44, quoted from Philip Robins, Suits and Uniforms, p. 76.
[220]The Official Web Site of the Secretariat – General of the National Security Council, http://www.mgk.gov.tr/en/index.php/secretariat-general/about-us

The Article 118 of the Turkish Constitution defines the duties of the NSC as follows: *"The NSC shall submit to the Council of Ministers the advisory decisions on the identification, formulation and implementation of the national security policy of the State and its opinions on necessary coordination. The decisions of the Council concerning the measures that are deemed imperative for the preservation of the existence and independence of the State, the integrity and indivisibility of the country and the peace and security of the society shall be deliberated by the Council of Ministers."*[221]

It important to note here that national security concept of the Republic of Turkey has passed through certain stages. In the following section I will analyze the evolution of the institutionalized concept of the national security in 4 stages; 1933 - 1949, 1949 - 1962, 1962 - 1983, 1983 - 2003. I will discuss the context of NSC for the post-2003 era in the chapter where I discuss about the policies of AKP, as considerable amendments were made in this regard.

4.4.1.2.1 The Era of 1933 - 1949

Today's National Security Council was first established under the name of The Supreme Defense Assembly (SDA) by Decree No.14443 of April 24, 1933. Its members were made up of the Prime Minister, the head of the Assembly, the Commander of the Turkish Armed Forces and members of the Council of Ministers. The duties of SDA were defined as *"to determine the tasks of the Ministries and to prepare the necessary guidelines concerning national mobilization", for which, "the Supreme Defense Assembly would hold successive meetings at given times in a year, although if necessary, it would also hold extraordinary meetings."*[222]

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[221] http://www.mgk.gov.tr/en/index.php/secretariat-general/about-us
[222] http://www.mgk.gov.tr/en/index.php/secretariat-general/about-us

The Secretary-General of the Supreme Defense Assembly, who was appointed by the Ministry of National Defense, was required to *"to prepare the matters concerning national mobilization in advance, ensure necessary coordination among relevant institutions and draw assessments, submit findings to the Supreme Defense Assembly and follow the decisions to be taken by the Assembly."*[223]

4.4.1.2.2 The Era of 1949 - 1962

The name of the Supreme Defense Assembly was changed into the National Defense Supreme Council (NDSC) by Decree No. 5399 of June 3, 1949. The members of NDSC were the President, the Prime Minister, the Minister of National Defense and the Commander of the Turkish Armed Forces. Per the decision of the Council of Minister on July 1, 1949, the body of NDSC grew to include the Ministers of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Civil Works, Economy, Trade, Transportation, Agriculture and Enterprises. Under necessary conditions the members of the Military Council and other experts would be called for their opinions.[224]

The duties of NDSC were defined as follows:

1. To prepare the guidelines for the national defense policy to be pursued by the government;

2. To determine the duties and responsibilities for national defense which would be assumed by the whole government establishment, every private enterprise and entity as well as the citizens and submit them to the competent authorities for adoption of necessary legal and administrative measures; and monitor the implementation of these measures;

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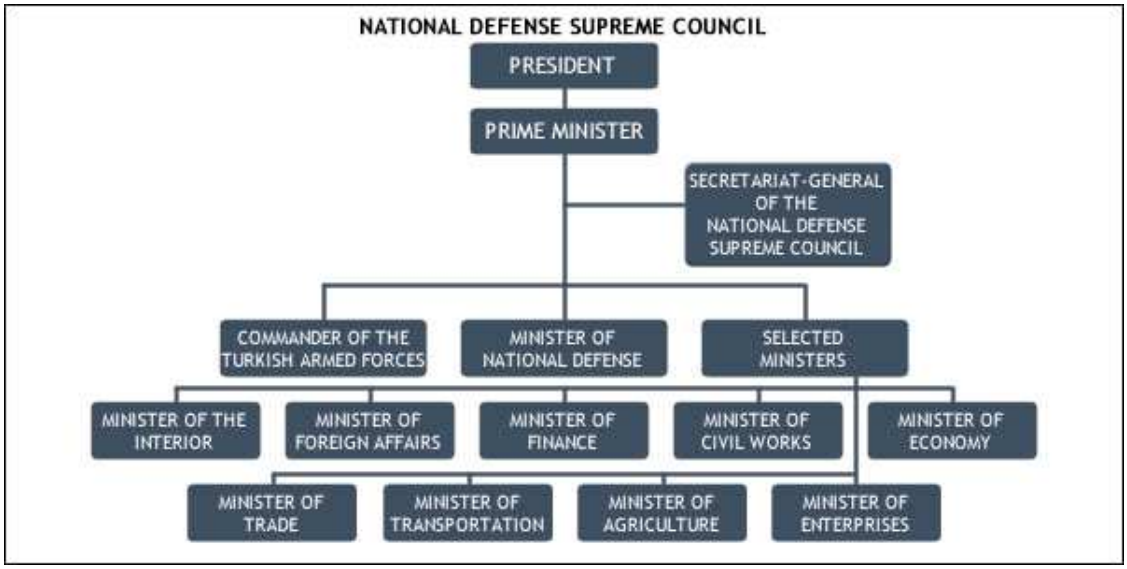
[223] http://www.mgk.gov.tr/en/index.php/secretariat-general/about-us
[224] Ibid

3. To prepare the Total National Mobilization Plan in times of peace and ensure its full implementation when necessary;

4. To express its observations on homeland-defense-related matters as required by the Prime Minister.[225]

The NSDC assembled once a month. The Prime Minister was assigned to officially inform the related authorities of the decisions taken at the NSDC sessions. And, those decisions that were to be implemented by the ministers were submitted to the Council of Ministers.[226]

Table 4.1 National Defense Supreme Council



Source: http://www.mgk.gov.tr/en/index.php/secretariat-general/about-us

4.4.1.2.3 The Era of the National Security Council (1961-1983)

The National Security Council (NSC) was established according to the Law No.129 of December 11, 1962, which was derived from the Article 111 of the 1961 Constitution, which was created in the aftermath of the military coup of 1960. The

[225] http://www.mgk.gov.tr/en/index.php/secretariat-general/about-us
[226] ibid

members of NSC were the President, the Prime Minister, and the Commander of the Turkish Armed Forces, State Minister (s) and Deputy Prime Minister(s), Ministers of National Defense, the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Transportation and Labor as well as the Armed Forces Commanders. The Secretary-General of the NSC attended the meetings, but did not have the right to vote.[227]

The duties of NSC included the following:

1. To prepare the guidelines for the national security policy as well as to amend and revise this policy;

2. With respect to the implementation of these guidelines, to prepare national plans and programs for each national security issue, determine intermediate and ultimate objectives towards their realization and harmonize activities in this area;

3. To determine the services and responsibilities to be assumed by the whole government establishment, every private enterprise and entity as well as the citizens with respect to total defense and national mobilization and take necessary legal and administrative measures on this matter;

4. To determine the guidelines on which the National Mobilization Plans (Civil Emergency Plans) would be based, harmonize, monitor and evaluate these plans.

5. To submit to the Council of Ministers fundamental views regarding national security.

In order to perform its functions, the NSC convened once a month. It could also meet at such other times, as the Chairman deemed necessary. Decisions were taken by majority vote. In case of a tie, the side with the vote of the Chairman was considered to have formed the majority.[228]

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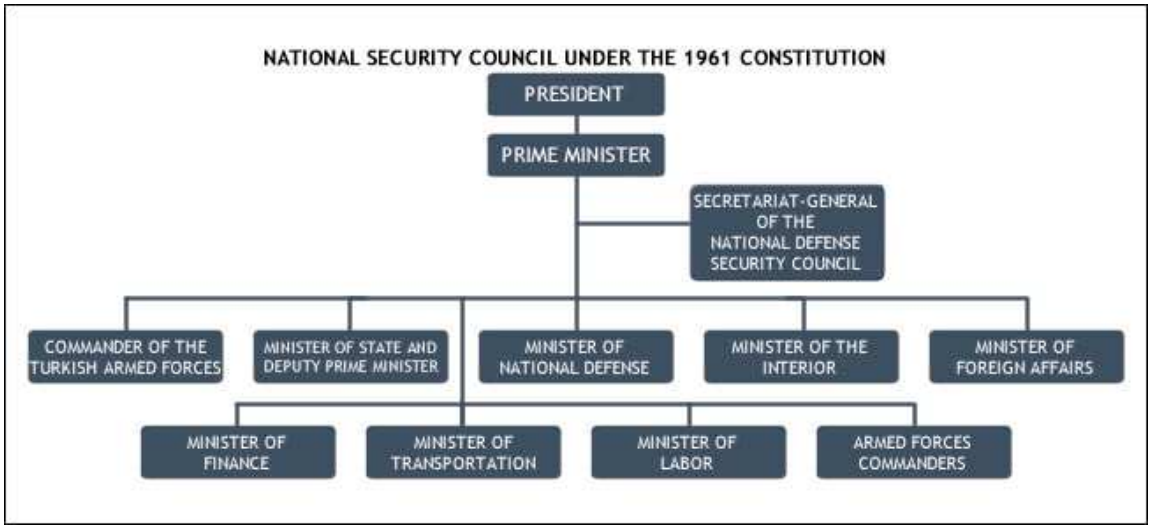
[227] http://www.mgk.gov.tr/en/index.php/secretariat-general/about-us
[228] Ibid

Table 4.2 National Security Council under the 1961 Constitution



Source: http://www.mgk.gov.tr/en/index.php/secretariat-general/about-us

4.4.1.2.4 The Era of the National Security Council (1982 - 2003)

The Law No.2945 of November 1, 1983, which emanated from the Article of the 1982 Constitution, determined the nature of the National Security Council, which was a product of the 1980 military coup. The members included the Prime Minister, the Commander of the Turkish Armed Forces, Ministers of National Defense, the Interior, Foreign Affairs, and Commanders of the Land, Naval and Air Forces and the General Commander of the Gendarmerie. The council would convene once a month to evaluate the stated goals below.

The duties of NSC were as follows:

1. To formulate views with regard to taking decisions on the identification, formulation and implementation of the national security policy and ensuring the necessary coordination;

2. To establish the measures for the realization of national objectives as well as plans and programs that are prepared according to the national security policy of the state;

3. To continuously monitor and evaluate the components of national power that would influence the national security policy of the state and the political, social, economic, cultural and technological situation and developments in the country; and determine the basic principles by which the aforementioned factors could be improved in accordance with national objectives;

4. To determine the measures that are deemed imperative for the preservation of the existence and independence of the state, territorial integrity and indivisibility of the country and the maintenance of peace and security of the society;

5. To determine the measures necessary for preserving the constitutional order, maintaining the national unity and integrity and bringing together the Turkish nation around the national ideals and values in accordance with the principles and reforms of Atatürk; counteract the internal and external threats directed against these aspects; in order to eliminate these threats, to determine strategies and guidelines as well as opinions, requirements and necessary precautions regarding the planning and implementation services;

6. To formulate opinions on the declaration of emergency, martial law, mobilization or war;

7. To determine the duties and responsibilities to be assumed by the public and private sector organizations and institutions as well as the citizens with respect to total defense, national mobilization and other related issues at times of peace, war, imminent threat of war and at post-war times and establish the guidelines for planning on these matters;

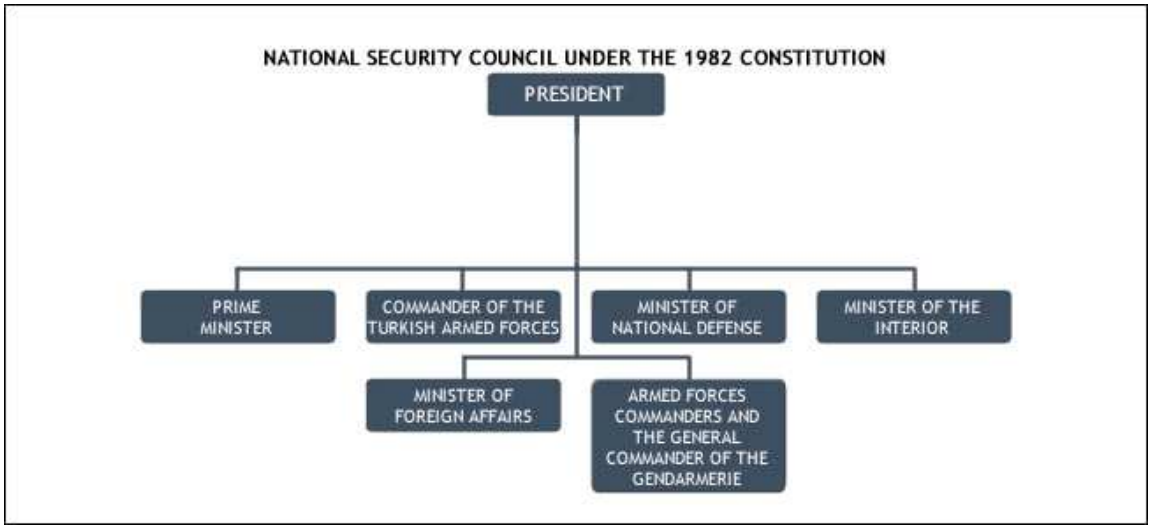
8. To determine the guidelines for ensuring the inclusion into the development plans, programs and annual budgets of the measures and funds related to the financial,

economic, social, cultural and other aspects necessitated by the requirements of the national security policy and by the services for society and total defense services;

9. To formulate views on international agreements pertaining to national security, which are already made or foreseen;

10. To submit these views, measures and guidelines to the Council of Ministers in the form of a "Council decision" and carry out other assignments mandated by laws.[229]

Figure 4.3 National Security Council under the 1982 Constitution



Source: http://www.mgk.gov.tr/en/index.php/secretariat-general/about-us

4.4.1.2.5 Concluding Remarks on the National Security Concept

As seen above, the traces of institutionalized control of civilian governments by the military goes back to 1933 when the first such institution was established under the name of the Supreme Defense Assembly (SDA). The in the first decades of the republic, the military did not have the need to intervene in civilian politics as the undisputed Republican party was in the same line with it. The military, however, felt obliged to consolidate the newly established state by upholding its Kemalist principles. This

[229] http://www.mgk.gov.tr/en/index.php/secretariat-general/about-us

manifested itself, for example, the Turkish Military quell the Kurdish rebellion in the Tunceli Province in 1937-38. It was not until the 'compulsory' transition to multi-party democracy and the rise of the 'other', the Democrat Party that changed the equilibrium. The ten-year period between 1950 and 1960 marked the Democrat Party rule in Turkey, which ended with the execution of the prominent figures of DP, the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Fatin Rustu Zorlu and the Minister of Finance Hasan Polatkan. Therefore, the 1960 coup signaled the rise of the Turkish Armed Forces to the fore in regards to military-civilian relations.

The inclusion of NSC in the 1961 constitution was due to the need of military bureaucracy to strong handedly control the policymaking in Turkey. This need was actually triggered by the perceived threat of the military from the Menderes government, who, for the first time in the history of republic, attempted to challenge, subdue the Turkish military and eliminate its overwhelming influence in civilian politics. [230]

The late prominent law professor, Tarik Zafer Tunaya, who was among the seven academicians that issued a declaration on May 28, 1960 in defense of the military coup and who was among the constitutional assembly members gives us an idea about the mindset behind the establishment of NSC and coup:

"The NSC aimed to possess a mixture of civilians and military representatives. The purpose of establishing such an institution was to build a "Kemalist dam", through which the Turkish military would prevent the principles of the Turkish Revolution (the Kemalist Revolution) to be spent like coin in the market of politics. In the face of

[230] Betul Urhan and Seyit Celik (2010) Perceptions of "National Security" in Turkey and Their Impacts on the Labor Movement and Trade Union Activities, European *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 11, p. 2 file:///T:/Profiles/susan.cazzell/Downloads/ejts-4333-11-perceptions-of-national-security-in-turkey-and-their-impacts-on-the-labor-movement-and-trade-union-activities.pdf

changing political environment, the Kemalism would find its unchanging protector. The security of our nation depended on this notion."[231]

It is also important to note that before 1961, the NSC had initially been named as High Council of National Defense in 1949, given the post-world war atmosphere. However, with the 1960 coup, the generals that staged it replaced the term "defense" with "security". [232] It is safe to assume that this change of name indicates the institutional securitization of Turkish politics.

At the same time the scope of "security" as defined by the Turkish Military, is so broad that it includes "*almost any policy area, from education and environment to defense and foreign policy*." [233] But "national security" is a wide concept, subject to interpretations that can be expanded according to personal opinions and understandings. One definition is found in Article 3(a) of the By-Law of Secretariat General of National Security Council: National Security: *Being able to resist all external or internal attacks, defeatist attempts, natural disasters and conflagrations. National security means to protect and maintain the state authority and using all national strength, efforts and activities for being victorious in a war*.[234]

The extent of "security" understood by the Turkish Military was so vast that it included "*almost any policy area, from education and environment to defense and foreign policy*." Therefore, the interpretation of 'national security' may vary by individuals. One of the examples is in Article 3(a) of the By-Law of Secretariat General of National Security Council: *Being able to resist all external or internal attacks,*

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[231] Tunaya, Tarık Zafer (1970) "Milli Güvenlik Kurulu ve Gerçekler," *Milliyet*, 4 Nisan 1970, p. 2.
[232] Betul Urhan and Seyit Celik, Perceptions of "National Security" in Turkey and Their Impacts on the Labor Movement and Trade Union Activities, p. 11
[233] Murinson, p. 44
[234] Urhan and Celik, Perceptions …p. 11

defeatist attempts, natural disasters and conflagrations. National security means to protect and maintain the state authority and using all national strength, efforts and activities for being victorious in a war.

In the 1983 "Law of the National Security Council and Secretariat General of the National Security Council" number 2945, the definition is:

National Security; The protection and maintenance of the constitutional order, national presence, integrity, all political, social, cultural and economic interests in international field as well as against any kind of internal and external threats, of the State (md.2/a) [235]

While the Article 118 of the 1982 constitution says that the decisions of NSC were solely of advisory nature, the way that the law 2945 defines 'national security' urged the government to comply with the decisions taken in NSC.[236]

Due to the nature of the threat perception and definition of national security, the range of issues that NSC dealt with was not limited to politics. NSC has given recommendations with regards to cultural, educational, social and economic issues. NSC has, for example, discussed, especially before the 1980 coup, the massive student demonstrations, as it perceived them as threat to national security. After the 1980 coup, the authority of NSC was considerably increased by the regulation of 84/7706 of February 10, 1984, by which it had effect on economic and social issues. One striking example was that the state budget was negotiated and prepared in NSC meetings.[237]

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[235] Urhan and Celik, Perceptions …p. 11
[236] The Law on the Organization and Duties of Ministry of Labor and Social Security dated January 9, 1985 and numbered 3146 (Article 5). Quoted in Urhan and Celik, Perceptions of… p. 11
[237] Urhan and Celik, Perceptions of…

The Red Book, also called the National Security Document, in which the threats to national security and the measures to be taken in response to them, has been produced by NSC. Gareth Jenkins says; "*In practice, the military's informal authority is such that, when it expresses opinion, civilian governments rarely try to implement a policy which contradicts it*."[238] One unusual exception to this was then President Turgut Ozal, who adopted an unconditional pro-American foreign policy and supported the US-led invasion of Iraq in 1991, although the military vehemently opposed him.[239]

The military wing dominated NSC not only because the chief of staff and commanders of land, air, navy and gendarmerie forces were represented, but also the secretariat-general position was occupied by a high ranking military, until October 1, 2004, by which time the ambassador Mehmet Yigit Apogan was appointed to be the first civilian secretary to NSC during the first term of the AKP government.[240] This date marks a milestone in the civilianization of Turkish politics.

4.4.2 Institutional Sovereignty of the Turkish Armed Forces

The Turkish Armed Forces continued to enjoy a powerful status partially because of its institutional privileges or what Alfred Stefan calls '*prerogatives'*. According to him; *"…the dimension of military institutional prerogatives refers to those areas where, whether challenged or not, the military as an institution assumes they have an acquired right or privilege, formal or informal, to exercise effective control over its internal*

[238] Gareth Jenkins, Context and Circumstance: The Turkish Military and Politics, Routledge, 2005, p. 7
[239] Murinson, pp. 44-45
[240] Murinson, p. 44

governance, to play a role within extra military areas within the state apparatus, or even to structure relationships between the state and political or civil society."[241]

Certain laws and past experiences gave the Turkish military institutional sovereignty and unaccountability, which created a perception among the upper echelon of the military that they were not liable to civilian authority.[242] Just as the Turkish military is obliged to protect the Turkish constitution, the very constitution it protected gave the military legitimacy to wield its power when it perceives necessary. According to the Article 35 of the Turkish Armed Service Internal Service Code, a product of the 1960 Coup, stipulated that "*duty of the armed forces is to protect and safeguard Turkish territory and the Turkish Republic as stipulated by the constitution*."[243]

The privileged position of the military in the Turkish state structure can be seen in the order of precedence.[244] The Chief of Staff of Turkey comes third in protocol after the Chairman of the Grand National Assembly and the Prime Minister of Turkey.[245] In fully democratic countries this is not the case. For example, in the order of precedence in the United States, the joint chief of staff ranks 76th, after the Chairman of American Battle Monuments Commission.[246]

To Jung and Picolli the special education system in the military, which is strictly based on Kemalist ideology, is one of the most important reasons that TAF and the

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[241] Alfred C. Stepan (1988*) Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone*, Princeton University Press, p. 93
[242] Ahmet T. Kuru, The Rise and Fall of Military Tutelage in Turkey: Fears of Islamism, Kurdism, and Communism, Insight Turkey, Vol.14/ No. 2/2012 (pp.37-57) p. 43
[243] Tim Jacoby, *Social Power and the Turkish State* (New York: Frank Cass, 2004), p. 133.
[244] Kuru, p. 43
[245] Today's Zaman, Foreign Ministry redefines Turkish Order of Precedence, May 14, 2012. http://www.todayszaman.com/national_foreign-ministry-redefines-turkish-order-of-precedence_280318.html
[246] The Army Protocol Directorate, the Department of the Army Protocol Precedence List: https://www.tamus.edu/assets/files/protocol/pdf/armyprotocol.pdf

military elite have a sovereign status. Through education, this system creates a 'caste system' and ideologically homogenous group, which keeps itself separate from the rest of society.[247]

It is perceived, as elite status to be an officer in TAF and it provides individuals an upward mobility. The way that TAF enlists new member is a reflection of 'classical military-bureaucratic' elite as the new recruits mostly come from military or civil servant culture.[248]

Another important indication of the autonomy that TAF enjoys is that its education curriculum is outside the scope of civilian supervision. Furthermore, promotions and appointments of officers in higher strata of TAF are made in the High Military Council (YAS), which has little civilian oversight. Furthermore, out of its 15 members only two, the prime minister and the minister of national defense are civilians. This makes the civilian presence virtually symbolic as the decisions in the council are taken by majority of votes. Before, the 2010 constitutional amendment, the decisions of YAS were exempt from judicial oversight too.[249]

This is important because between 1990 and 2009, 1,655 officers were expelled, most of whom for religious reaction, by the decisions of YAS.[250] However, after the amendment, the Article 11 of the Law: 5982 of May 7, 2010 stipulates that all decisions of YAS, except those of the promotion and retirement cases, can be appealed. The Article 15 of

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[247] Jung and Piccoli, p.96. Quoted from Karaosmanoglu, p. 27.
[248] Jung and Piccoli, p.96 Quoted from Brown, The military and society: the Turkish case, Middle Eastern Studies, 25, 1989, [387-404] p. 400.
[249] Ahmet T. Kuru, The Rise and Fall of Military Tutelage in Turkey: Fears of Islamism, Kurdism, and Communism, Insight Turkey, Vol.14/ No. 2/2012 (pp.37-57) pp. 43-44.
[250] "19 Yilda 1655 Subay Ihrac Edildi, *Sabah*, August 4, 2009
ttp://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2009/08/04/19_yilda_bin_655_subay_ihrac_edildi

the same law amends the Article 145 by saying that except in the state of war, the military courts cannot trail civilians.[251]

M. Ali Birand likens the contemporary Turkish officers to the Janissaries in the Ottoman times, who had pledged their loyalty to the sultan, in that they identify themselves with M. Kemal and his principles, which compels them to protect the republic he founded as well as his principles he set forth.[252]The unconditional allegiance to the fatherland, strict discipline and absolute obedience to commanders define the culture in TAF, which, to Birand, is based on the Prussian principles. This and the Kemalist doctrine make up the core of TAF character.[253]As mentioned earlier, TAF leads an isolated life style from the rest of Turkish public. Its own guesthouses, restaurants, and summer camps facilitate this. [254]

It would be no exaggeration, as Jung and Picolli agree, that the unprecedented autonomy that the Turkish Military enjoyed in political, economic and social areas rendered it literally a 'state within a state.[255] The following section will examine the financial aspect of autonomy of the Turkish Armed Forces.

4.4.2.1 Financial Sovereignty and Unaccountability of the Turkish Armed Forces

The Turkish Armed Forces has wielded its unparalleled influence not only over the Turkish politics but also with little or no oversight it has created a power center that manages economic assets that are worth a massive $50 billion.[256]

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[251] Kemal Gozler, Turkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasasinin Bazi Maddelerinde Degisiklik Yapilmasi Hakkinda Kanun http://www.anayasa.gen.tr/5982.htm
[252] Jung and Piccoli, p. 96. Quoted from Birand, p. 23.
[253] Jung and Piccoli, p. 96. Quoted from Birand, pp.31, 53-6.
[254] Kuru, p. 44
[255] Jung and Piccoli, p. 96.
[256] "Turkish Military Nurtures an Economic Leviathan", Today's Zaman, August 8, 2010 http://www.todayszaman.com/business_turkish-military-nurtures-an-economic-leviathan_218447.html

Ismail Akca examines Turkey's military-economic structure by dividing it into three sections, all of which are controlled by the military; the Armed Forces Trust and Pension Fund (OYAK), which has become one of the largest business conglomerates in Turkey, the military spending,[257] which totaled $14 billion in 2014 and made up 3.7% of the state budget,[258] making Turkey the 15th largest military spender,[259] and the military industry.

4.4.2.1.1 The Armed Forces Trust and Pension Fund (OYAK)

The Turkish Armed Forces began to assert itself in Turkish economy after the 1960 military coup. The epitome of the military dominance in Turkish economy is the Armed Forces Mutual Fund (OYAK)[260] The Armed Forces Mutual Fund (OYAK),[261] which was established in 1961 by Article 205[262] with the aim of providing social security to military personnel has become one of the largest financial conglomerates in Turkey.

Five years into its establishment, OYAK became a focal point where those supporters of the 1960 coup from the military, bureaucracy, intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie find their way to the top administrative ranks. The generals in the junta rationalize the establishment of OYAK for the reason that *"retired military officers are only provided a modest living and are unable to retain lifestyles that correspond to their*

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[257] Ismet Akca, Military Economic Structure in Turkey: Present Situation, Problems, and Solutions, Turkiye Ekonomick ve Sosyal Etudler Vaksi (TESEV) Publications, July 2010, p.5 http://www.tesev.org.tr/Upload/Editor/gsr-2-eng.pdf

[258] Burak Ege Bekdinl, *Turkey Increases Defense Spending in 2014 Budget*, December 24, 2013 http://www.defensenews.com/article/20131224/DEFREG01/312240005/Turkey-Increases-Defense-Spending-2014-Budget

[259] "Global Military Spending Dropped in '12, Says Survey" *Turkish Weekly*, April 16, 2013 http://www.turkishweekly.net/2013/04/16/news/global-military-spending-droped-in-12-says-survey/

[260] Gerassimos Karabelieas, The Evolution of Civil-Military Relations in post-war Turkey, 1980-95, in Sylvia Kedourie ed. Seventy-Five Years of the Turkish Republic, Routledge, 2000, p. 140

[261] According to OYAK's annual report, its total assets are worth nearly 20 billion dollars. (http://content.oyak.com.tr/oyakdosyalar/media/editor/files/CORPORATE/annual-reports/OYAK_ENG_2013_2TEM.pdf)

[262] http://content.oyak.com.tr/oyakdosyalar/media/editor/files/KURUMSAL/Oyak_Kanunu.pdf

social status; OYAK was prepared so that retired officers would no longer be worried about their future and could enjoy financial and spiritual peace."[263] This shows the "privileged" mentality among the officers in the Turkish military. It is also interesting to see how OYAK has grown and spread out from a 'retirement pension fund' such that it has become virtually the biggest conglomerate in Turkey.

It is not surprising that OYAK functions as a privileged entity, just as TAF to which it belongs. Karabelias states that; "*OYAK is exempt from corporation tax, from all other kinds of income tax, from the special income tax collected from all organizations that withhold dues and fees from members from all sales and excise taxes, from the state stamp tax imposed on all legal transactions. Furthermore, OYAK's assets, earnings and accounts receivable enjoy preemptive priority vis-à-vis third parties*"[264]

With the boost that it gets from subsidies, legal advantages and tax exemptions, OYAK has been able to diversify its area of operations greatly. These include automobiles, cement, iron and steel, finance, energy, mining, agricultural chemicals, foodstuffs, construction, transportation and logistics, private security and information technology.[265] OYAK has grown so much that it has iron/steel and cement/concrete production facilities as well as automotive/logistic subsidiaries in France, Bulgaria, Russia and Spain.[266] Finally, the fact that, in 2013, its automotive branch Oyak-Renault

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[263] Ismet Akca, Military Economic Structure in Turkey: Present Situation, Problems, and Solutions, p. 8
[264] Karabelias, Military Class and Perpetual in Turkey, p. 17
[265] "Turkish Military Nurtures an Economic Leviathan", Today's Zaman, August 8, 2010 http://www.todayszaman.com/business_turkish-military-nurtures-an-economic-leviathan_218447.html
[266] OYAK 2011 Annual Report, p. 3 http://www.oyak.com.tr/oyakdosyalar/media/editor/files/CORPORATE/annual-reports/OYAK_2011_ENG.PDF

alone came in 3rd in the biggest industrial firms list of Turkey[267] is enough to tell us about the clout that OYAK has in Turkish economy.

Ismet Akca voices some concerns that arise out of OYAK's presence. He asserts that a military that is privately involved in economic activities *"breaches the basic and time-tested principle of the separation between power-holders with guns and power-holders engaged in economic activity in modern economies."*[268] This naturally poses a threat to development of democracy. Another issue is the claim that while it is believed that OYAK reinforces the integration in military by extending privileges to its members, it is a fact not all of its members can benefit from the blessings equally, there is actually a division, especially between those high rank officers in the higher management and the low ranking officers. The latter have voiced their concerns that the former have "*operating outside of the immediate interests of its members*" by not focusing on service provision and in some cases they are unable to receive the compensations promised by OYAK.[269] The situation created so much resentment among the low ranking officers of the military that the Turkish Retired Noncommissioned Officers Association (TEMAD), having exhausted the domestic means, (the Supreme Court rejected their plea) appealed to the European Court of Human Rights in 2007 for not being able to take part neither in the administrative and auditing boards or general assembly meetings of OYAK or its affiliates such as Oyak Bank. TEMAD Deputy Chairperson Galip Kaplan said:

"We have found out that Law No. 205 [relating to the establishment of OYAK] is not in line with principles of equality and fairness. Although we are members of OYAK,

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[267] "İSO Türkiye'nin en büyük şirketlerini açıkladı" *CNN Turk*, June 24, 2014 http://www.cnnturk.com/haber/ekonomi/sirketler/iso-turkiyenin-en-buyuk-sirketlerini-acikladi
[268] Akca, p. 13
[269] Akca, p. 14

we are not mentioned among those who will be assigned to administrative and auditing boards. As the TEMAD Administrative Board, we have decided to go to the European Court of Human Rights on behalf of our 75 branches and 95,000 members"[270]

Finally, having drawn attention that due to the nature of OYAK, it may pose an obstacle in Turkey's path to membership to the European Union, Akca raises an interesting point. He is surprised that not a single EU progress report mentions OYAK. He goes on: *"While no other EU member state would tolerate a structure like OYAK, the EU overlooked the fact that OYAK's existence is a challenge to democratic oversight and regulation of the military in Turkey."*[271] He explains this situation with OYAK's long-standing partnership with Renault and AXA Group as well as the fact that Turkey is one of Germany's largest arms importers.[272]

4.4.2.1.2 The Defense Industry

Domestic military industry has been the focal point for the military leadership in Turkey. Some of the companies that have been part of the domestic defense industry are: the Military Electronic Industries Inc. (ASELSAN), the Military Battery Industry (ASPILSAN), the PETLAS Tire Co., the Electric Industry (ISBIR), the Sivas Textile Industry (SIDAS), the Machinery and Chemical Industries Establishment (MKE), the Turkish Aircraft Industries (TUSAS), the Turkish Engine Industries (TEI), the Turkish Airspace Industries (TAI), the Turkish Electronics Industry and Trade Corporation (TESTAS), the Taskizak and the Golcuk shipyards, the Heavy Maintenance Factories

[270] Retired officers appeal to European court on OYAK case, *Today's Zaman*, September 18, 2007 http://www.todayszaman.com/news-122440-retired-officers-appeal-to-european-court-on-oyak-case.html
[271] Akca, p. 14
[272] ibid

located in Kayseri and Arifiye Air Force complexes in Kayseri and Eskisehir and others.[273]

Per the law 3388 of 1987, the Foundation for Strengthening the Turkish Armed Forces (TSKGV) was founded, which combined the aforementioned companies into an incorporated defense industry. The purpose of the Law 3388 is: "*to constitute the Turkish Armed Forces Foundation in order to work towards increasing the fighting strength of the Turkish Armed Forces by developing the national armaments industry of Turkey, establishing new branches of the armaments industry, and purchasing weapons, vehicles and equipment.*"[274] Like OYAK, TSKGV was established based on privileges. According to the clause 3 of the same law*; "The Turkish Armed Forces Foundation as established by this Law is exempt from; a. Corporate Tax (except for Financial Enterprises), b. inheritance tax and death duty for donations and grants, c. stamp duty on any kind of transaction. Donations and grants given to the foundation are exempt from all kinds of taxes and other legal dues. Donations and grants may be set off against income tax and corporate tax.*"[275]

With the total employees reaching up to 40,000, and with 55 joint ventures, OYAK and TSKGV became the epitome of a symbiotic relationship between the Turkish Army, the State and the Capital.[276]

The capitalistic nature that the Turkish Armed Forces expansions over the decades not only helped the upper echelon of the officers to gain a privileged status but

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[273] Gerassimos Karabelieas, Civil-Military Relations: A Comparative Analysis of the Role of the Military in the Political Transformation of Post-War Turkey and Greece: 1980-1995, p. 40 http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/96-98/karabeli.pdf
[274] Foundation Notes, Turkish Armed Forces Foundation (TAFF) http://www.tskgv.org.tr/tskgv/?page_id=109&lang=en
[275] ibid
[276] Jung and Piccoli, Turkey at the Crossroad… p. 96. Quoted from Parla, pp. 44-9.

they also developed intimate relations with the leading industrial conglomerates such as Koc, Eczacibasi and Sabanci Holdings as well as foreign entities in USA, Germany, France, Israel and Russia.)[277]

The Law 3238 of 1985 founded the Defense Industry Development and Support Administration Directorate (DIDSAC). According to this, the law 3238; "*established an institution capable of generating long term defense policies and principles and supplementing them with a continuous flow of financial resources. The organization founded to fulfill these functions is the Under Secretariat for Defense Industries (SSM), assigned with the major task to constitute a modern defense industry in Turkey and to achieve the modernization of the Turkish Armed Forces. In order to attain this objective, the main principle applied by SSM is to meet military requirements through domestic suppliers in the most technically and economically feasible way possible."*[278]

All these considered, the privileged position of the Turkish Military was coupled with the fact that the military appropriations, which amounted to about 10%[279] of the annual government budget, were accepted with little or no opposition. The Court of Accounts, the highest authority that oversees public expenditure, did not have judicial power over the defense expenditures until 2010. [280] In this context, the former vice admiral Atilla Kiyat's statements in January 2001 show the extent of political and financial immunity that the Turkish Armed Forces had. Kıyat further explained the

[277] Gerassimos Karabelieas, Civil-Military Relations: p. 41
[278] http://www.ssm.gov.tr/home/institutional/Sayfalar/law3238.aspx
[279] Kuru, The Rise and Fall of Military Tutelage in Turkey… p. 44, Lale Sarıibrahimoğlu, "Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri," in Ümit Cizre, ed., Almanak Türkiye Güvenlik Sektörü ve Demokratik Gözetim (Istanbul: TESEV, 2006), p. 62
[280] Kuru, p. 44.

tremendous control of TAF over the civilian administration in regards to threat and policy analysis. He said;

"Terror began in the Southeast in early 1980s. Now we say that we have been very successful against terror.... It is true that under the designated strategy, we have been successful. We have stopped the bloodshed. But it lasted fifteen years and thousands of people died. In the future, we might face something like the Vietnam syndrome that America had to face. Large amounts of money were poured into this conflict at the expense of the country's development. Mistakes were made back in the 1970s. We built the problem on the assumption that Turkey could be divided. If we had built it on the assumption that Turkey is strong enough not to be divided... perhaps there would have been no need for [an armed struggle]. We could have chosen to solve this problem by promoting freedom and not prohibitions, in which case our preventive measures would have been different. We could have succeeded with such measures in those days. We could perhaps have been a member of the European Union today."[281]

4.4.2.2 Judicial Oversight

The Turkish Military also maintained its supremacy through the State Security Courts (DGMs). The 1982 constitution established the DGMs to deal with the cases involving the security of the state.[282] DGMs replaced the military courts that were established during the martial law era subsequent to the military coup of 1980. (Now, 81)[283] In 1991, the law to Fight Terrorism[284] was adopted and the cases involving the

[281] Altinay, Ayse Gul. Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey, p. 160, quoted from Düzel, N. Generallerin mal beyanı açıklansın. Radikal, December 19, 2001
[282] Glenn Sulmansy, The National Security Court System: A National Evolution of Justice in an Age of Terror, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 161-162, quoted from Hootan Shambuyati, A Tale of Two Mayors: Courts and Politics in Iran and Turkey, Int'l Journal of Mid. East Studies (2204).
[283] Ibid

state's security, including terrorism were now dealt with under this law. According to this, the sessions were to be presided by three judges, one of whom ought to be an officer. The presence of the military judge unavoidably created pressure on the civilian judges. Glenn Sulmasy compares the SSCs to the U.S military commissions in Guantanamo regarding unlawful command influence.[285] According to Gerassimos Karabelias the presence of military in judiciary indicated a lack of confidence of the Turkish Military on the civilian authorities.[286] However, as part of the European Union membership negotiations, DGMs were completely abolished on June 30, 2004.[287]

Lastly, the Constitutional Court, which was established after the 1960 coup, served to strengthen the military supremacy. Karabelias states that through the Constitutional Court, the TAF gained another "legitimate" and non-partisan institution through which it would control the actions of the elected governments, and acts as "a watchdog of the regime."[288] Although, the constitutional courts in many countries are considered to be the protectors of civil rights from the possible attacks of the legislative and executive branches of the government,[289] in Turkey, it has foregone the principle rights of individuals and institutions for the sake of the perpetuation and security of the state. The Constitutional Court has done this by aggressively defining the boundaries of the constitution through employing the principles of Kemalism, especially the secularism

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[284] Anti-Terror Law, Act No. 3713: Law to Fight Terrorism (published in the Official Gazette Apr. 12, 1991).
[285] Sulmansy, p. 162
[286] Gerassimos Karabelias, Military Class and Perpetual State Control in Turkey, EUI Working Papers-Mediterranean Programme Series, 12/2008, European University Institute, Florence, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, p. 16. Quoted from "Turkish Government objects to Sackings by Secular Military" *Turkish Daily News*, 4 August 2003.
[287] http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=33328&l=1
[288] Karabelias, p. 16, Quoted from: Y.G Ozden, Hukukun Ustunlugune Saygi (Respect for the Rule of Law), Bilgi Yayinevi, 1990, p. 413
[289] Karabelias, p. 16, quoted from The Hon. Sir John Laws, "Is the High Court the Guardian of Fundamental Constitutional Rights?, Public Law, Spring 1993, p. 59.

and the nationalism aspects of it. For example, the court has closed more than eight political parties in the post-Ozal period on the grounds that they were undermining the Turkish secularism and territorial integrity. Karabelias concludes that the fact that Constitutional court functioned as the protector of the Kemalist constitution gave the military power to control over civilian rule. [290]

These privileges that the Turkish Military enjoyed were established and consolidated during the periods of the military rule (in 1960-1961, 1971-1973, and 1980-1983) by constitutional amendments. The civilian governments mostly shied away from blocking or rejecting these prerogatives. However, with the decisive victory of the AKP in 2002, the dominance of TAF began to gradually erode. In February 2010, the Security and Public Order Cooperation (EMASYA) Protocols, which had vested the military with extraordinary rights to deal with any perceived threat without the need for civilian permission, was abolished. Thanks to the constitutional amendments that were made after the 2010 referendum, the decisions of the High Military Council (YAS) were, for the first time, opened to judicial review. Thereby, those officers who have been expelled from the military due to the YAS decisions are now able to appeal their cases. Moreover, the civilian courts are now eligible to try military officers, especially those who have been involved in coup plots. [291] The law that passed in February 2011 states that the police officers are exempt from the compulsory military service. [292]

One of the most important steps to put the military under civilian rule came after the adoption of the constitutional amendments in the 2010 referendum. As mentioned earlier, the military spending was outside civilian oversight and not transparent.

290 Karabelias, pp. 16-17
291 Today's Zaman "Newly approved bill reinstates all rights of YAŞ victims" March 12, 2011
292 Kuru, p. 44

However, the new Law on the Court of Accounts (no. 6085) subsequent to the constitutional amendments of the 2010 gave the Court of Accounts authority to supervise military spending "on behalf of the Parliament."[293] However, a last minute modification of a significant portion of the military spending was omitted from judicial oversight. Still, thanks to the new law, inspectors are allowed to audit whether or not resources are used effectively.[294] Moreover, the way that certain military facilities, such as dining (orduevi), night clubs and canteens was controversial in that they were said to be run inefficiently and sources used for private purposes. For the first time, these facilities are not under the supervision of the Court of Accountants.[295]

The Turkish Armed Forces kept its authority and supremacy alive by perpetuating certain fears, which is called 'the Sevres Phobia', that it deemed detrimental to the existence of the Turkish Republic. Therefore, the next part will examine these aspects of 'the Sevres Phobia'.

4.4.3 Role of Military in Foreign Policy: The Sevres Phobia and Securitization of TFP

The Sevres Phobia gets its name from the notorious Sevres Treaty, which was signed on August 10, 1920, between the defeated Ottoman Empire and the Allied Powers, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Greece and Armenia, who partitioned what was left of the Ottoman Empire, which is today's Turkey. After the successful resistance of the Turkish nationalists headed by Mustafa Kemal, the treaty of Sevres was never implemented and was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Because, the

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[293] Lale Kemal, TESEV Democratization Program Policy Report Series: Security Sector 3 Report Summary, The Parliamentary Will Remains Weak The New Law on the Turkish Court of Accounts and the Ongoing Problems of Monitoring Military Spending, p. 2 http://www.tesev.org.tr/assets/publications/file/CourtofAccounts-Kemal-Summary.pdf

[294] Court of Accounts begins auditing military, a first in Turkish history, *Today's Zaman*, August 08, 2011, http://www.todayszaman.com/national_court-of-accounts-begins-auditing-military-a-first-in-turkish-history_253051.html

[295] ibid

remaining Turks came to the brink of extinction as the result of catastrophic defeat in World War I, and the partition of the nuclei of the Turkish homeland, Anatolia, the Treaty of Sevres created a "xenophobic causation" [296], which is also called the Sevres Syndrome or Phobia.

Although the Turkish War of Independence was won and the new republic was established in 1923, the legacy of the Sevres syndrome persisted and created insecurity in the Turkish state and it later became one of the most important undeclared columns of Turkish foreign and domestic policy. Karabelias and Mikelis state that this situation created a paradox that whereas the Kemalist Turkish republic was established based on unconditional adoption of the Western values, it was also very mistrustful and suspicious of the very civilization to which it had turned. More importantly, this situation led to the creation and perpetuation of a "profound security culture" or "security syndrome" as well as the notion of "encirclement by hostile neighbors or major powers that are posing a threat to national unity and sovereignty.[297] For example, the Eurosceptic Turkish elite believes that the EU's hidden agenda is, through accession negations, to establish Armenian and Kurdish states in today's Turkey.[298]

The syndrome has been prevalent among the Kemalist state elite, and political culture.[299] One important feature of the Turkish political culture in the new republic era

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[296] Nicole E. Farina, "Revitalizing Relations with Turkey" in William A. Rugh ed. "The Practice of Diplomacy: Confronting Challenges Abroad, Palgrave MacMillan, 2011. p. 35, the footnote 19.
[297] Gerassimos Karabelias and Kyriakos Mikelis, Fear Not! Is Ahmet Davutoğlu's 'Strategic Depth' a Threat to Atatürk's 'Peace in the Country, Peace in the World'? 8th Pan-European IR Conference, 2013 p. 4. http://www.eisa-net.org/be-bruga/eisa/files/events/warsaw2013/Karabelias-Mikelis_Fear%20Not%20Is%20Ahmet%20Davutoglu%E2%80%99s%20'Strategic%20Depth'%20a%20Threat%20to%20Ataturk's%20'Peace%20in%20the%20Country,%20Peace%20in%20the%20World'.pdf
[298] Sahin Alpay, The Declining 'Soft Power' of the EU Regarding Turkey and its Consequences, 2009 Centre for European Security Studies, pp. 165. http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=109358
[299] Alpay, pp. 165-166

has, to some extent, been the belief that the foreign entities, be it small or big, are still aspiring, overtly or covertly, to weaken and eventually finish what was left undone in the Sevres Treaty. Enemies that are adamant about their ill aspirations towards Turkey encircle Turkey.[300]

Kemal Kirisci argues that due to the Sevres Syndrome, the Turkish policymakers saw the world from a *realpolitik* perspective. He goes on saying that the syndrome is also a representation of the Ottoman Empire's relations vis-à-vis the European power, to which the former had constantly lost territories in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This historical standpoint has profoundly affected the Turkish policy makers.[301]Although never implemented, the articles of the Sevres became the embodiment of the Kemalist ideology, making it vital for an understanding of Kemalist threat perception.[302] More importantly, the syndrome has been used by the Kemalist elite to manipulate and shape the public perception of external and internal affairs. Kemal Kirisci's following observation is valid;

"*In this manner, 'national security' becomes defined and stressed with respect to concerns and threats, real or imagined, that might undermine territorial integrity…in Turkey, the military plays a critical role in perpetuating the Sevres phobia. Turkish national security culture, which is heavily influenced by the military establishment, emphasizes thinking and analysis influenced by the Sevres phobia. Military education and socialization is very important process for the dissemination of this culture. All men in Turkey serve in the army and most top bureaucrats attend a training program on*

[300] Kemal Kirisci, Turkey's Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times, EU Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Paper no. 92 (2006), p. 32
[301] Kirisci, p. 33
[302] Jung and Piccol, p. 115.

national security run by military. In this program, bureaucrats are exposed to a similar perspective on world affairs to that which all the officers corps of the Turkish military experience. The military perspective is very much based on the realpolitik view of world politics that is characterized by a deep sense of suspicion and tendency to shy away from cooperation" [303]

As we saw previously, the traditional security trajectory has been determined by the military-civilian bureaucratic elite since the inception of the republic. The Turkish national security concept had two dominant pillars; a fear of abandonment and fear of loss of territory.[304]

In this regard, Alexander Murinson calls Turkey "a lonely state". He argues that main tenets of Turkish foreign policy are; "the historical experience of Ottoman Empire (the tradition of the balance of power); nationalist Kemalist ideology and the creation of the Turkish Republic on the remnants of the Ottoman territory in Anatolia (hence, isolationism)' a Western orientation expressed in the policy of Europeanization and modernization (later, NATO membership) and lastly, a suspicion of foreign powers and interests (the Sevres Syndrome)".[305]

Sedat Laciner expounds on the skepticism in Turkish foreign policy. Whereas the skepticism is not a declared aspect of Turkish foreign policy, Laciner states, it is actually

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[303] Kemal Kirisci, Turkey's Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times, EU Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Paper no. 92 (2006): p. 33.
No 92, September 2006, Institute for Security Studies, p. 33

[304] Pinar Bilgin, Turkey's changing security discourses: The challenge of globalization. European Journal of Political Research 44: 175–201, 2005 p. 183. Quoted from Criss, N.B. & Karaosmanolu, A.L. (n.d.). Explaining Turkey's Alignment with NATO: Realism and Culturalism. p. 12. Unpublished paper.

[305] Alexander Murinson, Turkey's Entente with Israel and Azerbaijan: State Identity and Security in the Middle East and Caucasus, Routledge, 2010, p. 37-38.

the most important characteristics of Kemalism.[306] The Kemalist regime's insecurity about its political capability to maintain power internally and externally can be seen in Ismet (Inönü) Pasha's speech to the army officers in the Inönü Wars:

`You must know the situation you are in. The Padisah (Sultan) is your enemy. The entire Western world is your enemy. Listen, don't tell anybody, but the Turkish nation is also your enemy. They think you are the reason of the war." [307]

Among the entities that the Kemalist insecurity was directed are the former Ottoman subjects (Arabs, Armenians and Greeks) minorities, religious groups, liberals and all those who are perceived opposing the Kemalist principles. Laciner concludes that the Kemalist skepticism is the result of three factors: a) the Ottoman experience; b) Turkey's limitations and the Kemalist regime's lack of confidence; and finally c) European biased attitude towards the Turks. [308]

The roots of this skepticism and cautiousness towards the west can actually be found during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, well before the Treaty of Sevres. Due to the weakening nature of the Empire and the rapid rise of the west, it prompted the Ottomans to develop the same security paranoia. What really molded the minds of the Turkish elite with insecurity and suspicion was the rise of the minorities (Greeks, Armenians and later Arabs) against the Sultan and their demands for independence, which played a great role in the implosion of the Empire. Pinar Bilgin says; *"the acts of*

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[306] Sedat Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism, p. 116. (Laciner further states Kemalist scholars saw skepticism as a virtue and positive element of Kemalism. Kürkcüoglu names `skepticism' principle as `no total confidence on friends and the outer world' and further continues: `While he (Kemal) never closed all doors to dialogue even with the enemy, Atatürk, never placed too much confidence in friends, or the outer world as a whole, for that matter. ' Omer Kürkcüoglu, `An Analysis of Ataturk's Foreign Policy, 1919 - 1938, TYIR, 1980-1981, Vol. XX, pp. 135-141.
[307] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism p. 116, quoted from Ulus, 17 May 1968.
[308] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism p. 116.

minorities left a negative imprint on the psyche of many in Turkey."[309] Therefore, it can be said that one reason why the Kemalist elite have been minimally involved in international affairs and refrained from following a proactive foreign policy is the fear of abandonment and loss of territory. [310]

In the same manner, Laciner agrees that the Kemalist Turkey unavoidably inherited certain Ottoman foreign policy practices. These are Turkish Aloofness; Paradoxical Westernism; Skepticism towards the West; Skepticism towards minorities.[311]

The dissolution of the empire created far-reaching fears among the Turkish elite. They developed the perception that the Turks are on their own and only they have no friends but themselves. "The Muslim brothers" in the Middle East too were considered adversaries based on the bitter experiences before and during the WWI. The former minorities, the Armenians and the Greeks, who sided with the "enemy" and united against the Turks for their annihilation, have become enemies too.[312] This situation is ironic in that before the rise of nationalism and the independence movements in Europe and their catastrophic effects on the Ottoman Empire, the Armenians were considered "millet-i sadika" (the loyal nation) as they were very loyal and attached to the sultan [313] and had a privileged position in the Ottoman society.

Finally, the Kemalist elite in Turkey conserved the legacy of the Ottoman Empire in two ways. One is the patriarchal elitism that was used to justify a rigidly authoritarian

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[309] Bilgin, p. 184.
[310] ibid. quoted from Aksin, A. (1991). Atatürk'ün Dıs Politika lkeleri ve Diplomasisi [Atatürk's foreign policy principles and diplomacy]. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.: pp. 198–201, 263–268
[311] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism p. 116.
[312] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism p. 117
[313] Eric D. Weitz, Germany and the Ottoman Borderlands: The Entwining of Imperial Aspirations, Revolutions, and Ethinc Violence, in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Eds.) Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands, Indiana University Press, 2013, p. 17

state administration. The military-bureaucratic modernity, which was promoted by the newly rising elite of Turkey, retarded the advent and the development of democracy. Two, the Sevres syndrome that produced the paranoia that the external and internal enemies would try to divide and eventually put an end to the newly established republic became an integral part of the Kemalist elite's worldview created impediments towards the solution of major internal and external problems. [314] The Kurdish issue and the strained relations with neighbors are some of them, which will be elaborated in the next chapters.

4.4.4 Securitization of the Turkish Domestic and Foreign Policy

4.4.4.1 The Concept of Securitization

The abovementioned traits of the traditional Turkish foreign policy making resulted in excessive securitization of the Turkish domestic and foreign policy, which has had enormous implications. Therefore, I am going to analyze the concept of "securitization" and how it has been applied to the Turkish domestic and foreign policy, which helped perpetuate the Kemalist elite's hegemony.

In their study of the Turkish-Israeli relations, Ali Balci and Tuncay Kardas conclude that securitization consisted of three stages. The first one is the portrayal of a certain issue such as an "existential threat to a referent object." This stage is not actually securitization but a prelude to it, which they call "securitization attempt".[315] In order for an issue to be "securitized", the target audience ought to accept it so. Therefore, the

[314] Dietrich Jung and Wolfgang Piccoli (2001) *Turkey at the Crossroads: Ottoman Legacies and a Greater Middle East*, Palgrave, p. 105.

[315] Ali Balci and Tuncay Kardas (2012) The Changing Dynamics of Turkey's Relations with Israel: An Analysis of 'Securitization', *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 14, No.2, p. 101, quoted from, Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (London: Lynne Reinner Publisher, 1998), p. 25.

second stage is the endeavor of the securitizing actor to persuade the audience that "the referent object is existential threat." It is important that the target audience does not necessarily have to be the public. An array of political decision makers, bureaucracy and military officers can be considered as target. Therefore, Balci and Kardas state that *"Hence a securitization move becomes successful when it conceives 'a more restrictive audience' on the presence of an 'existential threat' to a referent object."* Hence, even if the general population refuses the securitization rhetoric and deem the proposed solutions not acceptable, an issue can still become securitized if part or whole of bureaucratic, political and/or military believe so.[316] Finally, the third stage of securitization is the execution of certain measures to defeat the perceived threat.[317]

According to Barry Buzan et al., one important aspect of securitization is a specific rhetorical structure, such as survival and priority action (because if the problem is not handled now it will be too late, and we will not exist to remedy our failure.) This helps to find security actors and phenomena besides military-political sector. [318] In terms of security, an agent presents extraordinary measures by greatly exaggerating and prioritizing an issue. One of the most important things to consider here is to understand what amounts to a threat and collective response to it. Buzan et al. argues that the process of securitization is a "*speech act*". The speech act does not necessarily contain the word 'security'. The fundamental issue here is to create an existential threat, which calls for

[316] Balci and Kardas, pp. 101-102, quoted from Alan Collins, "Securitization, Frankenstein's Monster and Malaysian education," *ThePacific Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (December 2005), 567–588.
[317] Balci and Kardas, p. 102 quoted from Collins, "Securitization, Frankenstein's Monster and Malaysian Education", p. 570
[318] Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde (1998) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis,*London: Lynne Reinner Publisher, p. 26.

extraordinary response and to get a significant audience to acknowledge it. [319]

Securitization can be divided into ad hoc or institutionalized. The emergence of the latter depends greatly to the nature of the threat and the response given to it. Persistent or recurrent threats will greatly lead to institutionalized security solutions. The most discernible manifestation of this situation is in the military sector where states have constructed bureaucracies, procedures, and military establishments in the name of a solution to the problems. [320]

One of the most important consequences of securitization is that the authorities are inclined to repress internal opposition, resorting to undemocratic means and justifying their actions by creating threat perceptions. [321]

On the other hand, desecuritization is reversing the course and means, "*the shifting of issues out of emergency mode and into the normal bargaining process of the political sphere*." Put differently, the extraordinary measures and processes are abandoned and the security issues are restored to their acceptable courses. Desecuritization requires the securitized referent objects to be re-politicized by designated actors with the help of a smooth process. A successful desecuritization entails convincing the target audience that "*the referent object is not existentially threatened and that the measures are counterproductive and that they need to reverse the outcomes of the successful securitization."* [322]

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[319] Buzan et.al, pp. 26-27
[320] Buzan et.al, p. 28.
[321] Buzan et.al, p. 29
[322] ibid

4.4.4.2 Securitization of Turkish Politics

In Turkey, national security is perceived as the threats that may be posed against the state sovereignty, territorial and national integrity of the republic, and the Kemalist ideology. The definition of national security had long been defined by the military circles thus has had a 'military oriented' approach. As mentioned earlier, due to the unchallenged nature of the armed forces, the officers, especially those in the National Security Council, would determine the national security agenda and the civilians were obliged to implement the agenda. The Sevres Syndrome was part of the agenda set by the Kemalist military. [323] The military elite as well as their civilian counterparts would constantly bring up the threat agenda in order to continue their legitimacy in the governance of the country. Levon Hovsepian goes so far as arguing, *"It is possible to say that the military also became interested in sowing such perceptions with which it was solving "the issue of ensuring national unity for confronting external enemy."* [324]

One important feature of the security approach of TAF is that it sees internal threats as extension of those of external. Therefore, they are intertwined. For example, during the Cold War era, the socialists, far leftists in Turkey were regarded by the military as the Soviet proxy. The Islamists and certain Islamic sects in Turkey were considered to be the tools of Iran and Saudi Arabia that were believed to undermine Turkey's Kemalist/secular ideology and territorial integrity. Due to the nature of the PKK terrorism and the damage it had inflicted for the last three decades, the military circles consider the organization to be a tool that is used by many international actors against Turkey. However, the last example is not far from truth. It is well documented that the

[323] Levon Hovsepian (2012)The Fears of Turkey: The Sevres Syndrome: Manifestations of the "Sèvres Syndrome" in Turkey's Socio-Political Discourse. Yerevan Information and Public Relation Center, p. 21
[324] Hovsepian, p. 26

PKK has received a great deal of support from Syria, where the PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan found safe heaven until he was captured in the Greek Embassy in Kenya, with a Greek-Cypriot passport. [325] After his capture, Ocalan told authorities that Greece had supported PKK by providing 'arms and rockets'.[326] Turkish authorities claimed PKK received military training in Lavrion, which is 30 miles outside of Athens, Greece.[327] One of the incidents that confirmed this claim was when 6 members of the Greek Parliament, Leandras Hacidimitrio, Dimitris Vunacos, Yanis Stathopoulos, Maria Mahera, Kostas Baduvas, and Panayotis Sguridis visited the PKK leader in the Bekaa Valley training camp in Lebanon, in 1995.[328]

Furthermore, Iran is said to have PKK camps in its territory. Stephan Larabee argues, "*Iran has little interest in the PKK insurgency coming to an end, since that would eliminate one of Tehran's main levers for putting pressure on Turkey."*[329]

The above mentioned 'referent objects' were presented as existential threat to national security especially after the fall of the Soviet Union, in the 1990s. For the military elite, the main reference objects became territorial integrity and secularism.[330] For example, then Brigadier General and Secretary to the Chief of Staff, Hursit Tolon, who later became a very influential general in Turkish Army stated in 1989 that the threat that came from the north (the Soviet Union and Bulgaria) had been replaced by the one that come from the south (Syria [*the PKK and the Euphrates issues*], Iraq and Iran.

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[325] Ilhan Uzgel, Between Preatorianism…p. 187
[326] CNN News, February 22, 1999, "Ocalan reportedly implicates Greeks in supporting PKK", http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9902/22/kurds.02/
[327] Nader Entessar (2010) *Kurdish Politics in the Middle East*, The Lynne Reinner Publishers, p. 129
[328] Taki Berbarakis, "Cirkin Ittifak (the Evil Alliance)" *Milliyet*, July 1, 1995
[329] Stephen Larabee, "Why Erdogan Wants Peace with the PKK?" the RAND Blog, March 27, 2013 http://www.rand.org/blog/2013/03/why-erdogan-wants-peace-with-the-pkk.html
[330] Balci and Kardas, p. 104, quoted from Aydýn Özdalga, "Tehdit Suriye, Irak ve İran'dan," *Milliyet*, December 13, 1989, p. 14.

He said; "*The countries that lies along our southern border possess missiles whose range exceeds 1000km. Furthermore, the fact that these countries support terrorism against Turkey means that our country is facing a severe threat to its security. All these developments will affect power structure, qualitative and quantitative aspect of our military. All viable options against these threats are being evaluated and we will continue to keep our country safe against these threats."* [331]

Then Chief of Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces Ismail Hakki Karadayi explained in 1995 the threat perception of the country in an interview. He said, "*The heir to the former Soviet Union, Russia is aspiring to revive its olden glorious days by pursuing expansionist foreign policy in the Caucasus and the Balkans. This is against our interest. Iran's official state policy is to export its state ideology, radical Islamism. Syria still could not accept that the Hatay Province became part of Turkey in 1939. Moreover, Damascus has been trying to defame Turkey among the Arab League members due to its uneasiness of the South East Anatolian Project (GAP). Syria has been giving the biggest support to the terrorist organization (PKK). Greece is arming the Aegean islands, which is against international treaties. The policies that Athens is pursuing in Western Trace against ethnic Turks aim at assimilating the Turkish minority there."*[332] Finally, the Office of Chief of Staff declared that the Greek provocations in the Aegean Sea and a Greek military action in Cyprus was a casus belli.[333]

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[331] Aydin Ozdalga, "Tehdit Suriye, Irak ve Iran'dan", *Milliyet* December 13, 1989
[332] "Karadayi Tam Konuştu," *Milliyet*, February 12, 1995, p. 14.
[333] Derya Sazak, "Atina'yla Savas Kacinilmaz Olur" July 1, 1995

One of the internal threats that TAF perceives existential is *irtica*, religious reactionism. Even though the issue dates back to the late 80s,[334] the *irtica* "threat" gained prominence among the Kemalist military and civilian elite in the mid-90s, when the Welfare Party (RP), the first party with an openly declared Islamic agenda, became part of the ruling coalition government in 1994. After the postmodern coup of 1997, the military replaced *irtica* with the Kurdish separatism as the number one threat to the existence of Turkey.[335] Çevik Bir, the then deputy chief of the General Staff, who was a very influential figure that shaped the Turkish politics in the second half of the 90s named Iran a "terrorist state" and said it was exporting its anti-secular ideology to Turkey. [336] He went as far as calling on the United States to list Iran as "a terrorist state."[337]

The rising securitization in Turkey in the 90s led to an unprecedented rapproacment between Turkey and Israel. The main driving force behind this "axis"[338] according to Çevik Bir, then deputy chief of the General Staff, who was a very influential figure, was *"the circumstances in the region that dictated an inevitable cooperation of two countries"* [339] Defending the mutual cooperation between Turkey and Israel, a Turkish senior officer stated, "*we are surrounded on all sides by trouble. We are in the*

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[334] "Orduya İrtica Uyarisi*Milliyet*, December 13, 1986, p. 11
[335] "Ordu: Öncelik İç Tehdit," *Milliyet*, April 30, 1997, p. 18
[336] Yasemin Çongar, "Bir: İran tescilli terörist," *Milliyet*, February 21, 1996, p. 14.
[337] Bengio, The Turkish-Israeli Relationship: Changing Ties of Middle Eastern Outsiders, Palgrave MacMillan, 2004, p. 161. Quoted from: "Cevik Bir ABD'de acikladi: PKK'da Stinger Fuzesi Var" *Yeni Yuzyil*, 21 February 1997.
[338] Mustafa Kibaroglu states that the developing Turco-Israeli relation in 1990s could be called an "axis", an "entente" even an "alliance. (Mustafa Kibaroglu, "Turkey and Israel Strategized" *Middle East Quarterly,* Winter 2002, p. 61)
[339] Ahmet Güner, "Türk-İsrail anlaşmasýnýn bilinmeyenleri," *Aksiyon*, Vol. 76, May 18, 1996.

hot seat. It is critical for us to jump outside this circle of chaos and find friends in the region. Israel was the perfect choice." [340]

The top military brass saw the rapprochement as a way to deal with the threats. In his opinion piece published by the Washington Institute, Cevik Bir said, the military agreement signed between Turkey and Israel paved the way for resolution of the Turkish-Syrian crisis and the *irtica*.[341]

Cevik Bir further stated, "*Under the provisions of Turkey's constitutional system, the military is charged with protecting the secular republican legacy of Kemal Atäturk, the founder of modern Turkey. The army made it clear to Erbakan (the head of Islamist RP) that it would not sit idly by and watch Turkey turn toward Islam or allow Israeli-Turkish military relations to be jeopardized. In a reaffirmation of secularist supremacy, the secretary general of the powerful National Security Council (MGK)—a body made up of both military and political leaders—declared that Turkey's secular society and educational system formed basic tenets of the country's national security*."[342]

The extent of the security syndrome went such that in 1999, the four star general, Nahil Seneloglu, during the opening ceremony of the new academic year, warned the young officers that "*they were there to learn how Turkey was the most lonely country in the world and that the country was surrounded by the largest number of internal and external enemies in the world*."[343]

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[340] "Turkish Chief of General Staff Meets Netanyahu," *Hurriyet Daily News*, February 28, 1997.

[341] Çevik Bir (1999) Reflections on Turkish-Israeli Relations and Turkish Security," *Policywatch*, no. 422, November 5

[342] Çevik Bir and Martin Sherman, "Formula for Stability: Turkey plus Israel," *The Middle East Quarterly,* Vol. IX, No. 4 (Fall 2002), p. 27. http://www.meforum.org/511/formula-for-stability-turkey-plus-israel

[343] Kemal Kirisci, Turkey's Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times, p. 33, quoted from Radikal Newspaper, October 4, 1999.

The Kemalist civilian elite also contributed to the continuation of the Sevres Syrndrome. For instance, according to the former ambassador Sükrü Elekdag; "*there are valid reasons for Turkey's regarding other neighbors with skepticism and as a source of threat. Two countries among these neighbors, namely Greece and Syria, both of whom have territorial claims over Turkey and have supported the terrorist PKK organization*" Cetin further claimed; *Turkey benefiting from NATO's collective defense should not be counted on any more. From now on Turkey has to fight against any threat directed to her survival and security solely by her own national means.*[344]

In 1993, then foreign minister Sukru Elekdag stated "Because i*ts geopolitical and geostrategic location places Turkey in the neighborhood of the most unstable, uncertain and unpredictable region of the world ... it has turned into a frontline state faced with multiple fronts. It is at all possible for the crises and conflicts in these regions (the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Balkans) to spread and engulf Turkey."*[345] He further argued in April 1996 that *"[i]n terms of foreign relations, our nation is experiencing what is perhaps the most problematic period of the last fifty years of the Republican era. ... Turkey is besieged by a veritable ring of evil*."[346]

Given the developments in the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Middle East, some experts used the concept of *"Bermuda Triangle"* to define the post-Cold War security perception in Turkey.[347]

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[344] Sukru Elekdag, 2 1/2 War Strategy, Center for Strategic Research, http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/+%DE+-kr+--Elekda%A6%FE-2-1-2-War-Strategy.pdf

[345] Charlotte McPherson, You are Moving Here?, *Today's Zaman* , 02 September, 2009. Quoted from: Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer's report, "Turkey's Political and Security Interests in the New Geostrategic Environment of the Expanded Middle East, Occasional Paper no. 19" (Washington: Henry L. Stimson Center, July 1994)

[346] Malik Mufti, (1998) Daring and Caution in Turkish Foreign Policy,' *The Middle East Journal* 52, no. 1 (1998) quoted from Sukru Elekdag, 'Ufuk Turu' (Tour d'horizon), Milliyet (Istanbul), 15 April 1996.

[347]Isil Kazan, Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, seen from Turkey, in Thomas Diez (ed) The European Union and the Cyprus Conflict: Modern Conflict , Post-Modern Union, Manchester University Press, 2002, p. 64.

Hikmet Sami Turk, the former Turkish Minister of Defense, for example, stated in 1999 that: "*In the midst of destruction and reconstruction, Turkey stood and continues to stand as an anchor of stability in its region. Geographic destiny placed Turkey in the virtual epicenter of a 'Bermuda Triangle' of post-Cold War volatility and uncertainty, with the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Middle East encircling us*."[348]

While Turkey's security concerns have emanated from its immediate neighborhood, its implications have also included the European Union and the United States, long-term Turkey's ally. For instance, the EU persistence in democratic reforms, especially in the context of the Kurdish problem, perpetuated the Sevres syndrome and contributed to many decision makers' conviction that the EU is trying to divide the country, compromising the territorial integrity, as they did after the WWI.[349]

The former president of Turkey Suleyman Demirel responded to the European insistence of democratic solution to the Kurdish problem by accusing the EU, saying that "*West wants to involve the Sèvres Treaty to set up a Kurdish state in the region, (...) and that this was what they meant by political solution*."[350] In an interview with the German weekly Die Zeit, the then Interim Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit from the Democratic Left Party denied that there is a Kurdish problem in Turkey but the PKK terrorism problem, which certain external powers supported in order to divide the country.[351]

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[348] Dietrich Jung (2003). The Sevres Syndrome: Turkish Foreign Policy and its Historical Legacies. (2003, August) American Diplomacy: Foreign Service Despatches and Periodic Reports on U.S Foreign Policy. http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_roll/2003_07-09/jung_sevres/jung_sevres.html

[349] Dietrich Jung and Wolfgang Piccoli, Turkey at the Crossroads: Ottoman Legacies and a Greater Middle East, p. 117.

[350] Dietrich Jung, The Sevres Syndrome: Turkish Foreign Policy and its Historical Legacies, *American Diplomacy*, 2012 quoted from, Gözen, Ramazan (1997), "Two Processes in Turkish Foreign Policy: Integration and Isolation," Foreign Policy (Ankara), 21/1-2, p. 119. http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_roll/2003_07-09/jung_sevres/jung_sevres.html

[351] Jung, The Sevres Syndrome…

This fear and suspicion about preconditions set to Turkish membership aroused a great deal of wariness among the Turkish decision makers. The then Chief of the Strategy and Force Planning Division at the General Staff, Sadi Erguvenc, argued that; "…*while Turkey expects its allies to give support that it deserves from them in its fight against the PKK terror, it receives an unwarranted embargo on associated weapons sales. And, when Turkey adamantly defends its unitary state structure it becomes frustrated when its allies would like to see the Kurds be treated not as regular citizens but as minorities."*[352] For instance, the German government in 2000 cancelled the $7.1 billion sale of some 1000 Leopard-II tanks to Turkey, citing Turkey's human right records.[353]

Another example was in 1995 when the US Congress blocked the order of ten Super Cobra AH-1 gunships arguing that they would be used against Kurds.[354] Likewise in 1996, the US Congress cancelled the delivery of three Perry class frigates to Turkey fearing that the balance of power between Turkey and Greece would be tipped in favor of the former. Efraim Inbar states that the success of the Greek and Armenian lobbies in Washington played a great role in the cancellation of these deliveries.[355]

The above-mentioned developments and entrenched "Sevres Syndrome" manifested itself in the Turkish society as the deep anti-American sentiments. Many

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[352]Sadi Erguvenc (1998) Turkey's Security Perceptions, *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1998,
p. 40.

[353] Advocates for the Rule of Law, "German Ruling Party Rejects $7.1 Billion Leopard II Tank Contract With Turkey AHI Welcomes This Decision And Calls On The U.S. To Follow This Example" September 24, 2000. http://ahiworld.org/media-center/press-releases/2000/173-german-ruling-party-rejects-71-billion-leopard-ii-tank-contract-with-turkey-ahi-welcomes-this-decision-and-calls-on-the-us-to-follow-this-example.html

[354] In 2008, Turkey requested 12 Super Cobra helicopters from the U.S. but the order was not approved by the Congress again, this time not because of the Kurdish issue but because "*the US military's shortage of such aircraft*". The three of 12 helicopters were later delivered in September 2012. (*Today's Zaman,* "Turkish military acquires AH-1W Super Cobra attack helicopters" September 24, 2012.

[355] Efraim Inbar (2001) the Strategic Glue in the Turkish –Israeli Alignment, in Barry M. Rubin, Kemal Kirişci (eds.) Turkey in World Politics: An Emerging Multiregional Power, Lynne Rienner Publishers, p.122

Turks believe that throughout the history of Turkish-American relations, the latter has most of the time acted contrary to the former's national interests. Such incidents were the Cuban Crisis and ensuing removal of the Jupiter missiles from Turkey, the 1975 arms embargo, Economic losses incurred by the American invasions of Iraq and the U.S support for the Kurdish autonomy and possible Kurdish independence in north of Iraq.[356] Finally, the reluctance of U.S support for Turkey in its war against the PKK is one of the biggest reasons the Turks rank among the most anti-American nations in the world, although Turkey is a NATO member.[357]

4.5 Conclusion

The Turkish war of independence witnessed the rise of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. He waged the war not only against the European allied forces but also against the Ottoman Empire and the Sultan, who according to M. Kemal, was a collaborator with the occupying forces. As seen from the previous chapter M. Kemal's experiences during his time as an officer in the Ottoman Army greatly shaped his worldview, which he applied after his success in the war of independence. Complete rejection to the entire Ottoman past was a daunting task and required reforms of quite radical and aggressive nature well as determination to implement them. Having won the war and established the new republic, M. Kemal set to implement those reforms. However, the nature of the reforms

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[356] The U.S policy in regards to Iraq's status, particularly the status of the Iraqi Kurds has drawn enormous criticism from the Turkish officials. An independent Kurdish state in the Middle East is believed to pose security challenges for Turkey as it may have implications for Turkey's own Kurds. It may be that in the future, the independent Kurdish state would have adverse effect on Turkey's territorial integrity by creating a Kurdish secessionist movement. (Mustafa Kibaroglu and Tarik Oguzlu, "Turkey and the United States in the twenty-first century: friends or foes?" The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis Vol. 20, No. 4, December 2008, p. 374.
http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10163270802507336?journalCode=rkjd20#.VZ61sPlViko [367382]). This situation only served to aggravate the Sevres phobia in Turkey. (Kemal Kirisci, Turkey and the United States: Ambivalent Allies+ Middle East Review of International Affairs Vol. 2, No. 4, December 1998, p. 24.)

[357] Omer Taspinar, Turkey's Never Ending Anti-Americanism, Tuday's Zaman, May 4, 2014

and the people to whom they were applied were not compatible. The western oriented ethno centrist and secular reforms were to be applied to Turkish people who are predominantly made up of people for whom religion was an important part of their life. Moreover, the Kurds had already attained their group identity well before the war of independence and the Turkish ethnocentric policies in post-war era created resentment among them. The top to bottom reform agenda had to be employed by an emerging group of few, the ruler or the center, which did not necessarily share the same worldview as the majority or the periphery, the ruled.

It was not long before the Kemalist elite, which was made up of civilian bureaucracy, the legislation and the military, take full control of the sources of the new republic and see themselves as the sole owner of it and became the power center. The Kemalist principles were engrained in the PRP party program, which also became the core of the constitution. That is to say, PRP came to be equal to the state. It was after Ataturk's death and during the Inonu rule (1938-1950) that the Kemalist elite acquired its class-consciousness. During this time the elite continued to consolidate their grip on the state and the Turkish people by using the Kemalist principles against any opposition, such as Islamists, Ottomanist or Communists/Leftists that may have arisen. Therefore, the Kemalist bureaucratic elite turned into a quasi-authoritarian state machine. The notion that any entity outside of the Kemalist realm constituted a threat to Kemalism thus the state no doubt retarded the advent of pluralistic rule in Turkey.

It was not until the end of the World War II, the subsequent grave economic hardships and the urgent need for western financial assistance that compelled the PRP administration to allow for an opposition. The 1950 elections and the overwhelming

victory of the Democratic Party (DP) of Adnan Menderes proved that the top-to-bottom reforms and the center-periphery relations failed. For the first time, an entity outside of the Kemalist realm, although DP reiterated that it was Kemalist but was against the interpretation of Kemalism by PRP, came to power challenging the state machine sent shockwaves across the Kemalist elite. The "Anatolian" majority/periphery, for the first time, began to find representation in Ankara, which was identified with the "center".

The DP began to touch one of the most sensitive points of the Kemalist establishment; Islam. By relaxing the Kemalist secular practices in Turkey, Adnan Menderes continued to harvest the support of the Anatolian mass (the periphery) while at the same time attracting reaction from the Kemalist establishment. The DP brought change to Turkish foreign policy too. Menderes began to abandon traditional western-skeptic, static and timid foreign policy practices by becoming a staunch pro-American and attempting to change the Middle Eastern discourse.

The elite considered the ten-year DP rule as an attempt to unravel the Kemalist revolution, a threat to the foundation of state and most importantly defiance to their interest and unchallenged grip on the state resources. The Kemalist elite struck back in the 1960 by flexing its military muscle, toppling the democratically elected government and executing its notables. The 1960 military coup was a turning point for Turkish politics. Having understood that the periphery could no longer be contained through civilian means, the elite began to rely on a crude form of coercion, the Turkish military, to preserve and perpetuate their interest in the name of protecting the Kemalist revolution. The coup also showed that the elite did not have tolerance to the rise of the conservative/rural Anatolian majority.

The military takeover of 1960 marked the beginning of a new era for Turkish politics; the political hegemony of the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF). All through the next four decades the Turkish domestic and foreign politics would be heavily influenced and to a great degree steered by TAF. The military interventions of 1971, 1980 and 1997 are the quintessence of the TAF's potency to exert its muscles over legislation, academia, judiciary, economy, press, and virtually all aspects of life in Turkey. Given the 'praetorian' nature of and the overwhelming clout it has over the Turkish politics, in this chapter I examined the sources of and means by which TAF perpetuated its hegemony. First of all, the embedded military culture in Turkish society, in which TAF is revered and exalted, made it an unquestionable entity. The Turks viewed military from a sacred point of view, calling it "*the home of Prophet Muhammed*". Furthermore, the founding father of the Turkish republic, M. Kemal, was a soldier, and assigned the military as the protector of the foundations of the newly established republic. Therefore, the military made it its fundamental obligation to protect and perpetuate the principles of the Kemalist revolution.

The rise of the periphery and the subsequent 1960 coup prompted the military to assume a more precautionary and proactive role by institutionalizing its role in the rule of the country. The first step was the establishment of the National Security Council, through which it held a tight grip on the civilian authority and if necessity arose, 'corrected' them. This enabled the generals to have control over education, academia, foreign policy and daily life of Turks. Furthermore, TAF began to acquire a more sovereign nature by establishing the Armed Forces Mutual Fund (OYAK), which over the decades, grew into a vast economic empire. TAF now became sovereign and supreme

not only politically and socially but also economically. The growing defense industry and military spending only helped TAF to consolidate its privileged position and hegemony. Finally, by propagating the notion that Turkey is surrounded by enemies both externally and from within and ensuing securitization of Turkish politics was another factor for the persistence of military dominance in Turkey.

To sum up, the Kemalist elite (bureaucracy, academia, press and especially the military) continued to influence Turkish domestic and foreign policy all throughout the second half of the 20th century. The rise of the Anatolian periphery and the 1960 coup was the harbinger of fundamental changes in Turkish society and politics. In the following chapter, I will examine the Ozal Era Turkish politics, which is considered to be the continuation of the Menderes Era in terms of liberalization and democratization at home and dominance of pro-active foreign policy understanding abroad. Also discussed is the foreign policy architects of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) who adopted policies that were patterned after Ozal's.

1. **Goals and Priorities of the Kemalist Paradigm**

- Restructuring social and state identities based on strict Kemalist/Western principles, which requires denouncing the Ottoman past.
    - Restricting Islam in society and state, adopting strict form of secularism.
    - Denouncing pluralism in favor of establishing an ethno-centric and exclusionist state and society.
    - Extremely centralized state structure.
    - Create and sustain the Kemalist elite to perpetuate the paradigm.
- Foreign Policy Goals
    - Preserving the territorial integrity (anti-expansionist/revisionist)
    - Preserving regional/international status quo (Status quo oriented)
    - Seeking recognition in international system (Especially the Ataturk era)
    - Radical pro-Westernism (One-dimensional foreign policy)
    - Intentionally neglecting the Middle East based on cultural, religious and perceptional reasons. (Secular foreign policy)
    - The Sevres Syndrome (Surrounded by enemies)

    - Security oriented foreign policy. (Relying on hard power as the first means)
    - Isolationist
    - Non-Aligned (especially the Ataturk and Inonu Era)

2. Instruments of the Kemalist Paradigm

- The Kemalist Elite
- Turkish Armed Forces (especially through the National Security Council)
- Bureaucracy
    - The Presidency (Executive Branch)
    - The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
    - The High Courts (Judiciary)
    - The Higher Education Council (especially universities)
    - The Directorate of Religious Affairs (to impose state controlled Islam)
- The Secular Press
- The Secular Business Elite

CHAPTER 5. RISE OF ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM; NEO-OTTOMANISM IN OZAL ERA (1983-1993)

5.1 Introduction

It is important to examine the Ozal era in the context of the AKP politics because the neo-Ottoman vision that AKP possesses has its roots in the teachings of Turgut Ozal.[358] This can clearly be seen in Ahmet Davutoglu's, the architect of AKP foreign policy, seminal work "the Strategic Depth". Davutoglu states that the Ozalist approach to domestic and foreign politics is in line with the neo-Ottomanist approach. [359] This makes him the next important person after Menderes, who challenged the conventional wisdom in Turkish politics in terms of structure, methodology and style. His unprecedented activism and pragmatism in domestic and foreign Turkish policy set examples to the next generation politicians, especially those of AKP. His worldview coupled with fundamental changes in international politics, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, during his time helped him transform Turkey into a much different country, socially, economically and politically.[360]

Although he had been the prime minister, it was his presidential term (1989-1993) that marked the greatest change in Turkish politics. However, the fact that his rise to presidency corresponded with the fall of Communism and the abrupt change in global

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[358] Omer Taspinar, the Three Strategic Visions of Turkey, US-Europe Analysis Series Number 50, Center on the United States and Europe at Brrokings. March 8, 2011, p. 2 http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/papers/2011/3/08%20turkey%20taspinar/0308_turkey_tasinar.pdf

[359] Ahmet Davutoglu (2001) Strategic Depth, Kure Yayinlari, pp. 84-85.

[360] Sedat Laciner, Ozalism (Neo-Ottomanism): An Alternative in Turkish Foreign Policy? Yonetim Bilimleri Dergisi 2003-2004 Journal of Administrative Sciences, p. 161.

affairs made it difficult to discern the direction of causality. For the first time after Menderes, Ozal challenged the orthodox Kemalist foreign policy that has been blamed for the quiescence of Turkey in the international arena. Furthermore, he defied the Kemalist understanding of secularism and nationalism. He openly praised the Ottoman era domestic and foreign politics, at which M. Kemal and his revolution took an aim. His foreign policy, on the contrary to that of Kemalism, was pro-active. He believed that Turkey's best interest was to extend its influence to territories which were formerly Ottoman, for which the term neo-Ottomanism was used for the first time.[361]

One reflection of his neo-Ottoman aspirations was his willingness to embrace the Kurdish identity, which completely ran counter to the Kemalist understanding of mono-ethnic nation state. His worldview dictated him to pursued multicultural policies.[362] Being a staunch pro-American, he praised the American and Ottoman multiculturalism and said; "*Both allowed different cultures and gave people freedom to exercise their religion, nationality and economic preferences. From this perspective, Turkey had to desert its authoritarian official understanding, namely the Kemalist state ideology."* [363]

All these considered, it is very important to thoroughly examine the Ozal Era, which has had a profound impact on the AKP government. Therefore, this chapter is made up of an analysis of the military coup of 1980 and its impacts in Turkish politics, Ozal's personality, Turkey's changing economic and social structure of the 80s, the Kurdish question, Ozal's neo-Ottomanist approach, and examples of Ozal's foreign

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[361] Nicholas Danforth (2008) Ideology and Pragmatism in Turkish Foreign Policy: From Ataturk to the AKP, Turkish Policy Quarterly, Fall, p. 88
[362] Danforth, p. 90.
[363] Sedat Laciner (2001) From Kemalism to Ozalism, the Ideological Evolution of Turkish Foreign Policy, The PhD dissertation, King's College, University of London, p. 289

policy practices. While the focus of this chapter is the Ozal era Turkish domestic and foreign policy, I will start with examining the conditions that brought him to power.

5.2 Pre-Ozal Era: The 1980 Coup d'etat and Its Implications in Turkish Politics

As was indicated in the previous chapter, the Turkish military is probably the single most important institution in the history of Turkish politics due in great part to the support it receive from the Kemalist civilian elite, which also controlled the high courts, universities, certain political parties and media outlets. This support was reinforced by the approval of Kemalist sections of society, which are known to be weary of Kurdish nationalism, Islamic and Communist movements.[364]

In the first years of the republic, those who had Islamic and Kurdish tendencies were alienated from the state and governance due to the assertive secularism and nationalism. Therefore, any ideology besides Kemalism was suppressed by the elite and considered a threat to the foundations of the state formation. The post-1950 multi-party era showed that the Kemalist elite and PRP did not really attain the majority of support from the people. Having been concerned with this reality, the Kemalist elite resorted to military coercion to hold their control and dominance over the state.[365]

The beginning of the Cold War convoluted the ideological balance of power in Turkey. While the Kemalist elite had been cohesive in their staunch opposition against Islamism and Kurdish nationalism, the rise of the leftist/Communist movements,

[364] Ahmet T. Kuru (2012) The Rise and Fall of Military Tutelage in Turkey: Fears of Islamism, Kurdism, and Communism, *Insight Turkey* Vol. 14 / No. 2. pp. 45-46.
[365] Ibid.

especially in the 1960s, created another group against which the Turkish Military fought.[366]

The 1970s witnessed fierce clashes between the socialist/communist leaning (the leftists) and the nationalist and conservative Muslims (the rightists), which took its toll on Turkish society, politics and economy. The tumultuous years of 70s ended with the deposition of the civilian government by the Turkish in September 12, 1980, resulting in dissolution of the parliament and arresting all political and union members. The military indicated that it had taken over in order; "*to suppress terrorism and radicalism; to restore economic growth and stability; to introduce a new constitution and legal arrangements that would stabilize the system and prevent anarchy; to re-establish civilian democracy on a Kemalist basis*."[367] As was in 1960 and 1971, the Turkish military again stepped in to bring the country and society in line with the Kemalist ideology, fulfilling its main duty.

It is important to note that although TAF have removed the civilian governments, it did not aim to stay in power longer than necessary, eventually turning the government over to the civilians after sufficient conditions were met.[368] Laciner says that Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) was not against the democratic political system but the results. He states that the military would not have intervened in civilian politics as long as the system was kept fully Kemalist. Indeed, to justify the 1980 coup, TAF resorted to the Article 34 of military by-law, which commissioned the military to defend the Republic, Kemalism

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[366] Ahmet T. Kuru, "The Rise and Fall of Military Tutelage in Turkey: Fears of Islamism, Kurdism, and Communism. p. 47.
[367] William Hale (1998) Transition to Civilian Governments in Turkey: The Military Perspective, in Metin Heper and Ahmet Evin (eds.), *State, Democracy and the Military, Turkey in the 1980s*, Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, p. 166.
[368] Karpat, `Military', p. 149.

and territorial integrity of the country.[369] The commander in chief of the 1980 coup, Kenan Evren, summarized the purpose of the coup in a press conference as; "to protect the national unity, to restore the safety of the citizens by preventing the terror and anarchy, to restore the state authority, to restore the secular republic and finally to enable a functional civilian rule." He further emphasized that the path to the success is Kemalism and its creeds.[370]

Once the internal anarchy and terror was quelled, TAF set to reinstate the Kemalist ideology. TAF held the radical leftist and rightist ideologies responsible for the setback and declared that Kemalism could only be the proper ideology for the Turks. Therefore, a comprehensive re-Kemalization attempt was initiated. The year of 1981 was declared the years of Kemalism, new institution and books were initiated. Ataturk's name was given to streets, roads, stadiums and buildings.[371]

The new constitution was written in 1982 and was overwhelmingly accepted in a national referendum, in which Kenan Evren was elected president and the National Security Council gained even more power over the rule of the country. The NSC halted all political activities (in October 16, 1981) and eventually banned political parties (in October 1982), detaining their members and members of the Parliament. The Provisional Article 4 banned those chairmen of the political parties from engaging in political activities for the next ten years. 4).[372] The next political elections were set to take place in

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[369] Laciner, Turgut Ozal Period in Turkish Foreign Policy:Ozalism… p. 154
[370] Faruk Aslan. "Yorumsuz; 12 Eylul Belgeleri." pp. 32-34. http://www.farukarslan.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/evren-80-12eylul.pdf
[371] ibid
[372] Gerassimos Karabelias, Civil-military Relations: A Comparative Analysis of the Role of the Military in the Political Transformation of Post-War Turkey and Greece: 1980-1985. Final Report submitted to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in June 1998, p. 28. http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/96-98/karabeli.pdf

1983 with the participation of those political parties that would get permission from the National Security Council.[373]

5.3 The 1980s and Rise of Ozal

The reason why Ozal rose to power deserves scrutiny because it is also closely associated with the success of the Welfare Party, (which is the subject matter of the next chapter), and the Justice and Development Party government. That is to say, the biggest contributing factor for success is the changing structure of the Turkish society in the 80s and the ensuing rise of political Islam. The rise of Islam is basically the result of the oppressive policies that the Kemalist ruling elite had imposed on the majority of population who identify themselves as conservative.

Rasit Kasaba explains this important point in the history of Turkey;

"*During the early decades of the twentieth century, the tired and defeated people of Anatolia were in no position to debate or resist Ataturk's radical message. Some were even enthusiastic in supporting the national leader in his determination to remake the Turkish state. By the 1980s, the situation had changed completely. The Turkish people, few of whom now remembered the early years of the republic, had grown extremely suspicious of, and downright cynical about, the latest incarnations of the promises of 'enlightened and prosperous tomorrows.' Instead of making further sacrifices for a future that kept eluding them, they were starting to inquire about the histories, institutions, beliefs, identities, and cultures from which they had been forcefully separated. This reorientation of the social compass spread to all segments of the society, not only affecting people's political outlook but also influencing the way they dressed, which*

[373] Gerassimos Karabelias (1999) The Evolution of Civil-Military Relations in Post-War Turkey, 1980-95, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.35, No.4, October, pp. 130-151.

music they created and listened to, how they built their houses and office buildings, and how they thought about the history of modern Turkey...The nature and contents of these debates and conflicts show that as a monolithic force that tried to mold Turkish society and mentality, Kemalism is losing its grip."[374]

The above assertion "the Kemalism is losing its grip" is a significant one. The signs of this failure are manifold. The rise of Kurdish national identity and ensuing armed violence of the Kurdistan Workers Party (Kurdish name - PKK) against the Turkish state further deteriorated the situation for the Kemalist elite, as the perpetuation of the Kurdish problem meant a blow to the 'nationalism' principle of Kemalism. Furthermore, not only the Kemalist understanding of nationalism, but also secularism was starting to be questioned. It is this point that the Kemalist modernization project began to show serious signs of failure in the early 80s.[375]

The goal of the founding fathers of Turkey that the new republic was going to go through a well-organized modernity in a linear manner, which would result in the Turkish people becoming staunchly secular and ethnically homogenous, turned out to be a disappointment. The end result of this project was the economic backwardness, social division, between *"Muslim and secularist, Turk and Kurd, reason and faith, rural and urban, the old and the new."*[376]

One of the greatest results of the failure of the Kemalist ideology was the advent of Turgut Ozal, who came to the forefront after the 1980 coup, and his actions during his

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[374] Resat Kasaba (1997) Kemalist Certainities and Modern Ambiguities in Sibel Bozdogan and Resat Kasaba (eds.) Rethinking Modernity and national Identity in Turkey, University of Washington Press, pp. 16-18.
[375] Kasaba, Kemalist Realities…p. 16.
[376] Ibid,

tenure. Therefore, I would like to mention the coup and its impact in the Turkish politics. The 1980 coup provided a suitable venue for Ozal's success.[377]

As much as the National Security Council (NSC)/the generals banned the political parties, it aimed at bringing new blood to the Turkish politics by introducing the moderate right wings Milliyetci Demokrasi Partisi (Nationalist Democracy Party, NDP), whose chairman was Turgut Sunalp, a retired general, which made NDP the choice of the Turkish Armed Forces in elections, and the moderate left Halkci Parti (Populist Party, PP), whose founder was Nejdet Calp, Ismet Inonu's secretary, which meant that PP was the continuation of the People's Republican Party. By creating two parties on the opposite end of political spectrum, the NSC aimed at creating a stable political system in Turkey.[378] In 1983, NSC loosened the restrictions for establishing political parties albeit making it very difficult to form them.[379] The prospective parties had to receive approval from NSC. Only Turgut Ozal's party, the Motherland Party (MP, or ANAP) was granted permission to enter the 1983 elections. Therefore, the race was between NDP, PP and ANAP. To Kenan Evren's, the coup leader, Ozal's party won the elections by 45% of the votes, giving his party a super majority 212 of 400 seats in the Parliament.[380] Eric J. Zurcher argues that the fact that the Army's favorite, NDP came last in elections showed that the Turkish people were not necessarily happy with the military intervention and saw Ozal as the new face of politics.[381]

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[377] 1983 Election Results. http://www.secim-sonuclari.com/1983
[378] Üstün Ergüder (1991). The Motherland Party, 1983-1989', in Metin Heper and Jacob M. Landau (eds.). Political Parties and Democracy in Turkey, I B Tauris & Co Ltd, pp. 151-153.
[379] The Law on Political Parties, April 24, 1983. http://www.anayasa.gen.tr/2820sk.htm
[380] 1983 Election Results http://www.secim-sonuclari.com/1983
[381] Erik J. Zurcher (2007) *Turkey: A Modern History*, I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, p. 282.

Thus, a new era in Turkish politics began with Ozal. His premiership (1983-1989) and presidency (1989-1993) would bring unprecedented economic, social and political changes to Turkey. Furthermore, his novel approach to Turkish politics, the like of which had not been seen since Menderes, was the harbinger of future revolutions in Turkish domestic and foreign politics. The foreign policy practices he pursued would later be called as Ozalism or neo-Ottomanism. [382] In the following section I will examine Ozal's personality and worldview, the changes in international system and their implications for Turkish domestic and foreign policy practices during the Ozal Era (1983-1993)

5.4 Özal's Personality

One of Ozal's most striking features was his diverse personality. He had successful business practices in private industry in 1970s thus he developed a great deal expertise and networking in business circles. This was one of the many signs that he was an economic liberal. Ozal was also a practicing Muslim and had strong connections with the Nakshibendi[383] order of dervishes[384], which helped him develop good relations with other religious sects in Turkey. He was an internationally renowned bureaucrat. He advised the World Bank as well as the US government and worked with the IMF. In Turkey, he was a member of the technical Advisory Board of the Turkish Prime Ministry,

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[382] Zurcher, p.282

[383] The Naksibendi order in its many different manifestations has been a part of Turkish history, culture, economics, politics, and individual identity for several centuries. Like other Sufi orders, this order has undergone an internal transformation and revival in recent decades, despite state-imposed secularization and repression. Not surprisingly, this revival has corresponded with the Turkish state's gradual liberalization and integration into the global market. Nakşibendi religious, social, and cultural networks have become suffused with political and economic associations. In response to repression, most of these orders gradually transformed themselves from strictly religious associations into competing informal educational and cultural associations with religious underpinnings. They gathered support from sections of traditional society that regarded the Kemalist variant of secularization as too radical and destructive with respect to Turkish history and traditions. The Nakşibendi orders provided a structure and functioned as a catalyst for maintaining the religious-moral education and spiritual development of Muslim society in Turkey. (M. Hakan Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 133, http://www.questia.com/read/119118437.)

[384] Zürcher, A Modern History, p. 283.

and from 1967 to 1971 was under-secretary of the State Planning Organization, served as undersecretary of the State Planning Organization.[385] Laciner calls Ozal *"a moderate who could do business with everyone regardless of their social or ideological background."*[386] For example, he was an Islamist candidate for the Izmir province in 1978.[387]

Ozal was staunchly pro-American. This was due in great part to the time he spent in the United States after he graduated as an electrical engineer from the Istanbul Technical University in the 1950s. His experiences in America convinced him that liberalism was the key for American success. His time in America solidified his belief that there were similarities between US and the Ottoman Empire. To him, both were tolerant of different cultures, religions, nationality and economic preferences. Based on this, he believed that the authoritarian Kemalist state in Turkey had to be revised. [388]

Like Menderes, he aspired to turn Turkey into a "small" America. He went so far as calling the Turkish bureaucracy and economy Communist for its clumsiness. He found that the Kemalist statist understanding of economy and protectionism were the reasons for lack of development, inefficiency and lack of competitiveness of the Turkish economy. To him, the economic prosperity and democratic advancement coexist. He valued individual rights, which was in contrast to Kemalist state ideology. [389]

In 1979 Ozal said:

`A strong state does not mean a patriarchal state. The aim is not richness of the state but richness of the nation. If people are rich, it means that the state is rich. In

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[385] Laciner, From Kemalism to Ozalism…, p. 289.
[386] Sedat Laciner, Turgut Özal Period in Turkish Foreign Policy: Özalism, http://www.turkishweekly.net/print.asp?type=2&id=333
[387] El-Aziz Newspaper, Milli Gorusten Ayrilmak, 7/4/2012. http://www.el-aziz.com/Editor+Mill_Gorusten_Yolunu_Ayirmak_Neden_Bu_Kadar_Kiymete_Biniyor_yazi5060.html (Acessed on 6/4/2014)
[388] Laciner, From…, p. 289
[389] Ibid

economy or political spheres the state should not compete with the people, but support them. The people are not the servants of the state, but the state must be servant of the people. [390] This was a different approach from the Kemalist understanding of the state and the citizens.

Morton Abramowitz, who served as the US ambassador to Turkey between 1989 and 1991, states that Ozal needed extensive financial and political support from America to implement his liberal economic agenda. Also, the American military aid was important to quell the military. As will be examined, he wanted to transform Turkey into a regional power and have a say in the newly independent Central Asia region, for which he also needed the American support. Even after the fall of the Berlin Wall, he continued to aspire to harness the American power to realize his goals. [391]

Abramowitz further states that Ozal's perception of America went above his politico-economic aspirations. Abramowitz says, *"Ozal had become, probably because of his time at the World Bank in Washington, somewhat infatuated with U.S and the nature of American life. An engineer by training, he valued the dynamism, the freedom and creativity he saw in US. On a number of occasions he talked about his hopes of eventually seeing it emulated in Turkey. Every time I saw him but once he had TV on, invariably CNN and he would occasionally look over to see what was playing. Ozal valued the openness and give and take in American political life and wanted to see it in Turkey."* [392]

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[390] Metin Sever and Cem Dizdar (1993) 2. Cumhuriyet Tarti malaf (Second Republic Debates), Ankara: Basak, p. 17.
[391] Morton Abramowitz (2013) Remembering Turgut Ozal: Some Personal Recollections, *Insight Turkey* Vol. 15 / No. 2. pp. 38-39.
[392] Abramowitz, p. 39.

5.4.1 Ozal's Approach to Religion

Ozal's approach to Turkish domestic politics, which is a reflection of his foreign policy understanding, deserves scrutiny too. His approach to religion and Islam differed greatly from his predecessors, with the exception of Adnan Menderes. His pro-Islamic views and their application in the Turkish politics clearly run counter to the traditional Kemalist ideology.

Ozal was known to be a pious Muslim if not Islamist. Former US ambassador to Turkey Morton Abramowitz says Ozal was deeply religious and he did not hesitate to display it publicly. He went to Mecca for pilgrimage along with his entourage and regularly attended the Friday prayers, which was the first for a head of state in the history of the Turkish republic. [393] He invited diplomatic representatives to iftar dinners during Ramadan, which drew criticism from the secular establishment.[394] He said; "*I am the Muslim prime minister of the democratic Turkey. The Republic of Turkey is secular but personally I am not!*"[395]

Naturally, he was tolerant of the religious orders, which are part of the religious scenery of Turkey, although M. Kemal banned them as part of radical secularization attempt. Ozal actually belonged to one of the orders, Nakshibendi. He gave importance to the religious education and stated that the future bureaucrats and politicians must come from Imam Hatips (secondary schools that educate the religious functionaries of the future).[396]

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[393] Erik Cornell (2001) *Turkey in the 21st Century: Opportunities, Challenges, Threats*, Curzon Press, p. 63.
[394] Morton Abramowitz, Remembering Turgut Ozal: Some Personal Recollections. Insight Turkey Vol. 15 / No. 2. p. 45.
[395] Mehmet Akyol (2000) Beni Cok Ararsiniz, Akcag Yayinlari/317, Populer Kitaplar Dizisi, p. 118.
[396] Akyol, Beni Cok Ararsiniz, p. 129.

Lacin argues that Ozal's Islam was different from either the Kemalist or the NSP (National Salvation Party) Islam, which is more associated with Arab-Islam. His friend and follower Cengiz Landar spelled out the difference:

`Republican secularism was inspired by French and Soviet atheism. Therefore, in the 1920s Republican secularism became atheism. In time, Kemalist secularism became an anti-religion and anti-Islam concept. When Turkish Islam, rooted in the Ottoman and Seljuki Islamic cultures were suppressed by the State, Arabic Islam, which is a less moderate, more radical version, became the leader in the world. Now when Ozal and me visited the Turkish communities in the Balkans, in Bosnia, in Kosovo, in Central Asia, in Azerbaijan, in Kazakhstan, we saw a completely different Islam from the Arab version: a Turkified Islam - A more moderate Islam, an Islam which is suitable for liberalism and democracy. I mean Turkish Islam is so different. Kemalists cannot accept that a country needs religion as well, because their ideology was an imported ideology and not suitable for Turkish cultural structure. We have to accept that Turkey is a Muslim country.[397]

While Ozal respected secularism, he opposed the Kemalist interpretation of it. He favored the Anglo-Saxon secular understanding and a Turkish interpretation of Islam. Laciner argues; *"He searched for a middle-way between Islamism and Turkism, his aim being to formulate a religious understanding which was suitable for democracy, liberalism and capitalism."* [398]

-Ozal's view of Islam can be summarized in his word:

-*"The Turk is aware that faith in itself does not affect secularism, does not prevent him from being rational. In everyday life, there is no difference in this respect*

[397] Laciner's interview with Cengiz Candar on 20 August 1999, Istanbul.
[398] Laciner, p. 300. Quoted from: Tapper, Richard, `Introduction', In Tapper, Richard (ed.), Islam in Modern Turkey,(London: I. B. Tauris, 1991). P. 11

between a European Christian and a Turkish Muslim. A synthesis has been realized between the West and Islam. The synthesis has ended the identity crisis of the Turk. I am a believer and open to all kinds of innovations. Not having a problem of identity, I feel no need to defend my own culture, nor attach myself to an ideology or extremist nationalism."[399]

5.4.2 Özalist Nationalism

One of Ozal's worldviews constituted Turkism. However, Ozal's understanding of Turkism differed from that of Enver Pasha, who was an irredentist and that of M. Kemal, who was an isolationist. The Ottoman Turkists aspired to establish an all-inclusive Turkish empire, which would include the Turks of Russia, Iran and China. On the contrary, M. Kemal avoided such adventurist policies and restricted his ideology with the Turks of the new republic he founded. Therefore, Ataturk had no interest in affairs of the Turks outside Anatolia. Laciner states that an example of this is when M. Kemal refrained from giving support to the Azeris in the South Caucasus when the Soviets annexed it in 1920s.[400] Ozal believed that the relations with the kin states were important but not in irredentist terms but economically, culturally and politically.

Laciner argues that Ozalist Turkist understanding, unlike that of M. Kemal, was not a reaction to the domestic developments of Turkey. M. Kemal's nationalism was shaped by the secessionist movements of the minorities that created a lot of trouble in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire and the first years of Turkey, therefore aimed at establishing and securing the country as well as from Western aggression and Ottoman Islamism. Ozal's Turkism, on the other hand, embraced the diversity, Islam and it was

[399] Nicole and Hugh Pope, Turkey Unveiled: Ataturk and After, Juhn Murray Publishers Ltd. 1997. pp. 170-171 Quoted from Turgut Ozal, Turkey in Europe: and Europe in Turkey
[400] Laciner, From Kemalism…p. 301

not against the West. Laciner states that Ozal's Turkism can be identical to that of Americanism in the United States.[401]

Bilal Simsir argues that the Kurdish problem Turkey is facing today is due in great part to the Kemalist ethno nationalism. He quotes Ismet Inonu's speech in this regard. Inonu said in 1925; *"We are frankly nationalists… and nationalism is our only factor of cohesion. In the face of a Turkish majority other elements have no kind of influence. We must Turkify the inhabitants of our land at any price."*[402]

According to Simsir, what made things worse for the Kurdish problem was that Islam, which held the Turks and Kurds together for centuries, was abandoned by the new regime. [403] The Turkish modernization movement and its nationalism and secularism was met with resistance in the early years not only among certain Muslims but also the Kurds, who staged a series of uprisings against the new republic. [404] The Kurdish problem resurfaced in the 1970s as the separatist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) was formed and adopted an armed struggle against Turkey.

During his presidency, Ozal managed to challenge the Kemalist consensus/military option and introduced new ideas and opened new realms of inquiry and thinking. He did this almost single handedly, and often with members of his own party opposing him. During his tenure, Ozal opposed the Kemalist policies and military option towards the solution of the Kurdish problem single handedly. [405]

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[401] Laciner, From Kemalism…p. 301
[402] Bilal Simsir (1991) Ingiliz Belgeleriyle Turkiye'de Kurt Sorunu (1924-1938) The "Kurdish Problem in British Documents" Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu basimevei, p. 58.
[403]Henri J. Barkey and Graham E. Fuller (1998) Turkey's Kurdish Question, Rowman & Littlefield, p. 10.
[404] Rabasa and Larrabee, "The Rise…, p. 34.
[405] Barkey and E. Fuller, Turkey's Kurdish Question, p. 133.

For the first time in the history of the Kurdish question, Ozal stated that the solution would not be through military means. Ozal said: *"The solution to the problem in the South East is in freedom of speech, expression and dialogue… Not through force. Mutual consensus, not the unilateralism, is very important if we want to solve the problem. We need to strengthen democracy in Turkey… The key for development is freedom. Free societies become those of productive, which eventually brings prosperity.*[406]

He also believed that it was thanks to these values that the U.S became a superpower.[407] His pluralist understanding went beyond the borders of Turkey as he embraced the Kurds of Iraq when they had to flee from Saddam's oppression during the first Gulf War. For example he argued that Turkey would protect the Kurds as much as the Turkomans in Iraq. He went as far as to imply a federation between the Kurds in Iraq and Turkey.[408] This certainly implied a revisionist foreign policy understanding of Ozal when it came to the immediate neighborhood of Turkey, which for the first time brought about the concept of "*neo-Ottomanism*" in Turkish foreign policy.

Özal underlined his plans for the outside Kurds in his speech in Diyarbakir, a predominantly Kurdish region: *`The people in the south east region are our brothers. The people in the Northern Iraq are their brothers and should to be our brothers too. Turkey just neglected the events happening in Northern Iraq in the past. For example, the Halabje incident. We said "that's outside our frontiers; it's nothing to do with us." This*

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[406] Mehmet Barlas (1994) Turgut Ozal'in Anilari" Sabah Kitaplari, 1994, pp. 147-153.
[407] Ozal's speech at the Islamic Research Institute Convention in Ankara, March 17, 1993. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y4j_609JT8g
[408] Laciner, Turgut Ozal Period…p. 163.

policy must be changed. Turkey's new policy should be as: if Baghdad commits another barbarity there, it will find us opposing it.' [409]

It is important to note that for the first time in the history of republic, a high ranking official would openly criticize the pillars of Kemalist republic by denouncing its perception of nationalism, and secularism. The neo-Ottomanist tone in Ozal's policies can be found in his speech in 1993. Ozal stated that the Turkish Republic must reconcile with its Ottoman past. While debasing the CUP, thanks to which Ataturk was able to establish his place against the Istanbul administration, Ozal highly praised the Sultan Abdulhamid II. In the same speech, he also reiterated the important of freedom of speech regarding the Islamic and Kurdish identity.[410] This speech clearly underscores the huge differences between the traditional pacific policies and Özal's activist Kurdish policy.

He emphasized that Turkey's Ottoman past is its most precious asset. He argues that only by embracing its Ottoman past can the Turkish republic overcome its domestic problems and those issues that rage across its borders.[411] Therefore, he criticized the traditional National Pact "Misak-i Milli" which stressed protecting the existing borders without giving any room for expansionist movements. Moreover, he criticized Turkey's highly centralized governance style arguing Turkey can best be governed with the state system (eyelet system) where local authorities would have more administrative power. He also proposed a presidential system, like the one in America. [412] This was very much against the centralist Kemalist understanding of territorial integrity.

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[409] Mustafa Aydın (1998) Turkish Foreign Policy during the Gulf War of 1990-1991. Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, p. 65
[410] Turgut Ozal's speech in 1993. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XcTgt3BfeK8
[411] Muhittin Ataman, Özalist Dış Politika: Aktif ve Rasyonel Bir Anlayış, Bilgi Dergisi (7) 2003 / 2 , p. 59.
[412] Laciner, Turgut Ozal Period…, p. 164

He even argued that the Ottoman heritage granted Turkey great power to control the region.[413] To Ozal, *"the Misak-I Milli borders that Turkey has now sooner or later is going to change. If Turkey remains status quo oriented, the change will be against the Turkish interests. Therefore Turkey has to pursue a pro-active foreign policy*."[414]

He further implied that the only solution to the Kurdish problem and other matters in the Middle East was a federation between Turkey, Syria and Iraq, which was considered as the resurgence of the Ottoman Empire by the leftist groups in Turkey. For Özal, Ottoman political and cultural systems could be a perfect model for 20th century Turkey. For example, his eyalet sistemi (state system), the localization of the administration, and the presidential system suggestions were all inspired by the Ottoman past.

While Ozal viewed the West an important part of modern world he believed Turks did not need to be ashamed of their civilization, because Turkish/Islamic civilization was not a lower civilization, but one of the many advanced civilizations in the world: *"The Turks living in this territory for a thousand years, have inherited some part of culture of every civilization which flourished here since prehistory. They have evolved a synthesis derived from the cultural legacy of Anatolia, from the culture they brought with them from Central Asia, and from the Muslim religion. Their talent for synthesis and their ecumenical character has enabled them to blend these three strands together. '* [415]

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[413] Laciner, , From Kemalism… p. 345
[414] Kutlay Dogan, Turgut Ozal Belgeseli, p. 243. http://www.tha.com.tr/turgutozal/giris.htm
[415] Laciner, From Kemalism… p. 345.

5.4.3 The Socio-Demographic Impact of Ozal

Upon taking office on December 13, 1983, Ozal promptly began implementing his economic policies that combined economic liberalization with fiscal and monetary austerity. His stated intention was to reduce inflation, promote economic growth through exports, attract sorely needed foreign investment and shrink the state's large role in the economy. He eased some of the restraints on importing and exporting. This helped loosen restrictions on the economy by fortifying Turkey's stability payments. There were new standards for imports as well as motivations for exporting. Regulations for importing were re-defined and unless specified on a list of prohibited imports were free to enter. This helped make the duty lower or removed completely. Exports were further encouraged by making licensing easier and less bureaucracy involvement. Exporters earnings increased by 15% and additional incentives were given for companies exporting over $30 million. Acceptance of foreign currency at commercial banks and freedom for the Turkish people to carry and travel with foreign currency was established. Daily exchange rate adjustments helped keep exports competitive. Ozal recognized the need for change in the economic structure hindered by the omnipresent role of the government.[416]

Thanks to Ozal's liberalization policies, the Turkish economy began to change for the better. The GNP increased by 5.4% in the 1980-89 period compared to 3.3% in 1975-80. As of 1990, the relative involvement in trade was better than those of Greece and Spain and not so far behind that of Italy. [417]

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[416] "The Turkish Economy Under Ozal" The CIA Report, March 29, 1985. pp. 3-4. http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/89801/DOC_0000402736.pdf

[417] R. Hine (1996) Turkey and the European Community: Regional Integration and Economic Convergence in S. Togan and V. N. Balasubramanyam. The Economy of Turkey since Liberalization, London: Macmillan Press, Ltd, pp. 145-146.

The Turkish exports rose from $2.9 billion in 1980 to more than 20 billion dollars in 1990, which corresponds to a whopping 350% increase in a decade. [418] The share of export in GNP was about 20% in 1987, which was a triple increase in export share in eight years. Also, the average annual rate of growth export earnings increased by 18.9 in 1980-88 period. [419] Imports rose from $ 7,909 million in 1980 to $ 22.5 billion in 1990, which was a 182% increase. The tourism industry boomed in this period. While the tourism revenues were $212 million in 1980, in 1990, it corresponded to more than 3 billion dollars. [420]

At this point, it is essential to note the impact of Ozal's economic liberalism and its ensuing effect on the Turkish society due to the fact that this impact would in later decades shape the domestic political outlook, giving rise of the conservative periphery, which challenged the Kemalist elite and status quo.

5.4.4 The Socio-Demographic Earthquake and its Impact on the Turkish Politics

The economic and political reforms carried out under Prime Minister Turgut Ozal in the mid-1980's also contributed to strengthening the role of Islamic groups. The Ozalist reforms loosened the state control over economy, giving rise to the predominantly non-Kemalist masses in such cities in Anatolia as Denizli, Gaziantep and Kayseri. The new economic environment created a new middle class called "Anatolian bourgeoisie" who has a strong sense of Islamic identity. The new group supported liberal economic policies, limited state intervention in economy and social spheres such as greater religious

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[418] Sedat Laciner, Turgut Ozal Period in Turkish Foreign Policy: Ozalizm, p. 159. Quoted from General Outlook of Turkish Economy', via internet, http: // www. foreigntrade.gov. tr/ENGLISH ECONOMYYECONO. htm,

[419] Anne O. Kruger and Okan H. Aktan (1992) Swimming Against the Tide: Turkish Trade Reform in the 1980s, international Center for Economic Growth, pp. 148-149.

[420] Sedat Laciner, Turgut Ozal Period in Turkish Foreign Policy: Ozalism, USAK Yearbook, Vol.2, Year 2009. p. 160.

freedom. Thanks to theis emerging group, the Welfare Party and eventually the AKP came to power, changing the domestic and foreign political atmosphere in Turkey radically. [421]

The conservative religious businessmen and their companies, also called the Anatolian Tigers, were inspired from the notion that Islam and its prophet emphasized the importance of commerce in blessed gain (*helal kazanc*). This movement of the rising Anatolian elite is also called "Islamic Calvinism". [422] The supporters of this movement adopt the Protestant ethics of religious merit of work and the importance of saving and education. The new rising elite contributed greatly to the changing nature of the Turkish politics. It is important to note that the ideology of the new elite is considerably differed from classical Kemalist ideology that prevailed in the 20th century Turkey. The divergence stemmed from the fact that the new elite, unlike the Kemalists, harbored the Ottoman imperial nostalgia, supported laissez faire economics, non-intervention of the state and importance of small business. All these were combined with the conservative values. [423]

Another important result of the Ozalist policies was that the Arab capital began to flow into Turkey. Moreover, Ozal, by nature, advocated religious freedom and allowed for the opening of religious schools. During his time the conservative Turks gained greater access to higher education, economy, media and politics.[424] Probably the most impacting change in the Turkish society was the influx of conservative Turks into big

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[421] Angel Rabasa and F. Stephen Larrabee (2008) The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey, Santa Monica, CA: Rand, p. 38, http://www.questia.com/read/122645113

[422] For more information about "Islamic Calvinism" please see: "Islamic Calvinists: Change and Conservatism in Central Anatolia" by the European Stability Initiative. Full text: http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_document_id_69.pdf

[423] Andrew Murison (2012) Turkish Foreign Policy in the Twenty-first Century. Mid-East Security and Policy Studies, No.97. September. pp. 7-8. http://www.biu.ac.il/Besa/MSPS97.pdf

[424] Rabasa and Larrabee, "The Rise… of Political Islam in Turkey" p. 39

cities like Istanbul and Ankara and rapid urbanization,[425] all of which was due in great part to the Ozalist liberal policies. Naturally, the rural to urban influx meant the ideological change of the cities, as they brought with them their habits, beliefs and customs. The Kemalist elite and the Anatolian migrants began to live side by side, which began to create social tensions, especially in application of secularism.[426]

Hakan Yavuz concludes that the AKP's success in early 2000s was due in great part to the rise of the new conservative elite, especially during the Ozal era, in which the social mobility became available. The symbiotic relationship between the Kemalist state and the large Istanbul-based capitalists had been based on a secular agreement and the Kemalist ideology. The new rising elite constituted a challenge and an alternative to it. [427]

Having scrutinized the conditions and events that preceded the Ozal era as well Ozal's rise to power and his ideology, I proceed with the implication of these on the foreign policy of Turkey during the Ozal period.

5.5 Ozalism in Foreign Policy

The most important international event that took place during Ozal's tenure was undoubtedly the collapse of the Soviet bloc. The end of the Cold War and ensuing developments in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Central Asia as well as the Middle East, as Hasan Kosebalaban puts, "*forced Turkey to face its historical, cultural and*

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[425] The World Bank (World Development Indicators) suggests that between 1960 and 2005, the highest urbanization rates in % occurred between 1981 (%42) and 1992(%60). Souleyman Coulibaly, Uwe Deichmann and Somik Lall. "Urbanization and Productivity: Evidence from Turkish Provinces over the Period 1980-2000". Policy Working Paper 4327, The World Bank Sustainable Development Network Urban Unit, August 2007. p. 3

[426] Rabasa and Larrabee, "The Rise… of Political Islam in Turkey" p. 39bid

[427] M. Hakan Yavuz (2006) Introduction: The Role of the New Bourgeose in the Transformation of the Turkish Islamic Movement in "The Emergence of a New Turkey: Democracy and the AK Party", the Utah university Press, p,5.

religious legacy in its surrounding regions"[428] This was in contrast with the Kemalist ideology. The newly emerging Turkic states, the ethnic conflicts in the Balkans and the Caucasus that impacted the Muslims and the Turks living there prompted the need for a more pro-active foreign policy. Kosebalaban concludes "*no matter how hard Turkey tried to escape from its imperial legacy, it has always come back to haunt it."* [429]

As Graham Fuller reminds us, geopolitical change in post-Cold War era has made physiological and cultural dynamics among the nations much more important and aroused sentiments, perceptions and aspirations regarding group identity. Fuller notes; "*Without history and psychology... the Balkans is meaningless. It is language and myth, not rivers, mountains, or raw materials that link the Turkish shores of the Mediterranean to the shores of Lake Baikal over the rivers of Western China -- in the real political sense."* [430]

As has been seen throughout this dissertation, despite some differences, the path all Turkish governments have chosen was integration with the West. The locus of the Kemalist foreign policy was always pro-Western. For the Kemalists, integration with the Western world was a matter of life and death. It was not only base of Turkish security and foreign policy but also a security for the secular regime. Therefore the end of the Cold War made most Turks panic. The simplest explanation was that: `Now, the West does not need us. Hereafter they will not give any financial, political and military aid.

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[428] Kösebalaban, Hasan (2008); Torn Identities and Foreign Policy: The Case of Turkey and Japan, *Insight Turkey*, Volume 10, Number 1, p. 14

[429] Ibid

[430] Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer, "3: Turkey in the New Security Environment in the Balkan and Black Sea Region," in *Turkey between East and West: New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power*, ed. Vojtech Mastny and R. Craig Nation (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996),p. 73. Quoted from: Graham E. Fuller, "The New Mediterranean Security Environment: the Gulf, and Central Asia", in Ian Lesser and Robert Levine, eds., *The RAND Institute Conference on the New Mediterranean Security Environment: conference Proceedings*, (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1993), p. 45.

Similarly, the EEC, which had implied cultural biases in its Turkey policy, will close down its doors to Turkey. Turkey separated from the `civilized world' (the West), will be alone with the traditional enemy, Russia, and the regional conflicts, poverty, instability. Regional instability will undermine Turkish economy and integrity and all the foreign powers will work to disunite Turkey. Kemalists, who believed that the end of the Cold War threatened the Turkish economy, security and democracy, suggested returning to the early Republican policy of isolation. They further argued that after the Cold War, the West's aim was to disintegrate Turkey as witnessed in Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. For the Kemalists and other isolationists, the Kurdish problem and the European refusal of the Turkish application for the European Union were clear signs for the Western intention. Kemalists argued that separatist Kurds were encouraged by the EU countries.

The geopolitical realignment in the post-Cold War era had the Kemalist worried. According to this belief, Turkey, which played a vital important role during the cold war against the Soviet threat, was losing its importance for the west, which would mean that the West might abandon Turkey, which would be detrimental for Turkey's westward ideology and democracy. The new geopolitical environment in Turkey's neighborhood would throw Turkey in the pit of newly emerging conflicts, which in turn would wreak havoc on Turkey financially and politically. One of the biggest concerns was that the Kurdish insurgency would result in the Kurdish secession thus break up of Turkey; such was the case in Yugoslavia. The solution that the Kemalist elite proposed was isolationism.[431] However, Ozal adopted a proactive approach in foreign policy.

A new sense of awareness and sympathy among several groups (those Turks who share their culture and language in the Caucasus and Central Asia, and the Muslim

[431] Laciner, From Kemalism…p. 308

Balkan people) have been brought to light via strong political friendships. These people considered Turkey as a great source of support, both morally and materially, as they transition to life after Communism. This led the leaders of those republics in Central Asia that speak Turkic and Azerbaijan in the east plus Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania to visit Ankara in 1991 and 1992 in order to utilize the power of the new political alliances for their political and economic needs.[432]

Conflicts within the region such as Karabagh and the Bosnia crisis were the reason for the mutual awareness leading these countries to look for support from Turkey. Because there was no competition between communists and capitalists, superpowers were not lending their support. In order for these nations to receive military and political support, cultural and ethnic similarities were important. Fuller claims that "neo-geopolitics" mobilized psychological and cultural dynamics among the countries. [433] Due to this, the group identity created by relationships between countries and cultures became crucial to international relations. Because of the areas' multi-cultural structures, this was even more important in the Balkans and Caucasia. If this theory is true, then it was unavoidable for cultural polarization leading to the area around Turkey being the most dangerous in the world. The approaches used may be correct or not, but this question is beyond the extension of this study, yet obviously Turkey has become attractive for the Turks, Muslims, and those considering themselves to be of the former Ottoman Empire. We saw an example of this when Turkey served as an ally for the Muslim peoples of the country formerly known as Yugoslavia while Greece and Russia supported the Serbs. We also saw this when the Azerbaijanis requested support from their "Muslim, Turkish

[432] Sezer, Duygu Bazoglu, `Turkey in the New Security Environment… p. 73.
[433] Graham Fuller, (1993). The New Mediterranean Security Environment: Turkey: the Gulf and Central Asia', in Ian Lesser and R. Levine (eds.), *RAND Conference Proceedings*, Santa Monica: RAND. p. 45.

brothers" while Russia lent their support to the Armenians. In addition Ankara was the meeting point in the midst of the Cold War for the leaders of the Turkic world, Bosnia, Albania, and Macedonia to seek out help for their countries' economic and political problems. [434]

One of the positive outcomes of the fall of the Soviet bloc for Turkey was the emergence of new regimes. Once hostile to Turkey due to treatment to its Turkish minority, Bulgaria as well as Romania and Albania revised their attitudes towards Turkey. Not to mention the Turkic republics of former Soviet Union, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan decided to take Turkey as their role model in their transition. Therefore, political and economic relations between these republics and Turkey increased dramatically.[435]

5.5.1 Black Sea Economic Co-operation (BSEC)

One of the most striking examples of Ozal's pro-active and ambitious foreign policy was the establishment of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) in 1992, which aimed to establish institutionalized relationship between the former communist bloc countries.[436] The BSEC was established with the Turkish leadership and was Ozal's idea. The objective was to stabilize the region by utilizing economic incentives while opening new trade routes for the Turkish entrepreneurs.[437] The BSEC marks an important policy endeavor of Ozal because it symbolizes the novice pro-active foreign policy.

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[434] Laciner, From... p. 309.
[435] Laciner's interview with Fehmi Koru, 12 February 1999, Ankara
[436] Nicholas Danforth, (2008) Ideology and Pragmatism in Turkish Foreign Policy: From Ataturk to AKP. Volume 3, No.3, p. 89. http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_turkey_tpq_vol7_no3_nicholas_danforth.pdf
[437] Laciner, From… p. 311. Quoted from: Faruk Sen, `Black Sea Economic Co-operation', Aussen Politik, vol. 44. no.: 33, 1993, pp. 281-287.

On June 25, 1992, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine signed the declaration of Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) citing the importance of multilateral cooperation and the principles of market economy. Taking advantage of their geographical proximity, the signatory parties pledged to establish constructive and peaceful relations promoting democratic and human rights values.[438] Furthermore, fight against violence, terrorism is among other goals of the organization. [439]

For Ozal, cultural dimension was also important. During his trips to respective BSEC countries, he signed cultural protocols, which aimed at increasing cooperation in education, language and science. Turkey further gave aid to much poorer countries such as Georgia and Macedonia. Laciner argues that some countries used the agreement as leverage to their adversaries. For example, Turkey became a source of credit for Albania and a balancing power against Greece.[440]

Valinakis draws an interesting point to Turkey's initiative. He argues that one of Ozal's goals was to increase Turkey's position vis-à-vis the European Union and increase its influence in the Black sea basin and the Transcaucasia. He states that Turkey wanted to establish an alternative project to the European Union.[441] However, those who oppose this proposition argue that by endeavoring in such an ambitious project, Turkey hoped to strengthen its prospects of full EU membership. This too was confirmed by the Turkish under-secretary, who argued that it was not an alternative but catalysis for Turkey's EU

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[438] N. Büdent Gültekin and Ayşe Mumcu, "8: Black Sea Economic Cooperation," in *Turkey between East and West: New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power*, ed. Vojtech Mastny and R. Craig Nation (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 179, http://www.questia.com/read/58955246.
[439] The official Bosporus Statement. http://www.bsec-oganization.org/documents/declaration/summit/Reports/Bosphorus%201992.pdf
[440] Laciner p. 312
[441] Yannis Valinakis, "The Black Sea Region: Challenges and Opportunities for Europe. Challiot Paper 36. July 1999. http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/cp036e.pdf

membership. [442]Membership of Greece, who has traditionally vetoed Turkey's EU membership, to the BSEC can be seen in this context. [443]

Laciner argues that BSEC is the epitome of Turkey's pro-active foreign policy understanding. Unlike Ataturk and Inonu's security oriented, cautious and to certain degree isolationist foreign policies, which later came to be known as traditional Turkish foreign policy, Ozal always attempted to be proactive, taking advantage of the new geopolitical atmosphere. [444]

5.5.2 The Balkans and Turkey: The Resurgence of the Ottoman Empire?

For Ozal, the Balkans was as much important as the Black Sea basin as once was part of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, Kosova, Macedonia, Bosnia and Albania have significant Muslim populations, which was an incentive for Ozal to establish close relations with these republics. Laciner states that Albania and Macedonia turned their faces to Turkey in their transition as well as in terms of their conflictual relations with Serbia and Greece. Furthermore, Ozal aimed to establish telecommunication and transport systems to connect the Balkan states with Turkey, making the latter a regional hub. [445]

The crisis in Bosnia in the early 1990s showed that the Turkish foreign policy under Ozal was different from the Kemalist one in that the former was proactive. [446] Being one of the staunchest supporters of the Bosnian side, Turkey established a pro-Bosnian group in the 1992 ECSC summit by gathering Azerbaijan and the Turkic

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[442] Laciner, p. 312.
[443] Oktay Özüye (1992) Black Sea Economic Cooperation, *Mediterranean Quarterly*. Vol. 3, No. 3, Summer, p.281
[444] Laciner p. 313. Quoted from: Uslu, Turk-Aerikan…p. 356.
[445] Laciner From…p. 314
[446] Laciner, From…p. 315 Quoted from: Semih D. Idiz, `Turkey Ponders the Balkan Quagmire', Turkish Probe, Vol. 1, No. 6, December 22, 1992, p. 9.

republic of Central Asia. In the summit, Ozal negotiated with the leaders of the Western European countries[447] and lobbied for NATO intervention in Yugoslavia to protect Bosnians.[448] Turkey sent $22 million in official aid to Bosnia and lobbied in the UN as well.[449] He pursued active policy in the Organization of Islamic Countries for Bosnia. Furthermore, in his Balkan tour February 15-22, 1993, he tried to unite the Croats and the Bosniaks against the Serbian forces and negotiated with Bulgaria, Albania, and Macedonia to open their air space for the Turkish warplanes.[450]

It can be said that on the contrary to the Kemalist understanding, Ozal's Balkan policy especially that of Bosnia was based on religious and cultural reasons. Ozal aspired to make Turkey a pivot country in the Balkans. Ozal once stated; *"Turkey is responsible for looking after the well-being of the Muslims in the Balkans"* [451] This assertion of Ozal's clearly runs counter to Kemalist understanding, which does not establish foreign policy on religious or cultural basis. This marks that Özal attempted to change another column of traditional Turkish foreign policy. Finally, all Turkish initiatives in the region of Turkey had been defensive. [452]

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[447] Laciner p. 315 Quoted from Hürrlyet, 10 July 1992.
[448] Ibid Semih D. Idiz (1993) President Özal's Balkan Crusade', *Turkish Probe*, Vol. 2, No. 15, February 23,1993, p. 9.
[449] Laciner P. 315 Kut, `Yugoslavya... ', pp. 169-170.
[450] Laciner. P. 315 Turkish Daily News, 15 August 1992.
[451] S. J. Blank, S. C. Pelletiere and W. T. Johnsen, Turkey's position at the Crossroads of World Affairs, 3 December 1993) http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1993/ssi_blank-johnsen-pelletiere.pdf
[452] Laciner, From… p. 316. Quoted from: Levent Bilmen, `The Regional Cooperation Initiatives in Southeast Europe and the Turkish Foreign Policy', Perceptions, September-November 1998, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 76-77.

5.5.3 From the Adriatic to the 'Chinese Wall': Turkey as a Development Model for the 'Turkic World'

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and emergence of Turkic states as independent entities paved the way for Turkey to establish relations with them. Turkey under Ozal pursued to become a role model for those republics. [453]

One of the strongest incentives for Ozal's Central Asian policy was pan-Turkist aspirations. To Landau, Turkey's grand project was to institutionalize its relations with the "Turkic Brethren."[454] According to this, Turkey initiated Economic Co-Operation Organization (ECO).

In his speech at the Izmir Economic Fair of 1992, Ozal said: *"Turkey has gifted geopolitics. In ten years we will have a big enough population that will help us to be a great power. This will make us the second biggest country in Europe. The next ten years is very important for Turkey. Those Muslim and Turkic countries that stretch from the Balkans to the Central Asia and us ought to advance our capabilities to become stronger and more prosperous. If we could use this opportunity well enough and advance cooperation, we and our brothers will become stronger. These opportunities have been granted to us by Allah. We need to realize our potential and realize our goals to become stronger."*[455]

As opposed to the Kemalist isolationism, Ozal proposed that Turkey had indispensable interests in such regions as the Balkans, Middle East, The Caucasus, the Central Asia even as far as western China, where Uighurs, who are of Turkic origin, live.

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[453] Laciner, From…p. 310
[454] Landau, Pan-Turkism..., p. 206.
[455] Ozal's speech at the Izmir Fair. June, 4 1992. http://halilturgutozal.wordpress.com/2008/07/26/izmir-iktisat-kongresi-konusmasi-4-haziran-1992/

Turkey's engagement with the new Turkic states marked a radical departure from its traditional foreign policy and eased its perception of isolated position in foreign affairs. What is more important about the new active foreign policy was that it helped Turkey to overcome its cultural isolation and identity dilemma. Turkey for the first time felt that the Western culture is not the only one it can turn to. For the first time, Turkey adopted "Turkist" foreign policy, which to Kemalists was not a priority. This 'Turkic' opening was surely of Ozal's initiative but one has to take into consideration that the relations with Central Asia only became possible after the withdrawal of the Soviet hegemony in early 1990s.[456]

As Eric Rouleau put it `*Mustafa Kemal distanced Turkey from Turkish-speaking populations, abroad, arguing that Ankara should not meddle in the internal affairs of foreign states, just as he had dissociated the young republic from the Islamic world. It was his way of tying the young republic more closely to the West*'[457]

Furthermore, M. Kemal completely distanced Turkey from any type of pan-Turkic aspirations which he deemed adventurist. He believed such policies are 'illusions' and 'vague sentiments about some nebulous Turkic homeland.' [458]

This in mind, whereas Ozal was pursuing ambitious and proactive foreign policy taking advantage of reorientation of the geopolitical structure of the new world, the traditional Kemalist elite were still suspicious of this type of engagement.[459] When, for example, Ozal was making such statements as '*the 21st century will be a Turkish*

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[456] Laciner p. 320 Quoted from *Milliyet*. 3-6 March 1992
[457] Eric Rouleau (1996) Turkey: Beyond Atatürk, Foreign Policy, No. 103, Summer, pp. 77-78. http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/1149203?uid=3739192&uid=2&uid=4&sid=21104443365633
[458] Patricia M. Carley (1995) 7: Turkey and Central Asia Reality Comes Calling, in *Regional Power Rivalries in the New Eurasia: Russia, Turkey, and Iran*, ed. Alvin Z. Rubinstein and Oles M. Smolansky Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, p.179, http://www.questia.com/read/17804362.
[459] Laciner, From… p. 318.

century,"[460] which emphasizes the prospect of the rise of Turkish leadership, the then prime minister Suleyman Demirel, who himself can be considered as Kemalist, stated the following: "*It would be a great mistake to evaluate Turkey's assistance as the pursuit of a policy of pan-Turkism or a bid to extend regional influence… Turkey is not seeking a monopolistic hegemony over relations with these states. On the contrary, its aim is to increase their ties with the outside world. In short, Turkey believes that it can help these republics in their long overdue attempt to integrate with the world and at the same time help them stand on their own feet….*"[461]

Turkism, Islamism, liberalism and American type democracy were important to Ozal and he believed the Kemalist worldview was not compatible with these. One of the most prominent journalists in Turkey, Cengiz Candar argues that Ozal represented society's discontent with certain Kemalist principles as secularism, nationalism and etatism. While M. Kemal aspired to completely Turkify the population and keep the religion under strict control of the state, Ozal wanted a Muslim, democratic, liberal, capitalist society in which different ethnicities and religions are tolerated. [462] Candar further said: *`He [Ozal] opposed to almost all the principles of the existing regime dominating the state. While he was the President he opposed the state, and when he died*

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[460] Aysal Atac, Atatürk would applaud Turkish schools in foreign countries' in Sunday's Zaman, March 06, 2010. http://www.todayszaman.com/news-203530-100-ataturk-would-applaud-turkish-schools-in-foreign-countries.html

[461] Landau, Pan-Turkism… p. 222. Quoted from: Suleyman Demirel, Newly Emerging Center, Turkish Review Quarterly Digest, vi (30) Winter 1992, p. 13.

[462] Laciner states that Ozal's critics for Kemalism produced two theoretical prescriptions: inside, Second Republicanism and in foreign policy issues neo-Ottomanism and Second Republicanists formulated Dial's ideology as reestablish the main pillars of the Republic on democracy, liberalism, a moderate secularism, a pluralist nationalism and free market economy instead of the Kemalist Jacobeanism, absolute positivism, revolutionarism, laicism, etatism and Turkism. (Laciner, p. 303)

he was buried not in a state cemetery. He now lies near by those who were hanged by the state, like Menderes".[463]

In October 1992, Turkey invited the presidents of Azerbaijan (Ebulfez Elchibey), Kazakhstan (Nursultan Nazarbayev), Kyrgzistan (Askar Akayev), Uzbekistan (Islam Karimov), and Turkmenistan (Safarmurad Niyazov) to Ankara for celebrations on the anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Ozal emphasized the notion of the co-operation by saying: "*This cooperation of ours is beneficial for our people and region. Therefore, it is a contribution to regional and global peace and stability. No one should have undue worries or qualms. Let no one misunderstand us… Our policy, our co-operation is not detrimental to anyone, and will not be so in the future either. We are only concerned about the welfare of our peoples and the region. We believe that the closer we get to that goal the more will we have served regional and world peace. In our opinion this is a mission in the name of humanity and as such should be applauded*."[464]

One of the most ambitious endeavors Ozal had undertaken was the establishment of the Turkish International Co-operation Agency (TIKA) in early 1992, which aimed at improving relations among the Turkic republics by promoting democratic values, economic reforms, improving telecommunication and transportation, privatizing public enterprises and establishing companies as well providing education. [465]

Another venue for cooperation was the Turkic States and Turkic People's Friendship and Cooperation Group, which was established in Antalya in March 1993. Its

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[463] Laciner's interview with Candar. 20 August 1999, Istanbul.
[464] Salomon Ruysdael and Vedat Yucel (2002) *New Trends in Turkish Foreign Affairs: Bridges and Boundaries*, Writers Club Press, pp. 198-199.
[465] Ruysdael and Yucel, New Trends… p. 198.

motto was, 'Dilde, fikirde, iste birlik" (Unity in language, ideology and action), which attracted criticism from Moscow for its having pan-Turkic overtones. [466]

During his numerous visits to the central Asian republics, Ozal had signed bilateral agreements from education to health. Moreover, Turkey gave credit to newly independent Turkic states and accepted some ten thousands students to universities in Turkey. [467]

The Turkish state radio and television organization, TRT, started its broadcast to regions under the Avrasya (Euroasia) program. The flag carrier Turkish Airlines immediately established flights to Baku, Alma-Ati, Tashkent, Ashkhabad and Bishkek. Turkish Exim bank and other Turkish banks gave about $7 billion in credits to Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Krgyzstan.[468] Being a liberal, Ozal encouraged bilateral private investment, particularly in the education, media, and telecommunication and textile sectors. [469] This was a turning point in Turkey's sceptic world perception and underlined the effects of the new Turkist policies.

5.6 The Gulf War: Return of Activism and Özalism vs. Kemalist Bureaucracy

Probably the second most important development in international arena after the collapse of the Berlin Wall was the US invasion of Iraq in 1991, which had substantial implication in Turkish foreign policy. Not only did the invasion prove that Turkey still played an important geostrategic role in the region, it also created a rift between the

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[466] Yasemin Çelik (1999) *Contemporary Turkish Foreign Policy,* Westport, CT: Praeger, p. 127, http://www.questia.com/read/120092099.
[467] Andrew Mango (1995) Türkiye nin Yeni Rolu, (Turkey's New Role), Trs..: E. Yükselci and S. Demircan),Ankara: Ümit Yayincilik, p. 118.
[468] Landau, Pan-Turkism..., pp. 210-211.
[469] Landau, Pan-Turkism..., pp. 207-211

Kemalist policy makers and Ozal. Therefore, this section will examine the Gulf War of 1991 and its implications in the Turkish foreign policy.

As was discussed earlier, the way the Turkish state machine approached the Muslim world in general and the Middle East in particular was indicative of the Kemalist foreign policy approach, which had been to stay away from the affairs of the Middle East as much as possible. However, Ozal's approach to the region was completely off line with Kemalism. Even before 1991, Ozal emphasized the importance of improving with the Arab and the Muslim world.

He personally played an important role in vitalizing the Turkish investments in the region as well in attracting the petro-dollars in Turkey. [470] The Gulf War displayed Ozal's pro-American foreign policy. As Faroz Ahmad puts it; '*Ozal took matters into his own hands and placed the country squarely behind President George W. Bush's policy'*.[471] He believed that it was Turkey's moral obligation to support the coalition. Besides legal considerations, Ozal wanted to show the world that Turkey still was a strategic western ally in the post-Cold War era. What is really controversial about Ozal's foreign policy during the Gulf War from the Kemalist perspective was that he did not shy away from making revisionist remarks about the future of Iraq. He believed; *'The Middle East was in the midst of irreversible change and it was, therefore vital for Turkey to be in a position to take full benefit from future opportunities.'* [472] He further said in an interview on Sept. 5, 1990 that; *'The Middle East and the Gulf region will definitely not*

[470] Laciner p. 324. Quoted from: Kirisci, `Turkey and.. ', p. 40
[471] Ahmad, The Making..., p. 200.
[472] Robins, Turkey..., p. 71.

be the same after this crisis...I also mean geographic borders... If there is a better place for us in this changing world then we must take this.'[473]

Oktay Eski, a prominent journalist, stated; "(*Ozal) had two objectives. The first was to include Kirkuk and Mosul within Turkey's borders and the second was to establish a federation between Turkey and the northern Iraqi Kurds. He had convinced himself of this so much that he had said `I will not be reluctant to send soldiers and warships to the Gulf if necessary*.'[474]

Although, Ozal was determined to pursue such a foreign policy, the traditional policymakers and foreign ministry bureaucrats in Ankara were reluctant about his policies and perceived adventurist and risking Turkey's national security by dragging the country into the war. He bypassed them in his communication with the White House. [475]

Erdal İnönü, Ismet Inonu's son, a staunch Kemalist, who served as the deputy prime minister between 1991 and 1993, accused Ozal for being a revisionist and criticized Ozal's desire for a cross-border intervention into North Iraq. He said in the parliamentary session on August 12, 1990 that: "*We are against such actions no matter what. We cannot launch a military action against another country unless attacked. The entire foreign policy concept of the Republic of Turkey is based on this principle. I see that Ozal aims to change this. He slipped it out of his mouth. The fundamental issue when the republic was established was the preservation of the existing borders and it was the*

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[473] Turkish Daily News, September 16, 1996. http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-press-scanner.aspx?pageID=438&n=turkish-press-scanner-1996-09-16
[474] Turkish Daily News, September 16, 1996. http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-press-scanner.aspx?pageID=438&n=turkish-press-scanner-1996-09-16
[475] Gözen, `Turkiye'nin... ', p. 185

right thing to do. Ozal hints that the War of Independence is long over, it was then, it is now. This notion is wrong."[476]

Inonu's following remarks bear the classic status quo preserving nature of the Kemalist foreign policy. He goes on saying: "*Don't you remember how the WWI brought calamity to our nation? We entered the war hastily. A few people dragged the nation to a catastrophe without the consent of the parliament of that time. Those few may have done it out of good intention and their intention may have been to 'regain the losses'. But, the result was evident. What is happening now is not much different from what happened then. Hoping to make gains and elevate Turkey's position in the west, Mr. Ozal wants to make Turkey part of the invading coalition, which I believe is an action that will bring no good to our nation."*[477]

The remarks of Suleyman Demirel, who was the member of the parliament and later the prime minister and the president of Turkey, reflect a more cautious, traditional foreign policy making. Like Inonu, he criticized Ozal for being adventurist and lampooned his desire to regain Mosul and Kirkuk. *"The world will not reconcile Mosul and Kirkuk in Turkey's favor when the rest of the world is trying to save Kuwait from Saddam. The oil in this area is worth 20 billion dollars. Do you think they would let Turkey sit on this wealth? Let's not be duped by this. Such changes occur in much larger system changes (conjuncture changes) and the world is not ready for this… I would not ask the parliament for a motion for a cross border military operation."*[478]

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[476] The Grand National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey archives. Session date: August 12, 1990 (TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Donem 18. Cilt 46/1, Yasama Yili: 3 126. Birlesim, 12.8.1990 Pazar.) http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanak/kapali_oturumlar/12081990_b126m.htm
[477] The Grand National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey archives. Session date: August 12, 1990 (TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Donem 18. Cilt 46/1, Yasama Yili: 3 126. Birlesim, 12.8.1990 Pazar.) http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanak/kapali_oturumlar/12081990_b126m.htm
[478] ibid

The member of the Kemalist Republican Party (PRP), Kemal Anadol's statement is also an important reflection of the Kemalist foreign policy. He said: *"The founder of this parliament Mustafa Kemal Ataturk says 'the decision to go to war must be made out of grave necessity. Otherwise it is akin to suicide.' And, he established the republic's foreign policy on this premise. If the motion for the cross border action is to be accepted, it means we are leaving this traditional Ataturkcu (Kemalist) policy. Turkey will then be remembered as the invader. The very members of parliament, which was established by Ataturk don't have the right to violate his policies, we cannot commit this crime. Our peace-seeking foreign policy would be the thing of the past."*[479]

What really was the straw that broke the camel's back among the Kemalist circle in Ankara was Ozal's executive order to cut off the oil pipelines that carried oil from the north Iraq to Turkey's Mediterranean shore in Adana. Upon this decision, then foreign minister Ali Bozer resigned on October 12, 1990,[480] which was followed by the Defense Minister Sefa Giray's on December 18.[481] The actions of these individuals demonstrated the friction between the two ideologies in Ankara and that although Ozal occupied the executive office, the bureaucracy largely remained loyal to the Kemalist principles.

While the civilians opposed Ozal, so did the Kemalist military. Ozal did something unprecedented at the National Security Council (NSC) of August 3, 1990, in which the Gulf crisis was the main agenda. He openly went against and criticized the Kemalist leading politicians and the military officials and blamed them for being too

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[479] The Grand National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey archives. Session date: August 12, 1990 (TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Donem 18. Cilt 46/1, Yasama Yili: 3 126. Birlesim, 12.8.1990 Pazar.) http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanak/kapali_oturumlar/12081990_b126m.htm.
[480] Gozen, 'Türkiye'nin..., p. 208.
[481] Istifalarin Ardindaki Gercek, *Aksiyon*, January, 14 1995. http://www.aksiyon.com.tr/aksiyon/haber-455-33-istifalarin-ardindaki-gercek.html .

cautious. He believed that Turkey had to send boots on the ground in Iraq along with the United States. The following statement of Ozal can be considered as his overt criticism to overly cautious and sometimes 'timid' Kemalist foreign policy. He said that '*Many things have changed in Turkey…In foreign policy the days of taking a cowardly and timid position are over. From now on we'll pursue an active policy based on circumstances. This is a totally apolitical choice*.' [482]

One of the most striking results of Ozal's defiance to the resisting Kemalist bloc in Ankara was the Chief of Staff Necip Torumtay's resignation on December 3, 1990. Torumtay vehemently criticized Ozal for being an adventurist.[483] The Turkish public met the resignation with a great deal of bewilderment as this kind of occurrence had never happened before in the history of the republic.[484] A civilian politician for the first time trumped over the 'mighty' military. According to Özal, the generals were resisting the change: `*Some generals are not keeping in step and are acting to preserve the status quo. While we are taking brave steps forward, they are trying to put the brakes on.* '[485]

The president Özal declared Turkey's new foreign policy position as follows: `*Many things have changed in Turkey... In foreign policy the days of taking a cowardly and timid position are over. From now we will pursue an active policy based on circumstances...*[486] *My conviction is that Turkey should leave its former passive and*

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[482] Feroz Ahmad (2002). *The Making of Modern Turkey*, Routledge 2002. p. 201. http://www.kuwi.europa-uni.de/de/studium/master/es/Unser_Team/professuren/Aziz_Nesin_Gastprofessur/Lehre/Lecture-2/The_Making_of_Modern_Turkey__The_Making_of_the_Middle_East_Series_-copy.pdf

[483] According to Murat Yetkin, Torumtay resigned because Ozal was pushing the Turkish Army to enter Iraq and enter Mosul and Kirkuk, the two cities that were once ruled by the Ottomans. (Murat Yetkin, "Yurtta Sulh Cihanda Sulh Ilkesinin Disina Cikilmadi" in Habibe Özdal, Osman Bahadır Dinçer, Mehmet Yegin, eds. Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası: Cilt 4 USAK Yayinlari 52, Turk Dis Politika Serisi:6, 2009. p. 33)

[484] Ibid.

[485] Milliyet Newspaper, 7 December 1990.

[486] Ahmad, The Making..., p. 201.

hesitant policies and engage in an active foreign policy... The reason I made this call is because we are a powerful country in the region. Let me also point out that there are conservatives who prefer that no change should be made to these passive policies. The reason these circles accuse me of dragging the country into an adventure is because I generally prefer to pursue a more dynamic policy for our country.' [487]

Ozal defended his Gulf policies by saying that "*we are going to bet one and get three*!"[488] In spite of Ozal's eagerness, Turkey did not send troops alongside the US to invade Iraq mostly because of the reluctance of the public opinion. However, Turkey contributed effectively via the Incirlik Air Force base.[489] This in turn can be considered as Ozal's failure to win over the Kemalist bureaucracy and establishment in Ankara.

Robins noted that Turkey's importance was underlined by the war, and particularly the Americans understood that Turkey was a vital country for American interests in the Middle East. He said: *`The action of President Özal in helping to isolate and confront the Iraqi regime greatly endeared him to the US administration and the White House. This in turn brought benefits on a wide front - from greater access to American markets for Turkish textiles to help in improving the quality of military hardware possessed by the armed forces. The US now appears to place greater value on the importance of Turkey than before.'*[490]

Although the Gulf War once again proved that Turkey still continues to be an important player in the region,[491] it had detrimental effects too. One striking result was

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[487] Laciner, From Kemalism… p. 281. Quoted from: Milliyet, 3 March 1991
[488] Laciner, From Kemalism…p. 327. Quoted from: Hürriyet, 16-17 January 1991
[489] Laciner p. 327. From Kemalism… Quoted from: Hürriyet, 18 January 1991-
[490] Philip Robins (1991) Turkey and the Middle East, London: Pinter Publishers Ltd., pp. 85-86.
[491] Bruce R. Kuniholm, (1991)`Turkey and the West, Foreign Affairs, Spring. Retrieved from https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/1991-03-01/turkey-and-west

the exacerbation of Turkey's Kurdish problem. Not only one million Iraqi-Kurds, who fled from Saddam's repression, put a burden on Turkey but the no fly zone that was imposed north of 36th parallel in North Iraq created a safe haven for the PKK terrorists. The PKK began to establish training bases in North Iraq, from which it had orchestrated terror attacks within Turkey. The fact that the PKK problem had spilled into another country made it very difficult for Turkey to solve the problem, as it became an international issue. Furthermore, the PKK issue began to contribute to the securitization of Turkish politics.[492] Over the next decade, Turkey had conducted numerous cross-border incursions into Iraq in order to destroy the terror camps only to no avail. Furthermore, with the invasion of and the subsequent destabilization of Iraq, Turkey lost one of its trade partners in the region, which cost Turkey billions of dollars in trade damages. [493] While it can be said that in the aftermath of the Gulf War Turkey had lost more than it gained economically and politically, what it showed is that Ozal pursued a very unorthodox foreign policy, abandoning traditional Kemalist approach to issues.[494]

5.7 Conclusion

Ozal, besides Menderes, was probably the most unconventional figure in the Turkish politics in the 20th century, Ozal pursued policies, both domestic and foreign, that ran counter to the traditional Kemalist worldview. His unprecedented activism and pragmatist approach to domestic and foreign affairs was one of the most striking features of Ozal. He repeatedly criticized the stagnant and reactive nature of the Kemalist paradigm. While his personality and worldview played a great role in his active foreign

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[492]Ramazan Gozen (2005) "Causes and Consequences of Turkey's out-of-war Position in the Iraqi War of 2003" T*urkish Yearbook*, Volume 36, p. 80
[493] Ramazan Gozen, Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu Politikası: Gelişimi ve Etkenleri, Tarih Tarih, http://www.tarihtarih.com/?Syf=26&Syz=354821
[494] Ibid

policy understanding, what really facilitated Ozal's active pursuit of foreign policy was the end of the rigid Cold War international system, which he openly deemed an unprecedented opportunity for Turkey to wake up from almost a century long 'hibernation' and be active to bring back the 'glorious days' of the Ottoman Empire, thus the Neo-Ottomanism.

The collapse of the Communist bloc and the independence of the Turkic republics in Central Asia and the Caucasus as well as the developments in the Balkans were important defining factors in Ozal's foreign policy making. He believed that the newly independent Turkic republics needed Turkey for guidance in their transformation from Communism to Capitalism in social, economic and political life. Clearly, what motivated Ozal was the shared history and culture with those states, which is the reminiscence of pan-Turkist ideals. This type of policy understanding ran counter to the Kemalist foreign policy, which interestingly prompted criticism from the Kemalist establishment, who often opposed foreign policy that is based on culture and religion. Whereas the implosion of the Soviet Union sent shock waves across the members of the Kemalist establishment with the perception that Turkey's no longer an important entity for the West, it actually excited Ozal as he considered it to be a once in a life time opportunity.

Ozal was not an Islamist but he was a practicing Muslim. His reactions to the sufferings of Muslims in Bosnia, Azerbaijan and Chechenia were different from those Kemalist bureaucrats and politicians, who were more cautious towards the conflict prone zones in the Balkans and the Caucasus. Although never was able to materialize help, he did not hesitate to use military rhetoric towards the Bosnian and Azeri-Armenian conflict hoping to take important part in the prospective solution that would favor the Muslims.

This clearly was not something that the isolationist and cautious Kemalist foreign policy makers would entertain.

Another important aspect of Ozal was his staunch pro-American stance. He believed that adoption of American type political and economic liberalism, nationalism and American understanding of secularism would solve Turkey's domestic and foreign problems and boost Turkey in the world arena. This once again created friction between him and the Kemalists, who by nature are elitist, ethnic nationalists and rigidly secular. For example, his solution to the Kurdish problem was the American type multi-culturalism, which recognizes the cultural differences for peaceful coexistence as opposed to the Kemalist nationalism, which rejects cultural pluralism in favor of ethno-centric Turkish nationalism.

One of the most striking manifestations of the Ozalian pro-Americanism took place during the Gulf War of 1991. It also reflected his view of Turkey in the post bi-polar international system. According to this, the US was now the sole superpower and siding with America in its invasion of Iraq will be in Turkey's favor. His unconditional support for America once again exposed the gap between the Kemalist establishments. He overtly stated his intentions to annex Mosul and Kirkuk, which once were Ottoman cities, in the wake of the collapse of the central government in Iraq. Although it never materialized due to considerable resistance from the Kemalist military and bureaucracy, it clearly showed that Ozal would not hesitate to pursue revisionist policies vis-à-vis the neighbors, a concept the Kemalists have adamantly avoided. Subsequently, for the first time in the history of Turkey, the Chief of Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces, Necip Torumtay, resigned in opposition to Ozal's pro-American Iraq policies.

With his worldview, personality coupled with the new world order in the post-Cold War, Ozal clearly brought an unprecedented change to foreign policy by reorienting Turkey's priorities, which included incorporation of such new dimensions as liberal politics and economy, democracy, Islam, Turkishness. He was very comfortable with Turkey's Ottoman Islamic and Turkish past and did not hesitate to accept them as Turkey's assets in her pursuit to be a member of the European club. For the first time the concept of Neo-Ottomanism was introduced to denote the Turkish foreign policy. He introduced a multi-dimensional, proactive, more economy and culture oriented foreign policy.

While Ozal had criticized Kemalism for being inefficient for the needs of the country in a new era, he did not take on the institutions and bureaucracy due to the fact that there was still a power disparity between him and the Kemalist establishment in favor of the latter. For example, he had failed to have the Turkish high ranking officers agree with him to enter Iraq. He complained about the clumsiness of the foreign bureaucracy. Therefore, although wanted, Ozal could not bring a paradigm shift in Turkish foreign policy.

However, Ozal's rise to power heralded the impending triumph of the conservative/Islamic periphery over the Kemalist 'core'. However, his premature death in 1993 resulted in Turkey going back to the status quo. The immediate aftermath of the Ozal era was marked by political leadership crisis, corruption and increased PKK terrorism. It was this atmosphere that gave rise to Necmeddin Erbakan, a staunch Islamist and representative of the periphery.

Goals and Priorities of the Ozalist Policies

- Neo-Ottomanism
    - Aspiration for Turkey to become a leading state of the Muslims in the former Ottoman territories such as the Kurds in Iraq, Bosnians in the Balkans and the Azeris in the Caucasus.
    - Pro-Ottomanist Rhetoric
- Pro-Islamic (More emphasize on the Turkic-Muslims in the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Central Asia, rather than the Middle East)
- Revisionist
    - Intention to annex Mosul and Kirkuk
- Proactive Foreign Policy
    - The Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), the Balkan Policies (Especially in Bosnia)
- Pan-Turkism/nation building
    - The Central Asia and Caucasus
- Aspiration to make Turkey a regional power
- Pro-Western (especially America)
- Pluralist/inclusive (Proposed solution to Kurdish problem and the approach to the Kurds in Iraq)
- More emphasize on the economy (Liberal domestic, pro-EU policies)
- Aspiration to implement de-centralization in local governance.

Instruments of the Ozalist Foreign Policy

- The Executive Branch (The post-1989 Presidency of Ozal)

In the next chapter I will examine the Erbakan era Turkish foreign policy and its contribution to the rise of the AKP government.

CHAPTER 6. THE ERBAKAN ERA (1996-1997)

6.1 Introduction

Necmeddin Erbakan's (1926-2011) rise in politics in the early 1960s was the rise of political Islam in Turkey. While the pro-Islamic and conservative circles in Turkey hailed him as the leader of the Muslim world and the leader of the Islamic struggle against the Kemalist/secular establishment in Turkey, the Kemalist elite, especially the military, demonized him and his supporters as menace to the foundations of the republic. Like Ozal, he pursued policies that ran counter to the established Kemalist paradigm. During his short lived tenure as the prime minister, Erbakan embarked on an unprecedented activism in Turkish foreign policy, although it was generally limited towards the Muslim world, which created unsurmountable friction with the secular Kemalist establishment. His pro-Islamic/anti-Kemalist rhetoric and policies prompted an uproar among the Kemalist elite and subsequently the guardian of the state, the Turkish Military ousted him by, what was then called, the post-modern coup as the generals did not take over the governance but used the National Security Council and the secular press to create pressure on Erbakan, forcing him to resign. The postmodern coup taught some of the Erbakan's followers a lesson that it was impossible to go against the almighty Turkish military under the banner of Islamic ideology and they decided to become "moderate" and established the Justice and Development Party.

In this chapter, I analyze the implications of Erbakan's background, his rise to prominence in politics and his interaction with the Kemalist bureaucracy, (especially the secular Turkish Military), on the Turkish foreign policy.

6.2 The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey

The emergence of Erbakan in the Turkish politics took place in the 1960s. Having been a prominent professor of engineering who studied in Turkey and in Germany, he contributed greatly to the development of German Leopard Tanks.[495] He then became involved in politics and was elected as an independent member of parliament in 1969 from the religiously conservative central Anatolian town of Konya, which reflects his worldview. The most striking element of his worldview was that he believed that due to the western influences, the Turkish society has been in a moral downfall and departing from the Islamic values, which should be restored. He was heavily influenced by Sayyid Qutb's ideology, especially his call for the rural Muslim intelligentsia to organize itself and eventually take control of government from the urban elite. Thanks to the encouragements from Mehmet Zahit Kotku, who was the leader of the Naksibendi order, Erbakan established the first Islamic oriented party, the National Order. With Kotku's spiritual leadership, Erbakan became the head of the party. Among Kotku's adherents are Ozal and the most influential figure of the first decade of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdogan.[496]

Because the National Order Party was closed by the Constitutional Court in 1971 on the grounds that it had violated the secular principles of the Turkish constitution, Erbakan founded the National Salvation Party the next year. In 1974, his party became a

[495] His bio at the Necmeddin Erbakan University. http://www.konya.edu.tr/sayfa/erbakan?lang=en
[496] Zeyno Baran (2010) Torn Country: Turkey Between Secularism and Islamism, Hoover Institution Press Publication No: 590, p.33

part of the coalition government which was founded by the Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, who was known for his social democrat leftist, pro-Ataturk views. For the first time in the history of Turkey, a party with an official Islamic agenda became part of the government in Ankara. This was important because it marked the rise of political Islam in Turkey. Now, Erbakan began to help his party members rise in the government positions and institutions of the Turkish secular state.[497]

Those Turks who immigrated to Western Europe during and after 1960s, especially those in Germany, have always made up the important supporters of Erbakan. In 1975, Erbakan declared the National View (Milli Gorus) manifesto calling the European Turks to identify themselves as Turkish-Muslims and avoid being assimilated. The most important part of the manifesto was the call for a "just order" (Adil Duzen) in Turkey and among the European Turks, according to which real justice, development and prosperity in society can only be achieved through political and economic teachings of Islam. This constituted a stark contrast with the secular foundation of the republic. This inevitably created troubles in the coming decades for Erbakan in his relations with the Kemalist elite. [498]

Not surprisingly, the NSP was among the abolished parties after the 1980 military coup. With the easing of political party laws in 1983, Erbakan founded yet another party named Refah (Welfare) Party. The realities of the Cold War prompted the generals to come up with the idea of "controlled Islam", which would counter the rising threat of Communism in Turkey. The invasion of Afghanistan and the rise of the Soviet threat only exacerbated this concern. Therefore, the junta adopted a policy of "controlled

[497] Baran, p. 34
[498] Baran, p. 35.

Islam". It aimed not only to counter the Communist movements in Turkey but to prevent radicalization of pious Muslims in Turkey. This concern became serious after the Iranian revolution in 1979.[499] Part of implementation of this policy, the government restored mandatory Sunni religious education at schools, broadcast religious programs from the state owned Turkish Radio and Television (TRT), greatly increased the number of Imam Hatip schools from 72 in 1970 to 382 in 1988.[500] These schools educate clergy personnel that are employed in the mosques by the Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi), which is under the government control. Baran argues that the same policy could be seen in Pakistan where the President Zia ul-Haq, with the encouragement from Washington, resorted to the Islam opening to counter the Soviet and Iranian threat.[501]

One other contributing factor to the rise of political Islam in Turkey in the 1980s, as discussed in the previous chapter, was the liberal policies of Ozal that paved the way for the rise of small scale provincial businesses and industries. As opposed to the republican business elite of Istanbul, who benefited greatly from the state subsidies, the newly emerging small businesses of Anatolia did not want government intervention in favor of economic liberalization. These entities resorted to Islamic values, symbols and ethics to garner the support of conservative Anatolian rural Turks. In 1990, they formed the Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (MUSIAD),[502] an

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[499] Angel Rabasa and F. Stephen Larrabee (2008) The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey. National Defense Research Institute, p. 37

[500] Baran, p. 36

[501] ibid

[502] MUSIAD states, in their web site, that it was formed by "*concerned businessmen dedicated to the realizations of a Turkey where human rights and supremacy of the law, justice and equality, peace and security and the welfare and happiness of the people are guaranteed; where community and universal values that are adopted historically by the people are protected; and where the country is effective in the region and respected in the world." The Official Web Site of MUSIAD* http://www.musiad.org.tr/en/meet-with-musiad

association of Muslim capitalists to defend their interests against the Istanbul elite. Yavus states that the ideology of the emerging Anatolian bourgeoisie, while socially Islamic, was economically liberal.[503]

Islam became a symbol of legitimization of business connections and profit. The alienated Anatolian periphery felt, for the first time, that they would have a chance to become an important player in Kemalist Turkey. In short, the Turkish society began to experience social and economic changes, the results of which would be profound for the Turkish politics in the coming decades.[504]

6.3 Rise of Erbakan: The Islamist Victory of the Mid-1990s

The unexpected death of Ozal in April 1993 marked the beginning of political instability. The weak coalition governments, a number of corruption scandals, endless political quarrels only rendered the Turks weary of politics and politicians.[505] Erbakan's Welfare Party managed to capitalize on this increasing dissatisfaction of the citizens and emerged as the victor in the 1994 local elections. The WP was able to gather the support of more than 5 million of 28 million voters. That the mayors of the two biggest cities, Istanbul and Ankara, were now WP members made it an even bigger victory for WP. Istanbul's new mayor in 1994 was Tayyip Erdogan. The widespread corruption in Turkish politics made it easier for Erbakan to sell his 'just order' doctrine to larger masses.[506]

The Erbakan's 'just order' denounces capitalism and communism alike. The former contains "microbes", which cause diseases in society. These are the interest and

[503] M. Hakan Yavuz, (2003) Islamic Political Identity in Turkey, Oxford University Press, p. 215.
[504] Yavuz, p. 216
[505] Baran, p. 40.
[506] Baran, p. 41

the banking system that perpetuates interest, unfair taxes, the mint and the exchange system. Capitalism is responsible for hunger, poverty, inflation, corruption, moral decay, wars and exploitation. Communism has not brought prosperity and happiness during its 70 years of rule either. The solution to these problems is the Just Order, which is "an order of harmony not discord and in it there is a congruence of interests between workers and employers, government administrators and the people, doctors and patients, and lawyers and clients.[507]

Table 6.1 Population of Turkey from 1950 to 2000

Year	Total Population	Rural Population	Urban Population
1950	20,947,188	15,702,851	5,244,337
1960	27,754,820	18,895,089	8,859,731
1970	35,605,176	21,914,075	13,691,101
1980	44,736,957	25,091,950	19,645,007
1990	56,473,035	23,146,684	33,326,351
2000	67,803,927	23,797,653	44,006,274

To Erbakan, the Just Order will be realized by the cooperation of seven major 'armies': (1) the devout people; (2) religious authorities and leaders who will be the architects of a greater Turkey; (3) scientists and university professors; (4) engineers and economists who will prepare the projects to turn natural resources into developed industries; (5) businessmen who will implement the projects; (6) guilds; and (7) labor, including workers, farmers, and white-collar workers. Thanks to these seven 'armies' Turkey would attain a powerful position in the world and be a capable leader of the Muslim world.[508]

[507] Mahran Kamrava (1998) Pseudo-Democratic Politics and Populist Possibilities: The Rise and Demise of Turkey's Refah Party, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 25(2), pp. 288-289.
[508] Yavuz, p. 221

According to Baran, while such promises are nothing new in Turkish politics, urban voters found these views more credible because they were uttered by a political party whose official identity is Islamic. This came to place as the rural to urban immigration became rampant especially in the late 80s and early 90s.[509]

The WP played a role in the political socialization of pro-Islamic groups in Turkey by, for example, actively organizing voter registration drives and election campaigns, providing free transportation to polling stations. These practices were overseen by other political parties in Turkey in the 90s. This way WP aimed at integrating the marginalized, Islamically oriented "periphery" as well a large segments of the Kurdish population[510] into the political arena. [511]

The December 1995 general elections marked an important point in the Turkish political life. The WP came as the 1st party out of the elections by 21% of the 28 million votes cast, grabbing 158 seats in the 550 seated parliamentary. Erbakan formed a coalition government on June 28, 1996, with the secular True Path Party (DYP) he became the prime minister. This was significant as "for the first time, the secular Turkish Republic had a prime minister whose political philosophy was based on Islam" [512]

This sent shock waves to the Kemalist elite. This meant that the control of budget expenditures and audits, as well as the recruitments of public civil servants would be

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[509] Baran, p. 41
[510] Yavuz, p. 217
[511] Hakan Yavuz, Islamic Political Identity in Turkey, p. 241 Yavuz argues that this marked a psychological turning point for different groups. For conservative Muslims, this was the end of their exclusion from the public spaces and recognition of their identity by the state. For the Kemalist bloc that controlled economic sources, this was the darkest moment for the Republican project. Erbakan's initiatives also irked the military. These deepened the secular versus Islamic fault line because it is the military that decided who would rule the country. (Yavuz, ibid)
[511] Cemal Karakas, Turkey: Islam and Laicism between the Interest of State, Politics, and Society, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) Reports No.78, 2007, pp. 25-26.

determined by the Islamist. Being cautious of any Kemalist repercussion, especially the military, Erbakan pledged in his oath of office that he would remain loyal to the democratic, secular foundations of the Turkish republic, although he had in many occasions lampooned the Kemalist revolution and its outcomes in favor of the Islamic values.[513]

No doubt, the historic victory boosted the morale of pro-Islamic circles in Turkey and consequently led to the rise of political Islam in Turkey. One of the biggest sources of friction between the seculars and the pro-Islamic circles was the head scarf issue. By this, the secular constitution of Turkey banned the display of religious symbols, here the head scarf in public spaces such as universities. The Erbakan era witnessed the rise of anti-scarf ban demonstrations. Moreover, perception that Turkey was being Islamized grew bigger as alcohol was being phased out from certain public spheres, the brothels and prostitutes were being cracked down as well as some statues in public spheres were being removed on the grounds that they were indecent. [514] The ideological battle was at its height in the state controlled Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet), by which the secular state would keep Islam under its control. The Kemalists accused the WP of staffing the Diyanet by employing some 6000 pro-WP clergy. This was called by certain Kemalist circles as the Islamization from above.[515]

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[514] Karakas, pp. 25-26
[515] Hakan Yavuz, Islamic Political Identity, p. 235, quoted from Heinz Kramer, "Turkey under Erbakan: Continuity and Change towards Islam," Aussenpolitik 47, 4 (1996): pp. 379–88.

6.4 Turkish Foreign Policy during the WP Era

6.4.1 Neo-Ottomanist Elements

Erbakan and WP's foreign policy reflected their worldview as well. He defined his foreign policy as "respectable foreign policy" (sahsiyetli dis politika), which aimed at elevating Turkey to a respectable position in international affairs. Part of this identity laden foreign policy was made up of taking Turkey to the leadership of the Islamic world and subsequent attainment of respect in global affairs. This meant the adoption of a pro-active foreign policy. [516]

The Islamic political identity shaped the WP's view of and relationship with the rest of the world. One of the main aspects of the WP foreign policy making is its neo-Ottoman characteristic.[517]

Oliver Roy states, *"the Islamic movement in Turkey is first and foremost a nationalistic one. Islam is interlinked with the idea of homeland in Turkey, but this also includes the Turkish workers in Europe. The Turkish workers remain Turks and maintain their connection with Turkey."* [518]

The history and the Ottoman legacy played a great role in the evolution of the Turkish Islamic movement.[519] Abdullah Gül, who played a leading role in formulating WP's foreign policy positions, and later became an AKP member and then the president of Turkey, said:

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[516] Mehran Kamrava. Pseudo-Democratic Politics and Populist Possibilities: The Rise and Demise of Turkey's Refah Party. British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Nov., 1998), p. 301
[517] Heinz Kramer (1996) Turkey under Erbakan: Continuity and Change towards Islam, *Aussenpolitik* 47, 4, pp.379-88.
[518] Yavuz, p. 235 quoted from Interview with Olivier Roy by Rusen Çakir, "Türk Islamcilarinin Projesi Osmanlidir," *Yeni Yüzyil*, July 8, 1996.
[519] ibid

Turkey is neither Luxembourg nor Bangladesh. History, geography and reality require Turkey to carry and fill a mission regardless of our desires. This mission or role may be the role of the Ottoman Empire. We therefore cannot remain indifferent to the developments in Palestine, Yugoslavia, and Albania due to our national interest. He concluded that Turkey is "*the cultural center of Islamic civilization in Europe. We [Turkey] therefore have to involve ourselves in the developments in the Balkans*." [520]

Hakan Yavuz argues that neo-Ottomanists tend to enthnocize the Ottoman state by calling it 'a glorious achievement of the Muslim Turks'. At the WP's fifth convention in 1997 Erbakan declared the party's foreign policy goal to be the "*creation of the Greater Turkey just as the Ottomans did*".[521] To Tanil Bora, who is a prominent analyst of Turkish foreign policy, Erbakan pursued a foreign policy that was the "*continuation of Ozalian neo-Ottomanism*." [522]

Although, the WP separated itself from nationalistic parties by emphasizing the Islamic identity, its foreign policy practices showed that Turkey was a central element. For example, the WP policy makers insisted that the Muslim world can only be united, which is the official goal, only under Turkey's leadership.[523] Erbakan justified this by asserting that Turkey is the heir state of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey's geopolitics, economy and strength dictate it.

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[520] Yavuz, p. 236 quoted from Abdullah Gül's speech at the Turkish Parliament Committee on Planning and Budget, February 17, 1992.
[521]M. Hakan Yavuz (1998) Turkish Identity an Foreign Policy in Flux: The Rise of Neo-Ottomanism, Critique: Critical Middl Eastern Studies, 7:12, [19-41] p. 23
[522] Yavuz, Turkish Identity and Foreign Policy Flux… p. 23, quoted from Tanil Bora, "Islamciliktaki Milliyetcilik ve Refah Partisi," Birikim, 91 (November 1996): 23
[523] Rusen Cakir "Erbakan'in 5 Ruyasi" (Erbakan's 5 dreams) March 2, 2011 Vatan Newspaper. http://www.gazetevatan.com/erbakan-in-5-ruyasi--362549-gundem/

It is important to note that Erbakan aimed at eliminating intra-Muslim conflicts by all embracing aspect of Islam. Therefore, to him the cure for the ominous Kurdish problem was Islam as 'all Muslims are brothers and sisters.'[524] In this regard, Erbakan argued at the WP's fourth congress in 1993 that Turkey's socioeconomic problems could only be resolved by recognizing the Kurdish identity in the context of *umma* (the nation of Islam), establishing the Just Order, and by allowing each community to govern themselves by its own laws and norms.[525] These ideas were clearly in stark contrast with the Kemalist principles.

As far as nationalism is concerned, the WP's stance can be summarized as: '*the most important and worthy base of people's identity in Turkey has been Islam. The secular-nationalist Kemalist elite has promoted other sources of identity (e.g. Turkishness) as a counter force against Islam; this trend had to be stopped."* This too posed an overt defiance to the established Kemalist ideology of Turkey. [526]

Nazir Ozsos, who was the chief press adviser of Erbakan and who wrote in the party's semiofficial newspaper Milli Gazete stated: '*the people of the Southeast have always been considered as a threat by the (Republican) Westernists simply because of their strong commitment to their faith (Islam) and their traditions and of their resistance to the integration with the West'*.[527]

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[524] Yavuz, p. 225
[525] Yavuz, p. 227
[526] Cengiz Dinc (2006) The Welfare Party, Turkish Nationalism and Its Vision of a New World Order, Turkish Journal of International Relations, Volume 5, Number 3, Fall, p. 2
[527]Duran, Burhanettin (1998) "Approaching the Kurdish Question via Adil Duzen: An Islamist Formula of the Welfare Party for Ethnic Coexistence" Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 18 (1), pp. 111-129.Apr 98, Vol. 18, Issue 1 quoted from N*azir Ozsoz, Guneydogu'dan Neden Hep Korkarlar?', Milli Gazete, 26 July 1994*. (Retrieved from the College of Charleston e-library.) http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?sid=92c78c19-33b4-4d29-9125-92ecbb41d41e%40sessionmgr4002&vid=3&hid=4202&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#db=tsh&AN=608394

Likewise, the WP deputies criticized the ethno-centric nation building process of M. Kemal for he destroyed the prospects of the formation of *ummah* and depriving the Kurds of their identity. They argued *"the outcome is the Kurdish nationalism that has been created by the Marxist PKK to constitute a reaction to the prevailing racist Turkish nationalism."* Therefore, reviving the brotherhood among Muslims, regardless of their ethnicity would cure the problem. [528]

Erbakan said in a public meeting in 1994 that; "*The people of this soil (Turkey) started everything with Besmele (in the name of Allah). What you did was to replace it with 'I am Turk, I am righteous, I am hard working.'*[529] *This gave our Kurdish brothers the right to say; I am Kurd and I am more hardworking, more righteous than a Turk. This way, you alienated people against each other*."[530]

The WP stressed that; Turkey has not been very successful in "the race of civilization" due to the Kemalist revolution. According to this; *"The real reason of foundation of the WP is to end [...] the backward position of Turkey in the contemporary race of civilization. It is saddening for all of our people who love their homeland and nation that while world nations quickly progress in the technology and civilization race, we are still very far behind of them in economic social and political terms."*[531]

The following section will examine Erbakan's foreign policy practices.

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[528] Cengiz Dinc (2006) The Welfare Party, Turkish Nationalism and Its Vision of a New World Order, Turkish Journal of International Relations, Volume 5, Number 3, Fall, p. 8

[529] This was part of the pledge allegiance that was recited at schools in primary education every morning. This practice started in 1933 and was abolished by the AKP government in 2013. Then primeminister tayyip Erdofan said that the oath (andimiz) was a racist practice incepted during M.Kemal's time. "Erdoğan 'andımız'ın neden kaldırıldığını açıkladı", Milliyet Newspaper, October 8, 2013. http://www.milliyet.com.tr/erdogan-dan-partililere-gonderme/siyaset/detay/1774517/default.htm

[530] Erbakan's speech in 1994. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rm3x11Iu_4w

[531] Cengiz Dinc, The Welfare Party, Turkish Nationalism and Its Vision of a New World Order, Turkish Journal of International Relations, Volume 5, Number 3, Fall 2006, p. 8 quoted from The Turkish Grand National Assembly, Minutes of Records, 1993, pp. 44-6.

6.4.2 The EU, UN and NATO

The WP adopted a strong anti-Western, anti-European foreign policy rhetoric in favor of willingness to get close to the Muslim world, which naturally concerned the Kemalist elite. Erbakan argued that the real reason why Turkey has been excluded from the European Union was its Muslim identity. The following statement made by Hasan Dikici, a member of the WP, at the Turkish Grand National Assembly on July 6, 1993 underlines the WP's philosophy:

"The EU is an integration model based on a Christian-Western culture; it is a political integration; it is an effort to create a European state. It is a Catholic European Union established according to a Christian ideology. Turkey is a Muslim country. With the aim of increasing [the] material welfare of the Turkish people, to try to have a place in the European Union means to abandon our political, social, and cultural values. If Turkey joins the EU, our sovereign rights will be transferred to the Catholic EU. The decision to be a member in the EU was made against the will of our nation and the application should be withdrawn for the future of our nation.[532]

Necmettin Erbakan expressed similar views about Turkey's secular foreign policy and indicated the very different future role that he had in mind for Turkey. Erbakan argued, "*Turkey should cooperate with Muslim countries through which it can realize the goal of being a leader, instead of being a servant in the EU*".[533] For him, "*to become a*

[532]Yucel Bozdaglioglu (2008) Modernity, Identity and Turkey's Foreign Policy p, 65. Quoted from: The Turkish Grand National Assembly, Minutes of Records, 1993, pp. 44-6. Insight Turkey Vol. 10 / No. 1, pp. 55-76

[533] Bozdaglioglu, p. 66, quoted from Necmettin Erbakan, Türkiye'nin Meseleleri ve Çözümleri (Turkey's Problems and their Solutions), (Ankara: Semih Ofset Matbaacılık, 1991), p. 11

member in the EU by leaving the community of Muslim countries means to lose the very essence of our identity and to accept the Sevres"[534]

Erbakan opposed any western based intergovernmental organization. He claimed the United Nations was a tool of Western imperialism. For example, when the Bosnian conflict was raging in the early 90s, he viewed it as genocide against Muslims and added; *"the major catastrophic event of the century is taking place at the heart of Europe. The double standard of the West became clear. What did they do to stop this carnage? The West only observed the massacre! They therefore want this carnage to go on because those who are killed and raped are Muslims. I want to know where is the United Nations, which was established on the principle of no forceful acquisition of territory? What happened to the principles of the United Nations? The UN implements its principles only against the Muslims. If Muslims suffer, these principles have no value whatsoever. The UN has no moral face any more.*[535]

Erbakan strongly believed that 1.5 billion strong Muslims of the world had to form their own version of the UN and NATO. He argued, if the Muslims of the world had been united Serbs could not have massacred Bosnians and Armenians could not have won against 'our Azeri brothers' in the early 90s. [536]

As one RP official put it in an interview:

"When compared with the West, the Islamic nations are far behind today in income and living standards. But we represent a great potential. A human potential of 1.5 billion souls. We can increase current living standards ten times or even one hundred-fold if we

[534] Bozdaglioglu, p. 61, quoted from Necmettin Erbakan, Türkiye'nin Meseleleri ve Çözümleri, p. 14
[535] Yavuz, p. 236 quoted from Erbakan, speech at the Ankara Organization of the RP, June 20, 1993, in Erbakan Konusmalari, p. 82
[536] Erbakan's Speech at the European Islamic Union at the Theodore Herzl Conference Center, Basel, Switzerland September 3, 1994. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=alZ_8ICq9Gc

can come together and work for our own market. This is not enmity towards the West. We don't hate anyone. It's just that that's what we want to do." [537]

And, according to another party official: "*The same as the West unites to serve its interests; the Islamic nation should unite for its own good. This is both logical and the reasonable thing to do. This will save us not only in this world, but also in the one to come.*"[538]

As has been discussed, Erbakan believed that the Islamic revival and unity of the Muslims would be possible with Turkey's leadership and thought that the Kemalist ideology was an obstacle in this regard. He said; "*The Western civilization that prioritizes the might ought to be replaced by the new one that cherishes the 'justice'. It is impossible to fulfill Turkey's mission when the current order in Turkey prevails. It has to be replaced with the 'just order'.*"[539] Erbakan sought to fly "*the WP flag to unify 1.2 billion Muslims all over the world.*" [540]

6.4.3 Erbakan and Israel

The epitome of Erbakan's anti-Western stance was in the form of anti-Zionism and he frequently accused America for being Israel's unconditional supporter. He repeatedly stated that while America responded to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait by occupying and pounding it with thousands of tons of bombs, it has remained silent to the

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[537] Mehran Kamrava, Pseudo-Democratic Politics and Populist Possibilities: p. 290 quoted from Turkish Daily News, 23 November 1994, p. B1.
[538] Mehran Kamrava. Pseudo-Democratic Politics and Populist Possibilities: p. 290 FBIS: WEU, 10 May 1994, p. 74
[539] Necmettin Erbakan, speech at the Grand National Assembly, T.B.M.M. Tutanak Dergisi, vol. 46, 38th session, December 8, 1993, p. 47.
[540] Yavuz, p. 236 quoted from Erbakan, Erbakan Konusmalari (Ankara: RP, 1993), 52

Israeli invasion of the West Bank and the Gaza. He argued; '*it should not be surprising to see America disintegrate, like the Soviet Union that had acted like a bully*.' [541]

It would not be wrong to say that the degree of Erbakan's effectiveness in Turkish foreign policy during his premiership was tested via the Turkish-Israeli relationship in the 90s. In other words, the Turkish-Israeli relationships in that decade showed who was really in charge of Turkish politics. The 90s marked the rise of strategic relations between Turkey and Israel and in Turkey the driving force was the military. The military was eager to develop relations for several reasons; to reinforce Turkey's secular image, to counter the rising threat from Syria and Israel, both of whom supported the Kurdish separatism and Islamism against Turkey, to win the pro-Israeli lobby in Washington and to have access to military technology unrestricted due to human rights concerns. [542]

After the formation of Erbakan's coalition, the military used Turkish-Israeli relations to embarrass the government by exposing its powerlessness to halt an alliance it openly had opposed. Not only did the military totally ignore the government in dealings with Israel, but also in May 1997, the military engaged in a massive military operation in northern Iraq without notifying the civilian government in advance. The friction between the Erbakan government and the Kemalist military was evident. During Erbakan's tenure as prime minister, the military adamantly ignored Erbakan's anti-Israel rhetoric and to 'embarrass' Erbakan, the military deepened the relations with Israel.[543]

The Turkish-Israeli relations had become a battle ground between the WP and the military. One of the starkest examples of this was 'the Military Training and

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[541] Erbakan's speech in the Group Meeting of the Welfare Party in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-zeqDJPsbzM
[542] Yavuz, p. 243
[543] ibid

Cooperation' agreement with Israel, which provided mutual military visits and the acquisition of military know-how. Although opposed to it, Erbakan bowed down to the pressure of the military and had to ratify it.[544] What made it unusual was the Deputy Chief of Staff Cevik Bir, not a civilian representative from the government, signed the agreement while on the Israeli side it was the defense ministry director David Ivry who signed it. Moreover, while all agreements have to be presented to and approved by the Parliamentary Committee of foreign relations, this one was signed secretly without the knowledge of any government representative. The military later justified its action by arguing that it did so due to the security and stability of the state, which showed the distrust of the military against the civilian government. Surprisingly, the Turkish side publicized the agreement, a move that befuddled Israel.[545]

Erbakan would later admit the government had to approve the agreement due to the pressure from the Turkish Military. In January 1997, Erbakan expressed his dismay on the issue as such; *"I wanted to approach to the U.S but the Americans told me to go to Israel. Americans dictated the agreement with Israel. I could not oppose the establishment of the common air force base in Anatolia because 'the soldiers' would have made Mesut Yilmaz* (the then opposition leader in the parliament) the *prime minister, establishing a coalition government."*[546]

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[544] William Hale, Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000. pp. 292-299

[545] Gencer Ozcan and Ofra Bengio, 'The Decade of the Military in Turkey: the Case of the Alignment with Israel in the 1990s', *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol.7 (Spring 2001), [pp. 90–109].., p. 102, quoted from Steve Rodan, 'Ties with Turkey the Most Important Story of the Decade," *Jerusalem Post,* 14 June 1996.

[546] Guncer Ozcan, Turkiye-Israil Iliskilerinde Donusum: Guvenligin Otesinde, TESEV, Dis Politika Analiz Serisi-1, Kasim, 2005, p. 113, Yalçın Doğan,"Erbakan'dan Müthiş Açıklamalar," Milliyet, 16 Mayıs 1997

The then Minister of State Abdullah Gul expresses the situation as; *"…Americans had forced us to sign the agreement…We had two choices; either we would forget about the F-4 renovation project that would cost 600 million dollars or we would have had to sign the agreement with Israel. Unfortunately, Israel exploited this situation disseminating the idea in the region [the Middle East] that Israel and Turkey are getting close…"*[547]

While the Turco-Israeli military rapprochement was met with resistance in Turkey, so was it in Israel. In 1998, the Israeli foreign minister was said to have some concerns with regards to the relations with Turkey. He arguably warned that the close and intensive relations with Turkey would become detrimental for Israel's relations with Syria, Greece, Cyprus even Russia, which supplied arms to the Greek Cypriots. Others have blamed David Ivri, who was considered to be the architect of the rapprochement, for jeopardizing Israel's larger interests in the region. [548]

Finally, Erbakan argued that Turkey's financial and banking system had been taken over by Jews and Israel. He said; of the price of a loaf of bread, one third goes to the IMF via interest payments, which in turn goes to Israel and the Israeli banks.[549]

He criticized the 1993 Oslo Agreement claiming that it was a result of Zionism's desire to penetrate into the Muslim world, eventually dividing them (citing the friction between the PLO and the Hamas). [550] Erbakan also rhetorically asked on one occasion of America: "*Are you a slave of Israel? You claim to be a superpower. What happened to*

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[547] Ozcan, p. 113 quoted from Faruk Zabcı, "ABD'ye Boyun Eğdik," *Hürriyet*, 15 Ekim 1996.
[548] Ofra Bengio, The Turkish-Israeli Relationship: Changing Ties of Middle Eastern Outsiders, p. 91
[549] Yavuz, p. 237 quoted from Erbakan, Teshis, pp. 28, 32.
[550] Yavuz, p. 237 quoted from Necmettin Erbakan, "RP Ankara Il Kongresi'nde yapìlan Konusma," in Erbakan Konusmalarì, 22; p. 153.

you! You are a toy in the hands of the Jewish lobby. . . You are a servant of Israel, your situation is very clear."[551]

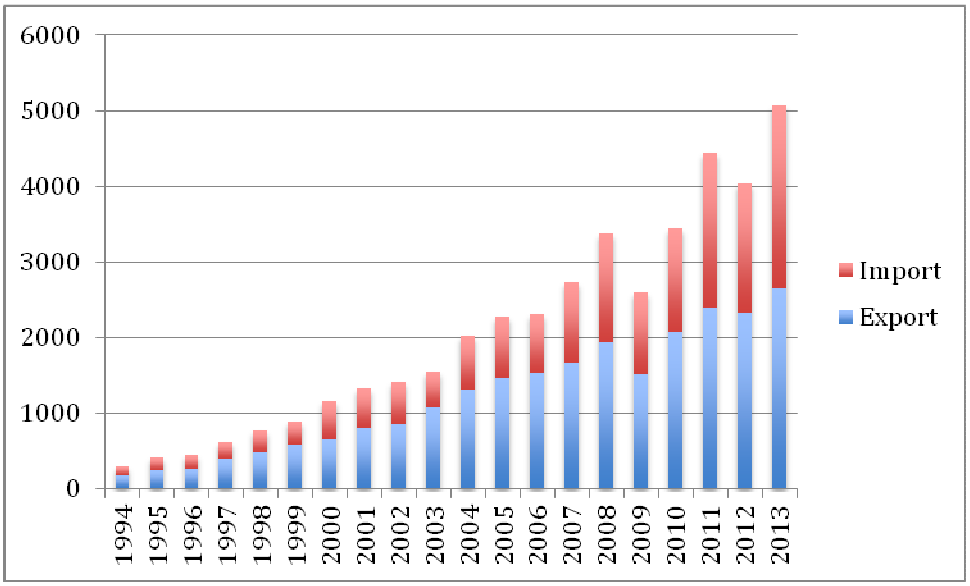

Figure 6.1 Turkish-Israeli Trade in $ million (1994-2013)
Source: www.turkstat.gov.tr

As seen in the above chart, despite Erbakan's staunch opposition, the Turkish-Israeli bilateral trade rose during and after his tenure. Finally, the fact that Erbakan was not able to retard the Turco-Israeli rapprochement proved that the real driving force behind the Turkish foreign policy was the Turkish military and the bureaucratic elite.[552]

6.4.4 Third Worldist Foreign Policy

Another important aspect of Erbakan's foreign policy practice was his "Third Worldist" critique of the international system, seeing it dominated by and serving the interests of the Western world. The solution to this, to Erbakan, was for the Muslims of the world to organize, unite and establish an independent system, rival to the existing

[551] Yavuz, p. 237 quoted from Necmettin Erbakan, "RP Partisi TBMM Grup Toplantìsì Konu7masì, Eylül 15, 1993," in Erbakan Konusmas, 72
[552] Meltem Muftuler-Bac (1998) Turkey and Israel: An Evolving Relationship, ACPR Policy Paper No. 47, p. 6.

Western dominated world. He repeatedly advocated the establishment of an Islamic common market with its common currency, the dinar. The first concrete attempt to this end came on October 22, 1996, when Erbakan led the formation of the Islamic D-8 (Developing 8), which clearly imitated the group of 8 developed economies[553]and an association of Muslim countries-the Economic Cooperation Organization, all of which were based on pan-Islamic ideology. The D-8 was Erbakan's most aspiring venture and clearly aimed at changing Turkey's traditional foreign policy direction, which is Western. The D-8 included Turkey Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Nigeria, and Pakistan,[554] to which he paid numerous visits.[555]

Furthermore, Erbakan foreign policy practices upset secular Turks and Turkey's Western allies as they perceived Turkey drifting from the West towards the East.[556] The new prime minister's first meeting was with the leader of the Muslim brotherhood, the son of the late Hasan al-Banna.[557] This created concern in Egypt and Hosni Mubarak visited Ankara to express his 'concerns' about the perceived intervention in Egypt's internal affairs. This vexed the secular governments in the Middle East, who feared the rise of Islam. His visit to Libya's Qaddafi later turned out to be a political disaster for Erbakan for Qaddafi humiliated Erbakan and accused him of being too pro-Western and oppressing the Kurds in Turkey.[558] Erbakan visited Iran and signed the oft criticized

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[553] Galip Dalay and Dov Friedman (2013) The AK Party and the Evolution of Turkish Political Islam's Foreign Policy Insight Turkey Vol. 15 / No. 2, p. 125
[554] Yucel Bozdaglioglu, Modernity, Identity and Turkey's Foreign Policy, p. 66
[555] Ironically, Erbakan's coalition partner Ciller would say that the D-8 project was a dream that impossible to realize as the total amount of trade with the combined 8 members was equal to one tenth of the trade done with only one EU member country. (Ciller: D-8 Birligi Hayal, *Milliyet*, February 02, 1997.)
[556] Yavuz, p. 243, quoted from Philip Robins, "Turkish Foreign Policy under Erbakan," Suvival 39, 2 (Summer 1997): 82–100
[557] Yavuz, p. 243 quoted from Yeni Yüzyil, October 14, 1996.
[558] Yavuz, p. 243.

natural gas agreement with Iran in August 1996. Abdullah Bozkurt, a journalist at Today's Zaman of Turkey, sums up the displeasure about this Erbakan's endeavor;

"It was Erbakan's unreciprocated love affair with Iran that landed Turkey an unfair natural gas deal in August 1996, an agreement that Turkey pledged to purchase 10 billion cubic meters of gas annually from Iran for a quarter of century. It was his deal that made Turkey dependent on Iran for one-fifth of its gas imports, an unnecessary leverage that Iranian hawks never fail to bring up every time they talk about Turkey's reliance on Iran. Did we get a fair shake from this supposedly lucrative trade deal? I do not believe we did, judging from the past hiccups on the volume and quality of Iranian gas."[559]

Bozkurt concludes that unlike with Russia, Azerbaijan and Algeria, Turkey has continued to experience problems with the Iranian gas delivery due in great part to the poor Iranian infrastructure, which caused the gas supply to be interrupted especially in severe winter condition, during which Iran simply cuts the supplies and diverts it to its domestic consumption.[560]

The fact that the deal was signed at the very moment when President Clinton was signing into law the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act to impede foreign investment in both countries was interpreted by many analysts as a deliberate slap in the face of the U.S. administration. However, this act prevented a U.S. company from supplying critical compressor units needed for the completion of the Turkish side of the deal. In January 2000, a crisis erupted when Iran sought financial compensation from Turkey on the basis of the 1996 agreement. There is thus a major conflict of interest between Turkey,

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[559] Abdullah Bozkurt, Erbakan's legacy and gas deal with Iran, *Today's Zaman*, May 18, 2012
[560] ibid

desperate for additional supplies of natural gas to meet its growing demand and reduce dependence on Russia, and the U.S. strategy. The gas deal with Iran was not only economically problematic it also created political tension with Turkey's western allies. The gas deal with Iran came almost exactly at the same time when the President Clinton was signing the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act. The timing of the agreement was perceived in Washington as a deliberate act of defiance of the Erbakan government towards America.[561] To make matters worse, because the Turkish side of the gas pipeline could not be completed because supply of critical compression units needed to build pump stations in Turkey was banned due to the Iranian sanctions, Iran sought for financial compensation in January per the 1996 agreement, which created crisis between Turkey and Iran.[562] Kemal Kirisci concludes that this situation proved that there is a major conflict of interest between Turkey, who wanted to diversify its energy sources to reduce dependency on Russian gas and America, who wanted to punish Iran.[563]

Quoting Richard Perle, a former senior Pentagon official, Tom Friedman wrote in the New York Times that Erbakan *'stuck his finger in America's eye*,' and *'...suddenly Turkey's government, a longtime pillar of U. S. policy at the crossroads of Asia and Europe, is becoming, under Mr. Erbakan, an unreliable ally at best and a threat to U. S. interests at worst.*"[564] Friedman concluded; *"But it was a result of the fact that the pro-U.S. faction inside Turkey has been shamed into silence, because of the indifference with*

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[561] Kemal Kirisci, (2001) U.S.-Turkish Relations: New Uncertainties in a Renewed Partnership, in *Turkey in World Politics: An Emerging Multiregional Power*, ed. Barry Rubin and Kemal Kirisci, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, p. 140 quoted from Alan O. Makovsky, "Turkey" in Robert S. Chase, Emily Hill and Paul Kennedy, eds./ The Pivotal States: A New Framework for U.S Policy in the Developing World, W.W Norton, 1999, p. 97.
[562] Kirisci, p. 140, quoted from Radikal, January 6,7, 2000.
[563] Kirisci, p. 140
[564] Thomas Friedman, Who Lost Turkey?, *The New York Times*, August 21, 1996

which the Clinton Administration has treated Turkey. The Congress has not been helpful either, but previous Administrations fought for Turkey's interests in Congress in a way this Administration has not. I don't see Dole giving a major foreign policy speech without mentioning how Turkey has been mishandled."[565]

As much as Erbakan was courting Iran, he failed to attract Iran's support in the fight against PKK. It is a well-known fact that there are PKK camps in Iran from which the PKK launched attacks against targets in Turkey. However, Erbakan admitted his failure in this regard. He said;

"In spite of the D'amato's Iran-Libya Sanctions Act[566]*, I went to Tehran. I signed with them the gas deal of $25 billion for the next twenty years. Yet, the Iranians did not cooperate in regards to the PKK issue. If they [Iranians] had agreed to collaborate, I would have stood stronger against the soldiers [the Turkish Armed Forces]. I asked Rafsancani at the Sadabat Palace to curb Ocalan's terrorist activities in Iran. He said 'it is not possible. Because there is not one PKK member within Iranian borders. If you don't believe me you can go there with my helicopters and see for yourself.' The Head of Turkish Police Forces, Aladdin Yuksel told the Iranian Deputy Head of State Hassan Habibi that 'we know every PKK camp, facility in Iranian soil. We know the telephone numbers and addresses of the Kurdish separatists in your country.' As you see, Iran is an important neighbor but they are not sincere in their relations with Turkey."*[567]

Erbakan continues to confess how he was weak against the state bureaucracy. He said; *"After I became the prime minister, I wanted to go to Syria after my visits to Iran*

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[565] ibid
[566] Megan McCurdy (1997) Unilateral Sanctions With a Twist: The Iran and Libya Sanctions Act of 1996, American University International Law Review, Vol 13, Issue 2, Article 4 http://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1354&context=auilr
[567] Erbakan'dan Tartisma Yaratacak Aciklamalar, *Sabah*, February 21, 1997

and Libya. I have a good rapport with Hafez Assad [the then president of Syria]. We need to solve the PKK problem. Our military is losing 5-10 of its members every day. For the sake of solution, I even proposed the abolishment of the Turkish-Syria border. But, the Office of Chief of Staff and the National Intelligence Agency (MIT) did not let me to go to Syria. Therefore, Assad did nothing."[568]

6.5 The WP's Islamic, Anti-Kemalist Rhetoric

Erbakan repeatedly charged against M. Kemal and the Kemalist establishment in Turkey. And he did not shy away from implying his desire for a regime change in Turkey. On April 13, 1994, Erbakan said; ''…*Refah (WP) will come to power and a just order [adil duzen] will be established. The question we must ask ourselves is whether this change will be violent or peaceful; whether it will entail bloodshed. I would have preferred not to have to use those terms, but in the face of all that, in the face of terrorism, and so that everyone can see the true situation clearly, I feel obliged to do so. Today, Turkey must make a decision. The Welfare Party will establish a just order, which is certain. [But] will the transition be peaceful or violent; will it be achieved harmoniously or by bloodshed? The sixty million [citizens] must make up their minds on that point.*"[569]

In a public speech on March 14, 1993 and a television interview first recorded in 1992 and rebroadcast on November 24, 1996, Hasan Hüseyin Ceylan, Refah MP for the province of Ankara said; *"Our homeland belongs to us, but not the regime, dear brothers. The regime and Kemalism belong to others. ... Turkey will be destroyed, gentlemen. People say: Could Turkey become like Algeria? Just as, in Algeria, we got*

[568] Erbakan'dan Tartisma Yaratacak Aciklamalar, *Sabah*, February 21, 1997
[569] The European Court of Human Rights Case of Refah Partisi and Others v. Turkey. 13 February 2003. http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/sites/eng/pages/search.aspx?i=001-60936#{"itemid":["001-60936"]}

81% [of the votes], here too we will reach 81%, we will not remain on 20%. Do not waste your energy on us – I am speaking here to you, to those ... of the imperialist West, the colonizing West, the wild West, to those who, in order to unite with the rest of the world, become the enemies of honor and modesty, those who lower themselves to the level of dogs, of puppies, in order to imitate the West, to the extent of putting dogs between the legs of Muslim women – it is to you I speak when I say: 'Do not waste your energy on us, you will die at the hands of the people of Kırıkkale." (a city in central Anatolia)

> *"... the army says: 'We can accept it if you're a supporter of the PKK, but a supporter of sharia, never.' Well you won't solve the problem with that attitude. If you want the solution, it's sharia."*[570]

Yavuz states that the RP sought to distinguish between Westernization and modernity. Westernization, in the Turkish context, was a process of alienation from one's own cultural values and history and its replacement by an empty shell that only could be a pale shadow of the other that it aspires to be. This weakness, in turn, was viewed as causing underdevelopment, the lack of political independence, the erosion of moral values, and the subjugation of the Turks in their own historical regions. Modernity, by contrast, was viewed as a necessity for survival, and its technological, scientific, democratic, and industrial elements were not seen as being incompatible with Islam. In having this view, the RP ideologues were very close to Ottoman liberals like Namlk Kemal, who also thought that a prudent incorporation of Western attributes, such as democracy, liberalism, and industrialization, could be accomplished without

[570] The European Court of Human Rights Case of Refah Partisi and Others v. Turkey. 13 February 2003. http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/sites/eng/pages/search.aspx?i=001-60936# {"itemid" ["001-60936"]}.

compromising essential Islamic customs and values. The promotion of a liberal political and economic agenda, in fact, was cleverly used by the RP to assail the authoritarian aspects of the Kemalist tradition while increasing their popularity and credibility with those who were dissatisfied with the present system.

To sum up, Erbakan believed that westernization does not necessarily mean modernization. The Turkish modernity with the Kemalist revolution had alienated cultural values and history. What was left was a hollow body. Erbakan was of the opinion that due to the nature of the Kemalist modernity, the development of Turkey and the Turks were retarded, morality easily eroded and Turkey lost its ties with its historical hinterland that was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. While Erbakan viewed modernity as a necessary element for political, economical and industrial development, he also believed that these could be achieved without sacrificing Islamic values; therefore they are compatible with Islam. Yavus states that Erbakan's view of modernity is identical to that of Namik Kemal, an Ottoman liberalist, who believed democracy, liberalism and industrialization could be achieved through Islamic values. Yavuz concludes' "*the promotion of a liberal political and economic agenda, in fact, was cleverly used by the RP to assail the authoritarian aspects of the Kemalist tradition while increasing their popularity and credibility with those who were dissatisfied with the present system*." [571]

6.6 The Kemalist State Machine Steps in: The 'Post-Modern' Coup

Erbakan and members of WP's anti-Kemalist and pro-Islamic rhetoric had already disturbed the Turkish military, who perceived the duty of protecting the secular foundations and the Kemalist principles of the state, even before the ascent of the party to power, the activities of religious groups began to rise and became more public.

[571] Yavuz, p. 224

The incidents that prepared the unavoidable fall of the WP continued to occur. One of them was when the Aczmendis, an Islamic order in Turkey, staged a highly publicized ritual in the largest mosque of Turkey, the Kocatepe Mosque, which is only several kilometers away from the Turkish Parliament, on October 6, 1996. With TV cameras present, the members of the order clamored for *Sharia* in Turkey.[572] On January 11, 1997 invited the leaders of religious orders in Turkey to a dinner at the official residence of the prime minister.[573]

Then came the straw that broke the camel's back. On January 30, 1997, one of Erbakan's aides and the mayor of town of Sincan, which is outside the city of Ankara, Bekir Yildiz[574] organized an evening rally named 'the Jerusalem Day', which was proclaimed by the Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomenei in Iran in 1980s. The spectators filled the arena to capacity chanting for the advent of jihad as small children staged a play that depicted the victory of Islam. Moreover, the VIP guest was Mohammed Bagheri, the Iranian ambassador to Turkey, for whom the crowd cheered in excitement. While clamoring for Sharia, the crowd cursed Israel and Arafat. Furthermore, Bagheri came to stage to speak and called for the victory of Sharia in Turkey. He said: *"On behalf of Muslims all over the world, I say that we can wait no longer! Do not be afraid to call yourselves fundamentalists! Fundamentalists are those who follow the words and actions*

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[572] The video of the members of the Aczmendi order chanting in the mosque: http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xcuazv_aczmendi-zikri-1_tech

[573] Cumhuriyetin Seyir Defterinden, *Hurriyet*, October 29, 1998

[574] Later, Yildiz told in an interview that on that night there were people with beards whom he did not know who they were and those people provoked the crowd in order for the military to step in. Yıldız: Kudüs Gecesi'nde Tanımadığımız Sakallı İnsanlar Vardı, (2012, February 28) *Cihan*. http://www.cihan.com.tr/tr/yildiz-kudus-gecesinde-tanimadigimiz-sakalli-insanlar-vardi-ozel-vCHNjM3NzI5.htm

of the Prophet! God has promised them the final victory!"[575] The pictures of the prominent Shi'a clerics Musa al-Sadr and Abbas al-Mousavi were hanging in the background on the wall.[576]

The Sincan incident was really unacceptable for the Kemalist establishment as it trampled on the major sensitivities of Kemalism. The Jerusalem Night organized by the RP mayor of Sincan, Bekir Yıldız, at the end of January 1997 increased the already high tensions between secularists and conservatives. The participation of the Iranian ambassador and his speech at the event over lapped with one of the grand narratives of secularists in Turkey: the "Iranization" of Turkey. [577] A few days later, the tension around Sincan reached a crescendo with a procession of tanks on the main street of Sincan. Ismail Saglar said: "*The tanks were considered a warning to the WP or an early sign of a coup d'état, as Turkish people, most of whom had seen at least one military intervention during their life, were quite sure of the meaning of tanks on the streets."* However, the military officials announced that the procession was a previously organized regular training move. [578]

However, the military showed their real intent at the February 28 meeting of the National Security Council. The meeting and the subsequent press release was significant in that the military threatened the Erbakan government with "sanctions" if it did not take immediate action to curb the "religious reactionary movements.[579] Erbakan refused to sign the council's decisions and stated *"Governments are formed in Parliament not in the*

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[575] Stephen Kinzer (2008) Crescent and Star: Turkey between Two Worlds, Ferrar, Straus and Giroux, pp. 72-73.
[576] Kudus Gecesi DGM'lik, *Milliyet,* February 3, 1997.
[577] Ismail Caglar (2012) The Welfare Party and the February 28 Process: A Historical Analysis of Turkish Conservatives' Move to the Center, *Turkish Journal of Politics* Vol. 3 No. 1 Summer, p. 27
[578] ibid
[579] ibid

National Security Council; laws are made in Parliament." In the end, he had to ratify the decisions. [580]

The generals made it clear that they did not want a classical military coup but a political solution to the 'problem'. Therefore, the coalition partner Tansu Ciller was pressured to pull her party out of the government.[581]

Defections had already begun from Ciller's True Path Party. The Minister of Industry, Yalim Erez and Minister of Health, Yildirim Aktuna[582] resigned from their positions. However, the military found the process too slow.[583]

Meanwhile, the military's displeasure with the Erbakan government climbed to unprecedented heights so much so Osman Ozbek, the Chief of Staff of Gendarme in Erzurum Province went so far as to call Erbakan "a pimp" for going to pilgrimage in Mecca with his family as the guest of the king of Saudi Arabia.[584] Although, Erbakan asked the chief of staff of the Turkish Military for the punishment of Ozbek, it never happened. [585]

The lack of trust between the military and the government went up so much that the military staged one of the largest cross border incursions into Iraq in May 1997 with 50,000 troops to eliminate the PKK targets without the foreknowledge of the government.[586] A senior military officer conceded that the government was informed of

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[580] Marvine Howe (2000) *Turkey Today: A Nation Divided over Islam's Revival*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, p. 139
[581] Howe, p. 140.
[582] Bulent Erandac, 28 Subat Surecinde DYP'nin parcalanis Oykusu, *Takvim*, 28 February 2012
[583] Howe, p. 139
[584]Osman Özbek Dönemin Başbakanı Merhum Erbakan'a Küfür Ediyor
(Then major General Osman Ozbek is cussing at Erbakan)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VxtIuwNHa_A
[585] Howe, p. 140
[586] PKK Kamplari Yerle Bir, *Milliyet*, 17 May 1997

the incursion twelve hours after its commencement for fear that the classified operation might have been leaked to the terrorists.[587]

The crisis between the conflicting parties further escalated when on May 11, 1997, the Erbakan supporters staged a 100,000 strong demonstration in Istanbul against the army's February 28th demands.[588]

At the National Security Council meeting of May 1997 Erbakan took extreme pressure from the generals to 'do his bidding at once'.[589] Unwilling to concede to the military, Erbakan came up with a solution that he would switch positions with Ciller, making her the prime minister. He assumed that if his secular coalition partner would take over premiership, the military would relax the unrelenting pressure on him. However, the generals saw no difference as long as Erbakan remained in government. Chief of Staff Hakki Karadayi personally demanded all high ranking officers to remain in their posts throughout the summer in case an emergency meeting was needed. [590]

Different from preceding coups, where the military physically took over and ruled for a certain period of time, this time the military pursued a different method. The generals embarked on giving a series of briefings to officially inform and convince the ruling elite of WP's 'unconstitutional' deeds. [591] Despite the opposition from the Minister of Justice of WP, the high level Supreme Court and other judges as well as the university representatives, labor unions, other NGOs, even teachers, all of whom

[587] Howe, p. 140
[588] Govde Gosterisi, *Milliyet*, May 5, 1997.
[589] ibid
[590] ibid
[591] ibid

represented the Kemalist elite, were given briefings at the Turkish General Staff headquarters in Ankara for days.[592]

Furthermore, the military resorted to any means possible to eradicate the traces of Islamism in Turkey, including economic, legal constitutional and political. For example; the military officially boycotted the Islamic oriented companies and stopped buying merchandise from them. For example, certain food brands and newspapers were banned in the military facilities. Also, the NSC continued to expel certain officers from the military on the grounds of religious reactionary and anti-secular activities. [593]

The anti-Islamic, pro secular front continued to organize mass demonstrations in large cities of Turkey. The large-business association TUSIAD, the then president Suleyman Demirel and civil society organizations were among the supporters of these demonstrations. [594]

In the face of relentless pressure from all spheres of the Kemalist elite, Erbakan made the expected move and on June 17, 1997, he submitted his resignation, marking the end of the Welfare Party-True Pathy Party coalition. Subsequently, the president refused to give Ciller, who owns the second largest majority in the parliament, the duty of establishing the next government as, by law, it is the president who decides about the person to form a government. [595]

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[592] Howe, p. 142
[593] Bozdaglioglu, p. 67
[594] Cemal Karakas (2007) Turkey: Islam and Laicism Between the Interests of State, Politics, and Society, PRIF Reports, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, No. 78, p. 26.
[595] Ismail Caglar (2012) The Welfarte Party and the February 28 Process: A Historical Analysis of Turkish Conservatives' Move to Center, Turkish Journal of Politics Vol. 3 No. 1 Summer, p. 30

Demirel, under pressure from the military, called on the main opposition leader, Mesut Yilmaz, who then formed a right-left coalition government. Therefore, the new government included no Islamic elements.[596]

For the military, the mission was accomplished. Without damaging further the country's image with a traditional military coup, the generals were able to force democratically elected Erbakan to step down. A new secular administration was erected, which would carry out the decisions made by the soldiers with no reservation.[597]

The influence of the military grew even stronger as the government was now in compliance with the generals. The West Working Group (Bati Calisma Grubu), a clandestine group within the military, which had been established before February 28 to report any anti-regime, Islamic activities, continued to check on the media, businesses, academia and other parts of the society. [598] The generals were now in full control of Turkey's foreign policy and they indicated that they would continue to do so citing the national security. Now, instead of acting alone, they would work with the ministry of foreign affairs and its bureaucracy. As an example, when some Nordic countries openly declared their support for PKK members in their countries, the military pressed the ministry of foreign affairs to 'take necessary steps' to stop this. [599]

The 1997 military intervention is known as the "soft coup" because of the way the military carried it out. Major business associations, media outlets, academia, judiciary and other pro-secular, pro-Kemalist fractions of the society were mobilized with the

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[596] Howe, p. 143
[597] ibid
[598] BÇG carried on activities until 2009, documents suggest, Sunday's Zaman, March 31, 2013 http://www.todayszaman.com/news-311307-bcg-carried-on-activities-until-2009-documents-suggest.html
[599] ibid

encouragement of the military, which resulted in the forceful resignation of Erbakan and his government.[600]

Burak Bilge Ozpek states that what made the coup post-modern was its methodology, because the military managed to eliminate the Welfare Party without suspending the whole political system. Still in 1999, the military continued to enjoy the 'absolute kingmaker' status, as Ozpek puts it. The leader of PKK was arrested in Kenya with a Cypriot passport and the organization declared a ceasefire. Like the case with previous coups, those who were affiliated with WP and pro-Islamic ideology were banned from politics, the conservative way of life, such as the headscarf in public official spaces, was kept under control. [601]

6.7 Conclusion

Necmeddin Erbakan and his Just Order (Adil Duzen) represent the decade's long disenfranchised conservative and Islamist portion of the periphery thus the epitome of political Islam in Turkey. According to this, the adverse effects of Western influence, such as European culture, secularism, Western banking system, Zionism etc. have plunge the Islamic world into a spiraling decline and these are responsible for the persistent vices that have befallen the Muslims. Therefore, the only way to salvage the Islamic world is a spiritual, moral, political and economic awakening based on the tenets of Islam. Therefore, one of the most important elements of the Erbakanian worldview consists of the unity of Muslims all across the world under the banner of *ummah.* (the Community of Muslims) It is important to note that although he advocated the unity of Muslims, he believed that it ought to be under the banner of Turkey's leadership.

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[600] Yavuz, p. 276

[601] Burak Bilgehan Ozipek, Pseudo-Transformation of Civil-Military Relations in Turkey, *Instituto Per GLI Studi Di Politica Internazionale (ISPI)* ,Analysis No.267, July 2014, p. 5

While the actual rise of Erbakan to prominence came in mid-1990s, the seeds of the National Order ideology were sown in late 1960. Several factors contributed to the rise of Erbakan. First of all, the adherents of the National View have always been known to be devoted to their cause and well organized not only in Turkey but among the Turkish diaspora in Europe, especially in Germany. The symbiotic relation between the European and the Anatolian wings of the National View would then contribute to the economic revival of the latter, which brings us to the second factor.

The relative liberalization of Turkish economy and general life in Turkey under Ozal throughout 1980s helped the birth of what was called the Anatolian Tigers, a term coined for the business entrepreneurships outside of the Istanbul establishment. After decades of economic, social and educational deprivation, the periphery began to rise against the Kemalist establishment. Finally, the death of Ozal in 1993 coupled with the rising PKK terrorism, corruption and bribery that plagued almost every level of state offered a perfect opportunity for Erbakan and his "Just Order" rhetoric. The election of Erbakan to prime minister in 1996 marked a historical point in the history of Turkey in that for the first time an individual with overt Islamic rhetoric became the head of the government. Whereas this was an unprecedented accomplishment for the political Islam in Turkey, it raised concerns among the Kemalist establishment, particularly in the Military.

Having ascended to the top of government, Erbakan began to implement policies that ran entirely counter to the traditional Kemalist understanding. His aspiration to create a Muslim version of European Union with the membership of mostly Muslim developing countries as well as his admiration for Iran drew criticism from the Kemalist cycles.

Turkey's relations with Israel under Erbakan, who was anti-Israeli, became a battleground between him and the military, which saw Israel the only viable option in the region to counter both the rise of political Islam and the Kurdish terrorism. Unlike Kemalists, Erbakan was a steadfast anti-westernist, who repeatedly denounced almost every aspect of Western world. This in turn strained Turkey's relations with the US and EU.

With his worldview and policy implementations, Erbakan clearly attempted to challenge the Kemalist establishment, desiring to create a complete paradigm shift in Turkish foreign policy. However, the Kemalist establishment with its strong military, bureaucracy, higher education, legislation and secular socio-economic circles, prevented it from happening with an unprecedented "postmodern coup", where the military removed the government without physically taking over the governance. Erbakan and his government simply did not have means and power to subdue the Kemalist establishment primarily because they were part of a coalition government, which kept Erbakan from fully materializing his ideals, molding the state machinery with its military and bureaucracy into his own worldview. Erbakan neither withdrew Turkey from the "Christian club" European Union and NATO nor was he able to sever the relations with Israel. In fact, perhaps it was Erbakan's stubborn anti-Western attitude that deprived him of the most viable partner against the military dominance; the European Union, which has long urged Turkey to implement civilianization reforms that would render the military less influential in state affairs.

The monumental collapse of the Erbakan government in 1997 once again proved that taking the Kemalist establishment head on would always mean failure for the

political Islamic movements in Turkey. It is this perception that set the stage for the creation of the Justice and Development Party (AKP). The founding members of AKP, who had decided to distance themselves from Erbakan's establishment, conceded that a serious reform in their ideology was required if they wanted to be successful in Turkey's political atmosphere.

Goals and Priorities of the Erbakanist Foreign Policy

- Pan-Islamic (Desire to build the Muslim unity in the world; *Ummah*)
- Third Worldist (the D-8 project, unification of the Muslims)
- Neo-Ottomanist (Aspiration to make Turkey a regional power and the leader of the Islamic world)
- Anti-West (Opposition to the European Union based on identity)
- Anti-Zionist/Israel
- Pro-Iran
- Pluralist/inclusive (Recognizing the Kurdish identity based on the *Ummah* concept)
- The Just Order (in regards to the Turks in Europe)

Instruments of the Erbakanist Foreign Policy

- The Office of the Prime Minister

The 18 Directives of NSC of February 28, 1997[602]

According to NSC decision no. 406, the Erkaban government was instructed to implement the following 18 directives:

1. The principle of secularism should be strictly enforced and laws should be modified for that purpose, if necessary.

2. Private dormitories, foundations, and schools affiliated with Sufi religious orders must be put under the control of relevant state authorities and eventually transferred to the Ministry of National Education (MNE)

3. An eight-year uninterrupted education system must be implemented across the country and necessary administrative and legal adjustments should be made so that Qur'anic courses, which children with basic education may attend with parental consent, operate only under the responsibility and control of the MNE.

4. National education institutes charged with raising enlightened clergy loyal to the republican regime and Kemal Atatürk's principles and reforms must conform to the essence of the Law on Unified Education

[602] Yavuz, pp. 275-276

5. Religious facilities built in various parts of the country must not be used for political exploitation and such facilities must be built in coordination with local governments and relevant authorities.
6. Activities of religious orders banned by law no. 677, as well as all entities prohibited by said law, must be ended.
7. Media groups that oppose the military and depict its members as inimical to religion should be brought under control.
8. Personnel expelled from military service because of fundamentalist activities, disciplinary problems, or connections with illegal organizations must not be employed by other public agencies and institutions or otherwise encouraged.
9. The measures taken within the framework of existing regulations to prevent infiltration of the military by the extremist religious sector should also be applied in other public institutions and establishments particularly in universities and other educational institutions, at every level of the bureaucracy, and in judicial establishments.
10. Iran's efforts to destabilize Turkey's regime should be closely watched and policies to prevent Iran from meddling in Turkey's internal affairs should be adopted.
11. Legal and administrative means must be used to prevent the dangerous activities of the extremist religious sector that seeks to create polarization in society by fanning sectarian differences.
12. Legal and administrative proceedings against those responsible for incidents that contravene the constitution and laws of the Turkish Republic should be concluded in a short period of time and firm measures should be taken at all levels not to allow repetition of such incidents.
13. Practices that violate the attire law and that may give Turkey a backward image must be prevented.
14. Licensing procedures for short- and long-barrel weapons, which have been issued for various reasons, must be reorganized on the basis of police and gendarmerie districts.
15. The collection of (animal) sacrifice hides by anti-regime and "uncontrolled" (unregulated) organizations and establishments for the purpose of securing financial resources should be prevented.
16. Legal proceedings against private bodyguards dressed in special uniforms and those responsible for them should be concluded speedily and all such should be disbanded.
17. Initiatives that aim at solving Turkey's problems on the basis of the concept of "ummet" [religious worldview] rather than the concept "nation" [or a secular worldview] and that encourage the separatist terrorist organization [meaning the PKK] by approaching it on the same basis [means the Islamization of Kurdish nationalism] should be prevented by legal and administrative means.
18. The law (no. 5816) defining crimes against Atatürk, including acts of disrespect, must be fully implemented.

In the next chapter, I will examine the AKP government.

CHAPTER 7. THE JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT PARTY ERA

7.1 Introduction

The first part of this chapter will analyze the social, economic and political origins of the ascension of the Justice and Development Part (AKP) to power, the party's struggle with the Kemalist state institutions to remain in power. The second part will scrutinize the foreign policy ideology of the party (neo-Ottomanism) and explain the implications of the victory of the AKP over the Kemalist bureaucracy as well as the party's neo-Ottomanist approach on the Turkish foreign policy. Turkey's relations with other state and non-state actors under the AKP will also be analyzed in the context of neo-Ottomanist foreign policy understanding.

7.2 The Rising of the Alternative Elite: "Islamist Calvinists"

As discussed in the previous chapters, increasing political and economic liberalization in Turkey gave way to the upward mobilization of the "other Turkey", which also was called "the periphery". This section of Turkish society grew into prominence in financial and economic sector especially late 90s also called the "Anatolian Tigers". One of the striking features of the Anatolian Tigers is that they are

successful, conservative businessmen, who are inspired by the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammed, who encouraged commerce and development.[603]

This concept of entrepreneurship was then named as "the Islamic Calvinism". [604] Those who follow this ideology value the importance of merit of work and savings and advanced education. As a result of increasing awareness in education and urbanization, the new elite began to greatly impact the Turkish politics and its discourse. It is important to note that the values and ideology of the new rising elite showed considerable differences from the Kemalist ideology, which is represented by the Ankara establishment. The new conservative elite stress the importance of small business, laissez-faire economics, and reduction of state intervention. [605]

For example, in the 1990s, Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (MUSIAD) created a guideline in which it encouraged the idea of profit maximizing individual, which is not necessarily in contrast with his/her moral or religious values. It created its own version of *homo economicus; homo Islamicus*. This ideology was legitimized by resorting to the life of Prophet Muhammed, who was a merchant during his lifetime. Therefore, *homo Islamicus* is characterized by having appropriate morals and minimal state intervention. In other words, it is the ideal Muslim business type similar to homo economicus with respect to capitalist economies. The

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[603] For example Mustafa Boydak, a prominent businessman of Kayseri, explains his approach to business with a quote from the Prophet Mohammed: "Nine out of ten of one's fate depend on commerce and courage." Bekir Irak, production manager in the HES cable factory, asserts that "it is good for a religious person to work hard", and that "to open a factory is a kind of prayer". He states that Muslims were told by the Prophet to acquire science and technology from wherever it can be found. The Mayor of Hacilar, Ahmet Herdem, states that "even the Prophet was a trader" and that it is natural for a merchant community to be religious. (Islamic Calvinists: Change and Conservatism in Central Anatolia, European Stability Initiative (ESI) September 19, 2005, pp. 23-24 http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_document_id_69.pdf)
[604] Aasiya Lodhi, *Turkish Toil Brings New Form of Faith*, BBC Radio 3, March 13, 2006. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4788712.stm
[605] Murinson, p. 8

difference between homo Islamicus and homo economicus is that the former's adoption of 'moral capitalist economy'.[606] For example, according to this; *"God-fearing pious employers would take care of their employees, and in turn, the employee would work with great enthusiasm knowing that they serve God as they do work, and their work is part of their devotion. Both employer and employee would know that they work with the same objective of serving Islam."*[607]

Prominent religious figures have stated that the search for profit for Muslims is considered to be equal with prayer and fasting. Esad Cosan, former leader of one of the largest wings of the Nakshibendi order, strongly encouraged his followers to study and learn foreign languages, engage in computers and travel abroad to increase their knowledge.[608]

One of the prominent examples of the "Islamic Calvinists" that played a great role in the success of the AKP government is the Gulen community, also known as the Cemaat (Community in Turkish). The movement is led by the cleric Fethullah Gulen, who currently lives in Pennsylvania, USA and is distinct from other such religious leaders in terms of its geopolitical and imperial aspirations. The community's most striking indication is their educational institutions in the thousands, ranging from primary education institutions to private universities that are located not only in Turkey but in more than 110 countries around the world. Especially before 2014 in which time the

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[606] Isik Ozel (2010) Political Islam and Islamic Capital: the Case of Turkey in Jeffrey Heynes ed., Religion and Politics in Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, Routledge, 2010, pp. 149-150 [139-161]
[607] Ibid, quoted from *Moral Capitalist Economy*, a MUSIAD publication, www.musiad.org.tr
[608] Erkan Saka (2009) Mediating the EU: Deciphering the Transformation of Turkish Elites, University of Michigan, ProQuest, p. 315.

relations between the AKP government and the Cemaat hit rock bottom, the Cemaat's influence in Turkish politics and economy was substantial. [609]

Fethullah Gulen has objected to the Kemalist-secular system that excluded Islam from the public sphere. Gulen argued that the Kemalist modernization confined spirituality to a private space. In one of his sermons he stated:

"Now it is a painful spring that we live in. A nation is being born again. A nation of millions [is] being born one that will live for long centuries, God willing...It is being born with its own culture, its own civilization. If giving birth to one person is so painful, the birth of millions cannot be pain-free. Naturally we will suffer pain. It won't be easy for a nation that has accepted atheism, has accepted materialism, a nation accustomed to running away from itself, to come back riding on its horse."[610]

Gulen glorified the Ottoman past and it's all-inclusive 'millet system' in opposition to the Kemalist nationalism which is exclusionist. [611]

The community has supported the Turkish membership of the EU. As opposed to Erbakan, whose focus was the Middle East and the Islamic world, Gulen has focused more on Central Asia and the Turkic republics of the former Soviet Union. He believed Turkey's rise to global power also goes through establishing hegemony over the brethren of Central Asia and the Caucasus. Through education communities and institutions

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[609] Murinson, p. 8
[610] Quoted in Berrin Koyuncu Lorasdağı, "Globalization, Modernization and Democratization in Turkey: The Fetullah Gülen Movement," in E. F. Keyman (ed.), Remaking Turkey: Globalization, Alternative Modernities, and Democracy (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2007), p. 162.
[611] Yuksel Taskin (2008) AKP's Move to "Conquer" the Center Right: Its Prospects and Possible Impacts on the Democratization Process, *Turkish Studies* Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 65.

throughout the world and especially in Central Asia, Gulen has aspired to engage in PR of Turkey and Islam.[612] This evidently is in contrast with the Kemalist worldview.

7.3 The Islamic Calvinism and Turkish Politics

As studied in the previous chapter, the rise of the 'periphery' played a great role in the success of the Welfare Party. The support came basically for two reasons. The first, of course, the same world view, the second is to counter the pressure they were getting from the Kemalist establishment. The WP offered the new rising conservative sphere an alternative by which they would lead their life as they wish. [613]

The disappointment and pessimism set in on the conservative 'other Turkey' with the removal of the Erbakan government by the military after the February 28 process. The process caused a fundamental shift in the Turkish political Islam, which eventually resulted in the formation of AKP.[614] As Cizre and Cinar argue; *"[t]his process has profoundly altered the formulation of public policy and the relationship between state and society. No major element of Turkish politics at present can be understood without reference to the February 28 process."*[615]

The inability of Erbakan to counter the military in the mid 90s and his eventual forceful resignation subsequent to the 28th process led some members of the Welfare Party to come to the conclusion that it was almost impossible to win over the military with the existing structure of the party and the long advocated worldview that had attracted the wrath of the Kemalist bureaucracy and the military. The crack between the

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[612] Murinson, p. 10
[613] Ziya Onis (2001) Political Islam at the Crossroads: from Hegemony to Co-Existence, *Comparative Politics*, 7:4, p. 227.
[614] Umit Cizre & Menderes Cınar (2003) Turkey 2002: Kemalism, Islamism, and Politics in the Light of the February 28 Process," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102:2/3, p. 310.
[615] William Hale and Ergun Ozbudun (2010) Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey: The Case of the AKP, Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics, pp. 3-20.

conservative and those members of the National Outlook, who advocate the change, could not be hidden from the public in the newly established Felicity Party, the successor to then abolished WP, Congress, where Abdullah Gul, one of the prominent reformists ran for the chairmanship of the party against the traditionalist candidate Recai Kutan. Though the race ended with Kutan's victory, it became evident that the reformists were now made up of a considerable percentage of the movement. [616]

Those who split from the Felicity Party officially formed the Justice and Development Party (AKP) on August 14, 2001 and Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who had become a prominent figure in Turkish politics in the early 1990s as the successful mayor of the largest city in Turkey, Istanbul,[617] was elected as the chairman of the party. One of the most important aspects of the AKP was that it not only was formed by those who seceded from the Erbakanist movement but also those who represented different ideologies of the political spectrum of Turkey. For example, among the founding members were Cemil Cicek and Abdulkadir Aksu, who were the members of Ozal's Motherland Party, Cemil Cicek and Koksal Toptan, who were members of the Democratic Party. Kursad Tuzmen was a member of the Nationalists Movement. The left ideology was represented in the founding by Ertugrul Gunay. The wide array of ideological make-up of the founding members of the AKP shows that it was founded aiming to embrace large segments of Turkish society as opposed to limiting it to the conservative-Islamists.

The AKP was founded with conservative values in mind but at the same time it accepted the existing regime's secular principles. According to this, although Islamic

[616] Tombus, p. 318
[617]Cemal Karakas (2007) Turkey: Islam and Laicism Between the Interests of State, Politics, and Society, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt Report No.78, p. 28

values made up an important aspect of the foundation, the goal was not to politicize Islam or Islamization.[618] It was evident that the February 28 process was a big lesson for the advocates of political Islam in Turkey, which was that overhauling the existing status quo regime in Turkey and replacing it with an Islamic one was not an option, given the tremendous strength and influence of the Turkish military and Kemalist bureaucracy. Therefore, navagating through the system, the reformists accepted the Kemalists principles of the state while retaining their conservative background. Therefore, AKP was founded to be a part of the system, not against it.[619] However, as will be discussed shortly, as soon as the AKP came to power with a super majority it began to charge against the Kemalist institutions and mechanism of the state, using the European Union reforms as leverage.

While the scholars conceded that the new party was established on the basis of moderation and change, the point of contention was about the nature and the level of the change. For example, Hale and Ozbudun argue that the AKP could not be called Islamic due to the fact that the founding members overtly rejected their allegiance with the National Outlook movement and should be accepted as center-right party. [620] The AKP defines itself as a "conservative democratic party".[621] Ziya Onis defines the AKP as "Islamic Liberal" while its predecessor Welfare Party was "moderate fundamentalist".[622] Hakan Yavuz states that AKP's rejection of the National Outlook was part of a worldwide moderation trend among the Islamic movements. Yavuz calls AKP "Islamic

[618] Tombus, p. 318
[619] ibid
[620] ibid
[621] Hale and Ozbudun, p. 20
[622] Onis, p. 284

Liberal". To Yildiz Atasoy, the AKP represents a successful "marriage" of Islam and neoliberalism. [623]

Ihsan Dagı summarizes all these assessments with the following quote;

"The transformation of the national view movement from the early 1970s to the late 1990s has given to a new political party (the AKP) with a liberal, democratic and pro-Western orientation and political agenda. A movement that embraces modern political values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law, which advocates integration with the EU, and manages to get votes from all segments of society, can hardly be called Islamist. It is a case demonstrating that a discursive shift may be followed by an identity change under certain circumstances. The Islamists' recent departure from their traditional anti-West and anti-Westernization position seems to have transformed the Islamic self in Turkey, opening up new possibilities for the coexistence of Islam and the West.[624]

7.4 Prelude to AKP's Electoral Success

About one year after it was established, the AKP won the November 2002 elections with an exceptional victory, gaining 34.3% of the votes. The Republican People's Party got 19.4%. Because of the ten per cent threshold, the remaining parties were not represented in the parliament, making the AKP a single party government, gaining 363 of the 550 seats, and the PRP the opposition party. Erbakan's FP received 2.5 percent of the votes, which is considered to be a heavy defeat.[625]

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[623] Tombus, p. 319
[624] Ihsan D. Dagi (2005) Transformation of Islamic Political Identity in Turkey: Rethinking the West and Westernization, Turkish Studies, Volume 6, No 1, pp. 15-16.
[625] Cemal Karakas, Turkey: Islam and Laicism Between the Interests of State, Politics, and Society, *Peace Research Institute Frankfurt Report* No.78, p. 29

It is important to note here that the success of the AKP could not solely be attributed to its adoption of new values and declared change in ideology. It is widely agreed that among the contributing factors to the AKP's historic win were the financial and economic crisis of 2001, which was one of the biggest. The financial crisis was preceded by the massive earthquake of 1999 that rocked the Marmara Region, the most populated area of Turkey. The failing banking system in Turkey and the gloomy reports of the IMF about the Turkish economy as well as the massive corruption and nepotism allegations that involved the aforementioned banks and the politicians only exacerbated the economic and social devastation of the 1999 earthquake. [626]

The flimsy coalition government of the DSP (Democratic Leftist Party), MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) and ANAP (Motherland Party) led by Bulent Ecevit failed to meet the demands of the IMF and the crisis in the banking sector combined drew the Turkish economy to the brink of collapse. The 2001 growth rate was a mere minus 7.5%. The Turkish Lira lost more than 110% of its value against the dollar, more than fifty thousand small and medium size businesses had filed for bankruptcy. The unemployment rate climbed up to 10%. The gravity of the economic and political situation prompted the General Staff to warn that it might lead to a social explosion. [627]

There is no doubt that the AKP's success in the 2002 elections was due in great part to the Turkish people's dissatisfaction with the existing coalition government and its utter failure in socio economic affairs. The 2002 election proved this. The total percentage of votes that the coalition parties gained fell from 53% in the previous

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[626] Cemal Karakas, Turkey: Islam and Laicism between the Interests of State, Politics, and Society, *Peace Research Institute Frankfurt Report* No.78, p. 29 quoted from Ziya Öniş, Globalization and Party Transformation. Turkey's Justice and Development Party in Perspective, in: Peter Burnell (ed.), Globalizing Democracy. Party Politics in Emerging Democracies, London (Routledge) 2006, pp. 122-140.
[627] Karakas, pp. 29-30

elections to 14% in 2002. One third of the entire constituents voted for AKP. Among the supporters of the AKP in 2002 were the residents of the shanty towns of Ankara and Istanbul (Gecekondular), the new rising "Anatolian elite" and the Kurds. [628]

Finally, Erdogan's charismatic persona and the perception that he was unfairly barred from politics and jailed by the State Security Court of Diyarbakir on April 22, 1998 because of a poem with religious tones he recited played a role in the success of the AKP in 2002 elections. Therefore, not only his Islamic past but also the financial crisis and the desperation of the citizens for a fresh start as well as his personality brought the AKP to power with it forming a single party government,[629] which had not happened since Ozal's 45th (1983-1987) and 46th (1987-1989) governments.

7.5 The Path to Consolidation of Power

Fuat Keyman and Sebnem Gumuscu state that the AKP was able to successfully exert its dominance in Turkish politics by pursuing democratization, modernization, globalization and Europeanization at the same time taking on the complications that originated from the reactions from different powerhouses that countered the AKP policies. Keyman and Gumuscu argue that the AKP's strategy for success and consolidation of power was established on four principles:[630]

The first one is proactive, market-oriented and reform based conservative democracy, which is also 'caring' and acquiring a supervision role in its relation with economy. Therefore, AKP implemented policies in its governance such that they would result in a change in the existing structure of politics and economy, which had alienated

[628] ibid
[629] Soner Cagaptay (2002) The November 2002 Elections and Turkey's New Political Era, Middle East Review of International Affairs, Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 43.
[630]E. Fuat Keyman, The Question of Democratic Consolidation in Turkey, https://www.ciee.org/global-edcation-conference/downloads/past/istanbul/KeymanDemocraticConsolidation.Turkey.pdf

the society, neglecting their needs and demands. This, to AKP, had created an undemocratic system rule.

The second principle is growth oriented '*philanthropic and regulated liberalism'*. According to this the AKP government adopted free market economy, which created sustainable growth and contributed to further industrialization of Turkish economy. These ensured consolidation of financial stability and robust economy.

The third principle is service based politics, which was established based on distribution of wealth and welfare services whereas the social elements in Turkey were not discriminated against for their cultural identity. With this principle, the AKP government focused on the poverty and aimed to reach to different parts of the society, who were in need of help. This helped AKP in its successive elections.

The fourth principle is proactive foreign policy, which indicated that the AKP would pursue multidimensional and constructive politics abroad. This would emphasize Turkey's soft power capabilities. [631]

The initial success of the AKP in economics was greatly attributed to the policies set by Kemal Dervis, who was a prominent economist at the World Bank and had been invited by the Ecevit coalition government to save the crumbling Turkish economy and financial sector. Added to this was the expansion of exports markets to which Turkish businessmen would do business and attracting foreign investment in great proportions as well as pursuing aggressive privatization, which totaled a whopping 34 billion dollars. All these policies resulted in sustainable growth in and consolidation of the economy. Turkey became the seventeenth largest economy in the world. The economic success

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[631] E. Fuat Keyman and Sebnem Gumuscu (2014) Democracy, Identity and Foreign Policy in Turkey Hegemony Through Transformation, Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 37-38.

resulted in increased volume and diversification of exports goods ranging from automotive to household durables and textiles to food. During the AKP government tenure, the per capita income passed the ten thousand dollars threshold. The consolidation of market economy propelled the AKP to focus on modernization of bureaucracy, infrastructure, education, health and housing, which required intense investment in the technological infrastructure of public sector, expanding highway, railroad and airport networks. [632]

In the same initial stage of its rule, the AKP widened and consolidated its domestic and foreign legitimacy. One of the most important instruments that the AKP used for this purpose was aggressive pursuit of European Union reforms, which led to more civilianization of Turkish bureaucracy and politics. The transformation of bureaucracy, economy and politics under the AKP government, which demonstrated that modernity was possible with conservative/religious values and the fact that the AKP represented the '*other Turkey*' or '*periphery'* with its distinct economic, political and social worldview, and that it rose to power of great proportions, began to disturb the Kemalist state machinery and secular elite or '*the traditional center'*. [633]

In the following section, I will focus on the AKP's interaction with the Kemalist state machinery, which is comprised primarily of bureaucracy, military, judiciary, legislation and higher education.

The extent of the AKP's adoption of democracy was generally measured by its policies to civilianize/democratize the government in the form of removing the military tutelage and the Kemalist monopoly over the Turkish politics and democracy. Ertugrul

[632] Keyman and Gumuscu, p. 38
[633] Keyman and Gumuscu, p. 39

Tombus states that AKP was evaluated "within the binary opposition" of military versus civilian politics as well as center versus the periphery, authoritarian versus democratic, appointed versus elected.[634]

Tombus analyzes AKP's path to power consolidation in two phases. The first phase is the *polemical phase* (2003-2007) and the second is the *ruling phase (2007-today)*. In the first phase, the AKP was perceived as a political entity that endeavored to counterbalance the establishment and the status quo. The degree of AKP's democratization was generally measured by its policies and rhetoric to disapprove and challenge the authoritarian military. Therefore the AKP was considered to be the opposite of the Kemalist establishment, which was defined as possessing *"exclusionary politics, monolithic national identity, and assimilation of differences, authoritative or assertive secularism, and extra-political control over democratic politics"*.[635]It is this stance that AKP had that granted it legitimacy both at home and abroad, especially in Europe. This also widened the support base of AKP. [636]

The AKP's populist rhetoric in this stage was that "*the Kemalist establishment and its minority and privileged elite alienated the real owners of the republic*". This way AKP found a reliable connection with a wider popular base. As a result, the Turkish politics under the AKP's initial rule became reduced to a "*binary opposition*" such as supporting AKP versus the military.[637]

In the polemical phase the AKP rulers expressed their commitment to and need for democracy but it was solely established on the premises to combat with the Kemalist

[634] Ertugrul Tombus (2013) Reluctant Democratization: The Case of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey, Constellations, Volume 20, No 2, p. 319
[635] Tombus, p. 320
[636] ibid
[637] ibid

establishment, especially with the military. In this phase, the election of Abdullah Gul, a very prominent figure in the AKP, as the president of Turkey in 2007 marked an important point. Beginning his election, the AKP captured all institutions and mechanisms that the Kemalist paradigm put in place to establish its supremacy over the masses and to control the governance of the country. With this stage, the polemical phase came to an end.[638]

The end of the polemical phase, which began with the ascension of Abdullah Gul, one of the founders of AKP, to presidency in August 2007 ushered in an era where the AKP acquired its unchallenged power status. By this, the AKP became no longer bound by the Kemalist establishment and further consolidated its power.[639]

7.5.1 The Initial Reform Period: 2002-2007

Having won a historical victory in 2002, the AKP became a single party government for the first time in more than twenty years. This undoubtedly gave AKP considerable power and leverage compared to flimsy and often uncompromising coalition governments. This did not mean, however, that although the AKP was able to ascend to be government it did not really mean it had the full control of the state. Historically, the governments, especially those that had agenda outside of the Kemalist realm were contained by the Kemalist state apparatus, which was made up essentially of the military and then the Kemalist bureaucracy, i.e. the higher courts, higher education, and foreign ministry bureaucracy. The single party AKP government was no exception. Having learned a hard lesson from its predecessor, Welfare Party, not to challenge the Kemalist establishment with the delusional feeling of substantial electoral victory, the AKP

[638] Tombus, p. 321
[639] ibid

adopted a different means to tackle the Kemalist establishment; it was to play the game with its rules![640]

Therefore, the initial AKP period was marked with Turkey's aggressive and unprecedented pursuit of the European Union membership. Therefore, the pro-EU discourse helped AKP in two ways; first thanks to the EU reforms the AKP was able to garner the support of a wide array of the Turkish public, which also further legitimized the government. The second, the EU reform process was used as a legitimate tool to 'civilianize' the governance and reduce and later completely remove the supremacy of the Turkish military.

In the following section, I will examine the process through which the AKP developed its strategy to tackle the secular, Kemalist establishment. Therefore, I will examine the civilian-military relations as well as the AKP's relations with the most important guardians of the Kemalist establishment of the state, namely, Higher Education Council (YOK), the Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK) and the Presidency.

7.5.1.1 The EU Reforms Aimed at the Military Tutelage and the Kemalist Bureaucracy

Ismail Akca and Evren Balta-Peker argue that the transformation of civil–military relations in Turkey in the first decade of the twenty-first century is related to three factors: the presence of international conditionality, a decrease in the level of internal threats, and the emergence of a domestic political actor with the capacity and will to challenge the military establishment. Regarding international conditionality, civil–military relations have been transformed, not only in Turkey but also globally, since the

[640] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 80

end of the Cold War. This trend has affected Turkey directly through the EU accession process. The European Council granted Turkey candidacy in 1999 in Helsinki and stated that 'Turkey is a candidate country destined to join the EU' (Presidency Conclusions, Helsinki European Council, 10–11 December 1999). However; the EU clearly stated that accession negotiations could only begin if Turkey is resolved to fully satisfy certain political conditions. According to the Commission:

"T*he basic features of a democratic system exist in Turkey, but a number of fundamental issues, such as civilian control over the military, remain to be effectively addressed... The independence of the judiciary, the powers of State Security Courts and military courts and compliance with rulings of the European Court of Human Rights remain matters of concern.*[641] *The extent to which the constitutional amendment will enhance de facto civilian control over the military will need to be monitored.*[642] Hence, the EU requirement that the role of the military be reduced in civilian politics was the initial trigger for reform in civil–military relations. However, international conditionality would not have created a similar effect if Turkey had continued to experience a significant level of internal threat as it had in the 1990s.[643]

It is this point of the EU negotiations that the AKP government took earnestly in order to challenge the supremacy of the military. The AKP was willing to win the game by playing it by the rules! Added to the advantage of the AKP was, as mentioned previously, the lessened threat from abroad in 2000s, which rendered the military less relevant in Turkish politics.

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[641] Commission of the European Communities, Regular Report on Turkey's Progress towards Accession: 2001, Brussels, 11.13.2001, SEC (2001) 1756. p. 32
[642] Regular Report on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession: 2001, p. 19
[643] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 78

The Copenhagen Criteria of 1993 were important factor for the AKP to push through the EU accession reforms to curb the military. Accordingly, the AKP passed the seventh harmonization package on August 7, 2003[644] [Law No. 4963], which brought significant changes in the composition, role and functions of the National Security Council (NSC) and the Secretariat General. As previously discussed, the NSC was the main driving body for the military hegemony over the civilian rule. By the new law, the NSC was reduced from being an executive body to a mere advisory board. Furthermore, substantial changes were made in the formation of the members of the NSC. Accordingly, the majority of the members were to be civilians rather than high ranking officers. The secretariat general was to be a civilian, for the first time in the history of the council, and was to be appointed by the president out of the list proposed by the prime minister.[645] Subsequently, Mehmet Yigit Alpogan, a career diplomat who had served as the ambassador to Greece, was appointed to be the first civilian secretary general of the NSC.[646]

One of the signs that the military was out of reach of the civilian control was the military expenditures that were not transparent and not audited by the Court of Accounts a Turkish body similar to the U.S. General Accounting Office. The package amended the 1967 Law on the national audit bureau, which drew criticism from the military. Therefore the Court of Audit was to act 'on *behalf of the Turkish Grand Assembly and its inspection committees' – to scrutinize the revenues, expenditures and property of all public sector*

[644] For an extensive examination of the EU harmonization packages see Ergun Ozbudun and Omer Faruk Genckaya (2009) Democratization and the Politics of Constitution-making in Turkey, Central European University Press.
[645] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 80
[646] Sule Toktas and Umit Kurt (2008) The Impact of EU Reform Process on Civil-Military Relations in Turkey, SETA Foundation for Policy, Economic, and Social Research, No: 26, p. 3

institutions 'without any exception and without exempting any institute from being accountable'. The Court was also held responsible to report to the relevant parliamentary committees. [647]

In another attempt to reduce the military influence on the civilians, the NSC was to meet once every two months, as opposed to every month. The NSC had had the authority to nominate military personnel to the boards of the Establishment of, and Broadcasting by, Radio and Television Corporations, Wireless Communication, and the Protection of Minors from Harmful Publications. This was annulled. The authority of the General Staff to appoint a representative to the board of the Higher Education Council was also revoked. Finally, the state of emergency that had been in effect in the thirteen south eastern provinces since 1987, due to the PKK terror, was also abolished. This was due in great part to the new policy approach to the Kurdish problem, which has aimed to resolve it.[648]

From 2003 until 2005, the AKP pushed through some reforms related to the Kurdish problem, including abolition of the death penalty and a clampdown on the police use of torture, the release of political prisoners, greater freedom of expression and protection for the media, and some cultural, educational, and language rights albeit very limited for the Kurds. An amendment to Articles 4 of the Law on the Establishment of Radio and Television Enterprises lifted the restrictions on broadcasting in the different languages and dialects traditionally used by Turkish citizens in their daily lives, such as Kurdish. Although, the AKP was not able to create a Kurdish policy of substance during

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[647] Final Expert Report Turkish Civil-Military Relations and the EU: Preparation for Continuing Convergence, the Centre for European Security Studies (CESS), the Netherlands, in co-operation with the Istanbul Policy Center IPC), Turkey, p. 33
[648] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 80

this period, it sought to find a pragmatic solution to the Kurdish problem. This solution would not include military confrontation, which would have given the army the opportunity to reassert itself further in Turkish politics.

The AKP government took bold steps for the solution of the Kurdish issue. These included greater freedom of expression and the freedom of press. Although limited, important steps were taken to restore the cultural, linguistic and educational rights of the Kurds.[649] Therefore, the Article 4 of the Law on the Establishment of Radio and Television Institution (RTUK) was amended and the restriction to broadcast in different languages other than Turkish was abolished.[650] These steps showed that the AKP approach to the Kurdish issue was pragmatic. [651]

7.5.1.2 The Reaction of the Turkish Armed Forces

It was evident that the AKP government targeted the military hegemony in Turkey by pursuing pro-EU policies. However, a beacon of western values and westernization, it would not have been expected that the military oppose and react to the Europeanization/civilianization/ democratization attempts by the AKP government. It soon was revealed that the military hardliners had been trying to undermine the AKP government due to the reforms that aimed at weakening the power projection of the Turkish military. As was the case in the second half of the 20th century, the military had been planning to overthrow the government.

On March 29-April 4, 2007, the weekly political news magazine Nokta published a sensational issue that was titled "*We were saved from two military coups in 2004; the*

[649] Political Reforms in Turkey, Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Secretariat General for EU Affairs, Ankara, 2007 http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/pub/prt.pdf
[650] Political Reforms in Turkey, p. 9
[651] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 80

Golden Coin and Moonlight! Stunning details!" The following excerpts from the magazine are remarkable;

"January 20, 2004 – I attended the force commanders meeting at the Air Force Headquarters. Since the National Security Council's pre-meeting was rescheduled from Thursday to tomorrow, a new coordination was needed. ... During the conversations, Gendarmerie Commander Gen. Şener Eruygur was talking with desire for a coup and asking 'Let's do it as soon as possible.' Today, he repeated it many times…"

"February 6 2004- I directly headed to the Gendarmerie headquarters in the morning; three of us got together there. We evaluated the situation one more time. The Gendarmerie commander was insisting 'Let's make a coup"… We convened in the morning to review the options in the Cyprus issue. However, we pushed this aside and engaged in whether or not we will make a coup. It is really difficult to convince Gendarmerie Commander Gen. Şener Eruygur. Although I knew that it would be pointless, I tried to convince him. But I cannot say that I was successful…"A bunch of previous notes: There is another one dated December 6, 2003. It reads: "... We have decided to prepare an action plan.[652]

It was revealed that the head of the land, naval and air forces of the Turkish military had attempted to intervene in civilian government four times, which later called *Ayışığı* (Moonlight), *Yakamoz* (Bioluminescence), *Sarıkız* (Blondie), and *Eldiven* (Glove). Those officers who supported the coup attempts considered the AKP

[652] Cengiz Candar, The 'Coup Diaries' are Ergenokon's Background, Hurriyet Daily News, 4/7/2008. http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=the-coup-diaries-are-ergenekons-background-2008-07-04

government as a threat to the foundations of the republic and were threatened by the rapid and decisive EU reforms that apparently targeted the military. [653]

These coup attempts were unsuccessful for several reasons. First of all, hardliners in the military relied on the possibility of ratification of the Annan Plan in Cyprus as the most forceful justification for a coup. Thus, the rejection of the Annan Plan by the Greek Cypriot part of the island deprived them of necessary public support. While Gen. Özkök resisted the coup from the start, it could not be realized due to the subsequent emergence of divergent opinions between the four commanders (Navy, Land, Air and Gendarmerie).While explaining in his diary the coup plans, Örnek also describes outgoing President Ahmet Necdet Sezer as a man supporting the commanders' views in their efforts to do something against the AK Party, Nokta magazine said. Former Land Forces Commander retired Gen. Aytaç Yalman has also accused Gen. Özkök of being timid and someone incapable of doing anything. Örnek briefly mentions the second coup attempt, codenamed Ayığışı. This coup attempt, or memorandum, was later planned by now retired Gen. Eruygur alone when all the other top commanders had withdrawn from the plan. Due to its limited character, Ayışığı also failed to be staged.

Akca and Balta-Peker argue that the coup attempts failed to come to fruition for several reasons. One of them was that the military was hoping the Annan Plan of 2004 to be put into effect in Cyprus, which would have created a legitimate pretext for the military to step in arguing that the territorial unity of Turkey was compromised. Because the plan was overwhelmingly rejected by the Greek Cypriots, it was not put into practice,

[653] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 81

which ceased the hopes of the military. [654] Diaries of the then Naval Admiral Ozden Ornek, revealed that although the then president Ahmet Sezer, a staunch Kemalist, supported the views of the land, navy and air force generals, the opposition of then chief of staff Hilmi Ozkok (2002-2006) was one of the biggest reasons for the coups to fail. [655]

Furthermore, the coups failed because unlike the previous military interventions, the generals were not able to gather the support of the big businesses and media tycoons, who were sensitive to political and financial instability in Turkey. Also, Turkey was enjoying a great deal of recognition in the west due to democratization reforms. The generals, therefore, lacked external support too. To sum up, the political and economic reforms that the AKP undertook in the first years of governance resulted in the diminishing support of the general public for the military. [656]

The very fact that the AKP government was not strong enough to penetrate into state institutions had the members take a low profile vis-à-vis the military. This stance as well as deceleration of the EU reforms and remilitarization of the PKK problem paved the way for the generals to strike back against the AKP government.[657] The Turkish military was relentless in its quest to prevent the AKP from fully controlling the state. The following section focuses on the civilian-military relations and their implications leading to the presidential elections of 2007, which marked the final battle between the military and AKP, which resulted in the AKP's consolidation of power against the foundations of the Kemalist status quo.

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[654] ibid
[655] Turkey escaped two coups in 2004. Today's Zaman, March 30, 2007
[656] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 81
[657] Akca and Balta-Paker, pp. 81-82

7.5.1.3 The Military Strikes Back

Upon the rejection of the EU constitution in France (May 29, 2005) and the Netherlands (June 1, 2005) and the increasing tendency among the European Union representatives for a "privileged membership for Turkey" rather than a full membership, as well as the overt opposition of the Christian Democratic Union, the Christian Social Union, and the Left parties against Turkey's membership began to create "Eurofatigue" in Turkey.[658]

The diminishing Euro-excitement among the Turks and unfavorable atmosphere of the EU-Turkish relations meant that the AKP's most important weapon against the military tutelage was getting weaker. On April 20, 2005, the chief of staff Hilmi Ozkok spoke at the War Academy in Istanbul drawing attention to the increasing PKK violence and the European Union. He blamed the EU for the PKK activities as the terror organization has found safe haven in different countries in Europe. He added that "it will not be the end of the world if Turkey stays out of EU. [659]

The remilitarization of the PKK problem in southeastern Turkey began to increase especially in late 2005 and early 2006. The bomb attack at a local book store in Semdinli showed that the perpetrators were members of the Gendarmerie Intelligence and Fight against Terrorism (JİTEM), while the other was a PKK informant.[660] In a bold move, the chief prosecutor of the Van Province Ferhat Sarikaya drafted an indictment for those members of the Turkish Armed Forces involved in the attack.

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[658] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 82 quoted from Umit Cizre, "The Justice and Development Party and the Military: Recreating the Past after Reforming It?" in *Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey: The Making of the Justice and Development Party,* ed. Ümit Cizre (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 132-71
[659] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 82 quoted from Radikal, 21 Nisan 2005
[660] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 82

However, the general chief of staff Hilmi Ozkok reportedly asked the then prime minister Erdogan to take measures to prevent this indictment attempt from materializing. [661]

The disappearing pro-European sentiment allowed the military to press the government in regards to the PKK problem. According to this, the AKP government amended the Law on the Fight against Terrorism (Act No. 3713), which had previously been created in 1991. The amendment broadened the definition of terror related crimes and toughened the penalties.[662] Inadvertently, the freedom of expression, the press and the media was affected negatively in this process. [663]

Between 2002 and 2005 the TAF gave concessions to the AKP government but the setbacks in the EU process had the military charge back. This opened up more space for the military to maneuver against the government. [664]

Umit Cizre states that the military strategy that started on the February 28 process deepened in 2005. According to this, the military's strategy shifted from a "*state-centered strategy to establish hegemony to a more de-centered, individual-based and informal practice of power in society*." [665] That is to say, the failed coup attempts of the 2002-2005 era was replaced by a more informal means of pressuring the government. This included public pronouncements by the TAF representatives, public commutations at

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[661] Kerem Oktem, Return of the Turkish "State of Exception", Middle East Research and Information Project, June 3, 2006. http://www.merip.org/mero/mero060306
[662] Marcie J. Patton, AKP Reform Fatigue in Turkey: What Has Happened to the EU Process? *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 339–358, November 2007, p. 354
[663] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 85
[664] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 83 quoted from Ümit Cizre, "Politics and Military in Turkey into the 21 st Century," EUI Working Papers RSC no. 2000/24 (European University Institute, 2000).
[665] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 83 quoted from Cizre, "The Justice and Development Party," p. 148

universities or graduations of military academies. These venues were used by the military representatives to give message to the government and incite the public against it. [666]

The appointment of a secular hardliner Yasar Buyukanit to the general chief of staff in August 2006 reinforced the military's role to be 'the guardian of secular state'. As reminiscent of the process that led to the February 28 process, the headscarf issue began to be a hot topic in Turkey. Part of the new strategy, under the TAF leadership, a secular public front was established. This front included the representatives of the Kemalish establishment, namely CHP, certain NGOs, presidents and deans of the higher education institutions, and print and visual press. According to Saktanber and Çorbacıoğlu, this coalition presented "*the Islamic headscarf as a sign of the hidden agenda of the AKP. The implication here is that the AKP will eventually replace the secular republican regime with an Islamic one*."[667]

The friction between the government and the military reached its peak before the presidential elections in 2007. The military perceived the AKP's presidential candidate Abdullah Gul, one of the prominent founders of AKP and then minister of foreign affairs, to be a threat to the secular/Kemalist state and embarked on blocking him. The then chief of staff Buyukanit at a press conference on April 12, 2007 warned that the presidential elections and the nature of the president was extremely important as the president is the commander in chief of the Turkish Armed Forces.[668] He said: "*I hope someone who is*

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[666] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 83
[667] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 84. Quoted from Ayse Saktanber and Gul Corbacioglu, "Veiling and Headscarf-Skepticism in Turkey, "Social Politics", International Studies in Gender, State and Society, p. 154 (2008)
[668] Sule Toktas and Umit Kurt, The Impact of EU Reform Process on Civil-Military Relations in Turkey, SETA Policy Brief, November 2008, No:26, p. 5

genuinely dedicated to the fundamental values of the Republic, and the unitary structure of the state and democratic/secular aspect of state is going to be the next president."[669]

In what turned out to be one of the largest displays of public opinion in Turkey, the secular front under the leadership of Ataturkist (Kemalist) Ideology Association (Ataturkcu Dusunce Dernegi) and retired general Sener Eruygur staged demonstrations in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and other cities of Turkey in defiance to the AKP government and its candidate Abdullah Gul. The main message that the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators wanted to give was "*Turkey is secular and will remain so*!" As the demonstrations were raging, the chief of staff of the Turkish Military posted on April 27, 2007, a statement on the military's website, which then was known to be the "e-coup" attempt. [670]

The General Chief of Staff statement was as follows:

Press Release

It has been observed that there is a part of society that is in an ongoing struggle to undermine the basic values of the Turkish Republic, secularism being at the forefront, and those activities have increased in the recent period. The following ongoing activities have been submitted to the relevant authorities under suitable conditions: the desire to redefine basic values, and a wide range of activities, which extend as far as to arrange alternative celebrations of our national holiday, which is a symbol of our nation's coherence, the independence of our state and our nation's unity.

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[669] Buyukanit'tan Cumhurbaskanligi Tarifi (Buyukanit defines an ideal president), NTVMSNBC, April 13, 2007 http://arsiv.ntv.com.tr/news/405388.asp

[670] Mustafa Kibaroglu, Turkish Policy towards Northern Iraq Still Undecided. *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol:5. Issue: 13. Retrieved from http://www.jamestown.org/programs/tm/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=4287&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=182&no_cache=1#.VZ62sflViko

Those that attempt to carry out these activities exploit the sacred religious emotions of our people without shame, transformed into an open challenge to the government in the guise of religion, in an attempt to conceal their actual purpose. By bringing activities that draw attention to women and children, these actions resemble those that attempt to destroy the unity and integrity of our country.

In this context;

In Ankara, a Koran reading contest was scheduled on the same day as the April 23 National Sovereignty and Children's Day celebrations, but the contest was cancelled due to a sensitive media and public pressure.

On April 22, 2007 in Şanlıurfa with the participation of groups from the districts of Mardin, Gaziantep and Diyarbakır, a choir was created and young girls were forced to sing religious refrains at a time when they should have been in bed and in old-fashioned costumes not suitable for their age. Additionally, the attempts to remove pictures of Atatürk and the Turkish flag in the middle of the night revealed the true intent and purpose of the organization of such activities.

Furthermore, all school principals in the district of Altındağ in Ankara were ordered to participate in the "Holy Birth Celebration"; at an event organized by the District Mufti of Denizli with the cooperation of a political party, elementary students sang religious refrains with their heads covered; in spite of having four mosques in the town of Nikfer, in the county of Tavas ijcrb.webs.com in Denizli, Atatürk Elementary School women were forced to listen to presentations about preaching and religion, and similar news has been heard.

The National Ministry of Education has determined the events that will be celebrated in schools. However, it has been established that such celebrations were realized upon instructions that were not regulated in directives. Also, it has been observed that although the General Staff had informed the authorized institutions, no preventive measure had been taken. The fact that an important part of the related activities had been realized with the authorization and within the knowledge of civilian authorities, which should intervene to such events and prevent them makes the matter even graver. It is possible to further demonstrate more examples.

Those that are anti-Republican, with no other purpose than to erode the basic characteristics of the state with this retrogressive approach, have expanded the scope of their activities over the past few days with the developments and discourse of the last few days with courage.

The developments in our region reveal many examples, which might result from playing with religion and abusing beliefs for a political rhetoric and purpose from which lessons should be drawn.

It is possible to observe in our country as well as in other countries that a political rhetoric or ideology, which is tried to be built on a sacred belief, suppresses the belief and turns out to something else. It can be argued that the event, which occurred in Malatya, is a stunning example of this. There is no doubt that the only condition for the State of the Republic of Turkey to live in peace and stability, as a modern democracy is to protect the essential characteristics of the State determined in our Constitution.

As a matter of fact, such behaviors and implementations are totally in contradiction with the principle "Being committed to the regime of the Republic not in

words but in deeds and reflecting this with acts" stated by the General Chief of Staff in a press conference held on the 12th of April, 2007 and they do violate the basic qualifications and provisions of the Constitution.

In recent days, the outstanding problem in the Presidential elections has been the discussion of secularism. This situation is observed with concern by the Turkish Armed Forces. It should not be forgotten that the Turkish Armed Forces is not neutral in these discussions and is the absolute defender of secularism. Furthermore, the Turkish Armed Forces is definitely against the ongoing discussions and negative comments and would reveal its attitudes and behaviors clearly and transparently when necessary. No one should ever doubt about it.

Briefly, whoever is against the philosophy of the Great Leader Atatürk "How happy is he who says I am a Turk" is the enemy of the Republic of Turkey and so will he stay. The Turkish Armed Forces still maintains its firm determination to fully carry out its clear duties assigned to it with laws in order to protect these qualifications and its commitment and faith in this determination are absolute". Announced with respect to the public." (General Chief of Staff, April 27, 2007)[671]

The defiant proclamation of the military was met with an even harsher statement by the government, which was swift in doing so. The next day on April 28, the AKP government released the following:

"*Yesterday a declaration expressing the opinions of the General Staff on various subjects has been served to media organs at midnight and has been published in the website of the General Staff. This declaration has been perceived as a clear attitude*

[671] Abdullah Ural, Results of the April 27, 2007 Turkish Military's E-Memorandum, *Interdisciplianary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, Vol 4, No 8, December 2012, pp. 729-730.

against the Government. There is no doubt that in a democratic environment, even thinking about this is unaccustomed. We would like to express that, the fact that the General Staff which is an institution associated to the Prime Minister uses an expression against the Government in any subject is unthinkable in a democratic State of law. The General Staff is an institution under the command of the Government, the functions of which are determined with the Constitution and the related laws. According to our Constitution, the General Chief of Staff is accountable to the Prime Minister regarding its duties and authorities. The fact that this text has been served to media organs and its timing in the website are meaningful. First of all, it is extremely remarkable that such a text comes out in the process of the presidential election of the 11th president which is the supreme authority of our State and, moreover, in the middle of the night. That this fact happens in this fragile period when discussions are ongoing on the Constitutional Court would be perceived as an attempt aimed at influencing the supreme justice. It should be clear to everyone that our Government is more supporting and fragile than anyone else in what concerns the principal and indispensable common values indicated in articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Constitution, the unity and integrity of our country, the notability of our nation and the qualifications of Turkey as a secular, democratic and social State of law. Turkey's national unity and integrity and the welfare of the Turkish Nation is possible with the protection of those values.

It is not possible to approve any behaviors and acts that are revealed from time to time by real and legal persons against the basic qualifications of our Republic, the Constitution as well as the laws. Anyway, in such situations, starting from the public prosecutor, the investigating authorities hold the authority to make the necessary

investigations without taking any permit from anyone. Doing the necessary in these matters is their duty.

Furthermore, it is out of question that our government and the associated units remain insensitive to the implementations that are declared by media organs or are expressed in various environments and are in contradiction with the basic values of our State.

Therefore, it has been very regrettable that certain statements regarding the relations between the Government and the General Staff which are very inaccurate took place in the related text.

For the healthy functioning of the process aimed at strengthening Turkey, modernizing it and increasing its democratic standards, it is compulsory that all the basic institutions of our State be more prudent and attentive on these subjects Otherwise unrecoverable damages would have been given to the strengthening of our State, the peace and wealth of our country. The primary duty regarding the protection of the basic values of the State belongs to the Government. Since the Government is uncompromisingly a supporter of this subject, the fact that all the institutions associated to the Government be also supporting in this direction is after all natural.

Each problem of Turkey would be resolved within the rules of law and democracy. An adverse thought and attitude shall on no account be accepted. The mission that everybody and each institution shall fulfill is to ease the functioning of this process. The damage given to our country and our nation by being in other searches has been experienced with enough sorrow in the past.

Our government is firmly committed to further strengthen our Republic, which is a democratic, secular and social State of law and to prevent our democracy from being damaged. Our Republic and democracy is an irrevocable, unalienable acquisition. Today we should struggle to find out how we can walk stronger to the future in harmony and cooperation to protect the basic qualifications of our State.

Instead of consuming our energy with internal discussions, we should struggle in order to further strengthen our country in global competition and increase the wealth and happiness of our nation. In this context, we should defeat the efforts of some malicious persons to put the Turkish Armed Forces against our Government.

All the persons having a sense of responsibility should avoid behaviors that damage the respectability of Turkey in the international community, harm our position in the modern world, threat the stability of the Turkish economy, are against democracy and inflict a deep wound in the Turkish conscience. Those who harm trust and stability should know that they would carry the responsibility of the negative results this would generate for our country and our nation."[672]

7.5.2 The Attempts to Close down AKP

Having felt defeated but still relentless, the Kemalist state machine continued to resort to every bit of remaining means to contain the AKP. Like its predecessor the WP, it was going to be the "anti-secular" argument that was going to be put forth against Erdogan and his teammates in an attempt to remove the party from the government. That the new president appointed conservative leaning, pro-AKP Professor Yusuf Ziya Ozcan as the head of the Higher Education Board, one of the fundamental institutions that the

[672] Ural, Results of the April 27, 2007 Turkish Military's E-Memorandum, pp. 731-732, quoted from Sabah, 28th of April 2007.

pro-seculars deem important, created uproar among the Kemalists. What really triggered the Supreme Court to initiate the process to close down the AKP was the headscarf issue.

On February 9, 2007, the motion that AKP proposed to amend the head scarf ban in public spaces, including universities was overwhelmingly (411 yes - 149 no) passed in the Parliament. The president Gul ratified the amendments immediately. In February 2008, the opposition parties CHP and DSP filed suit in the Constitutional Court to block the headscarf law. On March 14, the chief prosecutor of the Court of Appeals asked that the Constitutional Court ban the AKP and 71 members, including Erdogan and Gul, be banned from practicing politics. The pretext was that the party had become "focal point of anti-secular activities."[673] AKP argued that the move was to expand freedom and democratization in society.

The prosecutor did not seek indictment for the Nationalist Action Party (MHP), which had joined with the AKP to form a supermajority to pass the headscarf legislation. The seven of eleven votes of the Constitutional Court was needed to impose the maximum penalty on AKP. On July 30, the AKP literally escaped from being closed narrowly when six members of the Constitutional Court voted to ban the party. Still, the AKP was given financial penalties, which was better than facing the same fate as the Welfare Party. No AKP members were banned. [674]

Carol Migdalovitz argues that the reason why the members of the Constitutional Court refrained from closing the party altogether was that there was a great concern in the political and financial circles that the shutdown would create instability worse than the

[673] Migdalovitz, pp. 4-5
[674] Migdalovitz, p. 5

2001 crisis. Furthermore, it would mean a blow to Turkey's struggle to become an EU member. [675]

AKP reaffirmed its commitment to EU membership even stronger after the legal battle was over. President Gul asked for more empathy and common sense saying "*in looking at our own errors, we at the same time have to place ourselves in the position of those opposed to us and try to understand the thinking and feelings of those against us*" [676]

In the following section, I will examine those institutions and mechanisms of tutelage, which were put in place by the Kemalist establishment and the interaction of the AKP with them. They are; the Higher Education Council (YOK) and the president's authority to appoint university presidents, the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK), the General Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet). Analyzing AKP's interaction with these institutions is important because the nature of relation will determine to what extent the AKP wanted to change the current Kemalist paradigm in Turkey. These intuitions are the "engines" and the protectors of the Kemalist ideology.

7.6 AKP Takes on the Kemalist Bureaucracy

While it was perceived that the Turkish military constituted the biggest obstacle in realizing its agenda, the other Kemalist institutions also became the target of the AKP as the state functioned as a whole, supporting each other, to protect and perpetuate the Kemalist tutelage and principles. The following will be an in depth examination of how the AKP gradually eliminated the dominance of Kemalism from the Higher Education

[675] Migdalovitz, p. 5
[676] Migdalovitz, p. 6

Council (YOK) and The Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK), the two important institutions that steer the higher education and the legal matters.

7.6.1 Higher Education Council (YOK) and the Education System in Turkey

The YOK has drawn much criticism since it was established by the military in 1981 on the grounds that it prevents the academic freedom. It was devised to centralize and to hold the universities and higher education intuitions under the state control. It has the authority to appoint, promote academic administrative staff in higher education. Therefore, the YOK was one of the most important tools of the establishment to dictate its ideology.[677]

The AKP opposed the YOK on the grounds that the institution had ultra-secular tendencies imposing the headscarf ban citing the freedom of religion. The AKP also criticizes the pro-Kemalist president Ahmet Nejdet Sezer for appointing like-minded rectors to universities. [678]

The first battleground between the secular establishment and the government was the YOK Legislation Proposal (YOK Tasarisi). The AKP justified this proposal citing the EU reforms. According to this the EU argued that: *"... under YOK's control the universities lack academic, administrative and financial autonomy. YOK has been accused over the years of being an authoritarian institution that has satisfied Turkish thought and interfered excessively in university life. Acknowledging such criticism, Isa Esme, deputy head of the YOK, said the institution today wanted to hand more autonomy*

[677] Tombus, pp. 321-322
[678] Tombus, p. 322

back to the universities, adding that an over-centralized structure was hampering initiative and change."[679]

Although the AKP had criticized the YOK establishment and its policies in higher education, it never attempted to completely abolish it and grant universities considerable academic freedom. One criticism that has been directed to AKP is that it is doing exactly what the Kemalist establishment did; using YOK in favor of the respective ideology. [680]

The election of Abdulah Gul as the president in 2007 virtually ensured the AKP control over YOK. During his tenure he sometimes chose not to appoint those academicians who were elected by their universities as the president of their respective institutions, the practice that the AKP had criticized when Ahmet Sezer was the President of Turkey. The AKP continued to erase the traces of the military tutelage in the education system by removing the mandatory national security classes from high schools. The national security classes used to be given by military officials. The classes were offered between 1926 and 2012. [681]

Furthermore, one of the iconic elements of the military tutelage, the massive stadium-commemorative rituals and ceremonies of important dates such as May 19- the Youth and Ataturk Holiday, were ended by the government decree. These rituals were criticized for being reminiscent of their former communist counterparts. Then Minister of Education Omer Dincer claimed that the reason behind the abolishing these rituals and

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[679] Arda Can Kumbaracibasi (2006) *Turkish Politics and the Rise of the AKP: Dilemmas of Institutionalization and Leadership Strategy*, Routlage Studies in Middle East Politics, pp. 183-184. Quoted from Turkish Daily News, 19 February 2006

[680] Kumbaracibasi, p. 183

[681] Karaca, E., Milli Güvenlik Dersi Kalkınca Okullarda Militarizm Bitti mi? Bianet - Bagimsiz Iletisim, 2012 http://www.bianet.org/bianet/genclik/135729-milli-guvenlik-dersi-kalkinca-okullarda-militarizm-bitti-mi

ceremonies was the financial burden although it was evident that it was one more step to civilianize the society. [682]

The head of the Union of United Educators of Bursa Province Numan Seker stated that the decision to end the ceremonies was a right decision since it would take more than a month for the students to prepare for it and it would be detrimental to the academic success of those students who participate in it. [683] The CHP and secular circles criticized the decision and blamed the AKP for eradicating the heroic sentiments from the Turkish people. [684]

7.6.2 The Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK)

The Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK) is one of the most important institutions that contributed to the perpetuation of the Kemalist status quo by imposing and protecting Kemalist principles via the judicial system. Mustafa Akyol states; "*the high judiciary was designed to work in a system of "co-option," where jurists with similar views appointed each other to powerful seats*." [685]

Given the history of the Kemalist judiciary engaging in pro-Islamist parties, and the narrow escape of AKP of being closed down in 2008, the AKP began to restructure HSKY in 2010. The key moment for the AKP came when the constitutional amendments were put to referendum in October 2010. Before the referendum, the structure of HSKY had been determined by a regular system of appointees from other judicial bodies, such

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[682] Bakan Dinçer: 19 Mayıs Törenleri Eğitimden Uzak Tutuyor, (Milliyet, January 12, 2012), retrieved from http://siyaset.milliyet.com.tr/bakan-dincer-19-mayis-torenleri-egitimden-uzak-tutuyor/siyaset/siyasetdetay/13.01.2012/1488617/default.htm

[683] Gülkaya, B., Eğitim-Bir-Sen Bursa'dan 19 Mayıs Kararına Destek, Yeni Şafak, January 12, 2012 http://www.yenisafak.com.tr/yerel/egitim-bir-sen-bursadan-19-mayis-kararina-destek-362406

[684] CHP'den 19 Mayıs Törenlerinin iptal Kararına Tepki. Habertürk, (January 16, 2012), retrieved from http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/706434-chpden-19-mayis-torenlerinin-iptal-kararina-tepki

[685] Mustafa Akyol, The Next Battle for the Turkish Judiciary, Turkey Pulse, September 2, 2014. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/09/turkey-judiciary-battle-gulen-akp.html

as the Council of State or the High Court of Appeals. Not to mention, the members of these influential judicial bodies were predominantly of Kemalist worldview. The referendum was accepted by the Turkish people by 58%.[686]

As a result of the referendum, HSKY was made to be more representative, increasing the number of members from seven to twenty two. Four of them are now appointed by the president, six chosen by other judicial bodies and ten are elected by some 12000 judges and prosecutors from all provinces of Turkey. The Justice Ministry fills the remaining two seats. [687]

While the Kemalist autocracy over the judiciary had been criticized for preventing fundamental freedoms, Senem Aydin Duzgit contends, what was about to happen is the "*the replacement of one form of ideological favoritism with simply another that rests on the power of the executive.*"[688]

Like it was with YOK, the AKP was criticized for not making the HSYK an independent and executive body by retaining the Ministry of Justice in the board. This is a clear indication that AKP intended to control the judicial body by appointing the board members from likeminded judges and prosecutors.[689] To sum up, the AKP has now the control of the highest judicial bodies in great part due to Erdogan's *"inclination to think*

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[686] ibid
[687] ibid
[688] Senem Aydin Duzgit, Constitutional Referandum in Turkey: What Next? *Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS),* September 23, 2010. http://aei.pitt.edu/15032/1/Constitutional_Referendum_in_Turkey_e-version.pdf
[689] Tombus, p. 322

that a party enjoying a parliamentary majority should reign unconstrained other institutions." [690]

7.7 The 2007 Onward: The AKP Consolidates Its Power; the Ruling Phase

The main issues that dominated the 2007 general elections were secularism, the military-civilian relations, and the presidential elections. The result was the decisive AKP victory. The AKP secured 62% of the seats in the parliamentary. The party came stronger out of the elections. With this confidence, the AKP re-nominated Abdullah Gul as the presidential candidate. [691] The election of Abdullah Gul as the president meant that the last prominent Kemalist institutions, the executive body, was now occupied by someone from the AKP and finalized the party's attempt to eliminate the Kemalist dominance.

Akca and Balta-Peker summarize this process as following: *"The success of the AKP in parliamentary and presidential elections signified a turning point, firstly in civil-military relations by eroding the power and credibility of the Turkish military, and secondly on the Kurdish question. Between 2002 and 2007, the AKP government had been able to penetrate—albeit limitedly—the judiciary and begin to exert a more extensive influence over the police. During the new period, this increasing control over the police and judiciary would become crucial as the AKP began to launch an offensive against the military based on the evidence of military-inspired plots to overthrow the government*."[692]

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[690] Ilter Turan, A Background to the Constitutional Referendum: Reinforcing the Politics of Polarization, *Today's Zaman*, August 31, 2010. http://www.todayszaman.com/todays-think-tanks_a-background-to-the-constitutional-referendum-reinforcing-the-politics-of-polarization_220576.html
[691] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 85
[692] ibid

7.7.1 The Ergenekon Trials

The electoral victory and the election of Gul as the president gave impetus to AKP to stage the final blow on the military, which came in a series of trials that were then called "Ergenekon". In these, numerous military figures were put in jail, which marked the victory of AKP over the military.

The uncovering of certain arms and documents in Istanbul set the stage for the Ergenekon Trials which became the biggest legal onslaught against the Kemalist establishment. On October 20, 2008, the trial began and continued with the arrest of high ranking retired military officers, journalists, lawyers and businessmen. They were charged with "membership of an armed terrorist group, aiding and abet-ting an armed terrorist organization, attempting to destroy the government of the Republic of Turkey or to block it from performing its duties, inciting people to rebel against the Republic of Turkey, being in possession of explosives, using them, and inciting others to commit these crimes, acquiring secret documents on national security." [693]

The charges against the defendants covered the alleged illegal military actions during the PKK conflict in 1990s, the February 28 process and finally the 2003-2003 coup attempts against the AKP.

The Ergenekon process yielded in the emergence of such coup plots as the *Kafes Eylem Planı* (Cage Action Plan)[694] (March 2009), *İrtica ile Mücadele Eylem Planı* (Action Plan to Fight Religious Fundamentalism) (dated April 2009), and claims about an assassination plan against a leading figure of the AKP, Bülent Arınç. [695] Twenty

[693] Bill Park (2008) Turkey's Deep State, *The RUSI Journal* 153, no.5, p.56
[694] Detailed information about the Cage Action Plan, http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/turkey%20-%20Operation%20Cage%20(Kafes)%20Action%20Plan%20(English%20translation).pdf
[695] Akca and Balta-Paker, p. 86

military officers including the retired heads of land, navy and air force were formally charged with creating a chaos atmosphere and eventually overthrowing the government in what is called the Sledgehammer (*Balyoz*) coup plot.[696]

This process surely created tension between the military and the government, which peaked at the August 2010 session of the Supreme Military Council meeting, the government vetoed the promotions of eleven generals on the grounds that they were part of the alleged military coup attempts. This was a first in the history of Turkey not only for the first time a civilian government intervened in the military promotions, which traditionally were handled by the military upper echelon only, but also it was a bold defiant move from a civilian government to attempt the alter the organizational structure of the Turkish military.[697]

For example, the 1st Army Commander Hasan Igsiz, who would have been promoted to the land forces commander, was declined by the Prime Minister Erdogan and President Gul. Therefore, on the contrary to the normal process, the YAS did not announce the promotions on the fourth day of meeting. Gul and Erdogan retained their approval of the chief of staff until the commander to the land forces was determined. Atilla Isik, who was the head of the Gendarmerie Forces Atilla Isik was slated to be the chief of the land forces, who by tradition becomes the chief of staff of the armed forces. The government declined his appointment to which he reacted by resigning. Necded Ozel, who is known to be in good terms with the government, then became the next chief of staff of the armed forces. [698]

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[696] Top Turkish officers charged over 'coup plot', *BBC News*, February 25, 2010. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8531486.stm
[697] Migdalovitz, p. 15

Migdalovitz asserts that the Ergenekon trials and prosecutions intimidated the military and thus the military reluctantly accepted the civilian dominance. Furthermore, increasing popular disapproval for a military intervention virtually removed the hopes of certain circles for the overthrow of government by the TAF.[699]

The last phase of the civilian dominance and the waning of the military influence was the abolishment of the Protocol on Cooperation for Security and Public Order (EMASYA), a February 28 Process byproduct, which granted the military the right to intervene unilaterally in domestic events. This was the end of the February 28 process.[700]

7.8 The Turkish Foreign Policy under the AKP

The next part examines the foreign policy understanding of the AKP as well as the implementation of it referring to cases. The fundamentals of the Turkish foreign policy under the AKP predominantly were determined by Ahmet Davutoglu, who is an academician as well as served as the minister of foreign affairs and now is the prime minister of Turkey.

7.8.1 Neo-Ottomanism Revisited: The Davutoglu Factor and Strategic Depth

As discussed early in this chapter, a new reality and new elites emerged in Turkey in the last decade. The public participation in governance and foreign policy has resulted in the advent of a new stream of ideas in Turkish politics. Perhaps the most important embodiment of this new reality in foreign policy is Ahmet Davutoglu, the architect of the Turkish foreign policy under the AKP.[701] Therefore, it is vital to analyze the fundamentals of the new Turkish foreign policy and Davutoglu.

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[699] Migdalovitz, p. 14
[700] Migdalovitz, pp. 14
[701] Ian Lesser (2009) Beyond Suspicion: Rethinking US-Turkish Relations, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars: Washington, D.C.,, p. 33

The "strategic depth" concept, also the title of his influential book, is one of the most important aspects of the Davutoglu Doctrine. He posits that the strategic depth possesses geographical and historical characteristics. The historical aspect of it is characterized by the legacy of the Ottoman Empire, spanned for six hundred years, and the areas to which the Ottoman influence was extended (the Balkans, the Middle East and North Africa and the Caucasus) makes up of the geographical aspect of the doctrine. Davutoglu argues that Turkey, being the successor state of the Ottoman Empire, has the opportunity to harness this unique position through diplomacy and trade. He also suggests that Turkey's historical and cultural commonalities grants it a geo-economic influence. Therefore, Turkey is a "central country" historically, politically and economically[702] and has geographical and historical dept.

Davutoğlu states; *"In terms of geography, Turkey occupies a unique space. As a large country in the midst of Afro-Eurasia's vast landmass, it may be defined as a central country with multiple regional identities that cannot be reduced to one unified character. Like Russia, Germany, Iran, and Egypt, Turkey cannot be explained geographically or culturally by associating it with one single region. Turkey's diverse regional composition lends it the capability of maneuvering in several regions simultaneously; in this sense, it controls an area of influence in its immediate environs."* [703]

The strategic depth that Turkey possesses has granted Turkey with excellent opportunities not only regionally but globally and this is possible if Turkey is willing to pursue a more proactive foreign policy. [704]

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[702] Alexander Murinson, Turkish Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century. Mideast Security and Policy Studies No. 97. The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies Bar-Ilan University September 2012. p. 6
[703] Ahmet Davutoglu (2008) Turkey's New Foreign Policy Vision, Insight Turkey 10, No. 1, P. 78.
[704] Alexander Murinson, Turkish Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Centure, pp. 6-7.

Due to Turkey's geo-cultural central position, according to Davutoglu, the country cannot afford to pursue a passive, defensive foreign policy. Thus, Turkey must be proactive in shaping its neighborhood in order to ensure security and prosperity at home and in the region. [705] Davutoğlu's creation, to Graham Fuller, was "*the most systematic, substantial, and comprehensive vision of Turkey's strategic position yet written. It is based on a sophisticated and complex reading of history, political cultures, geography, geopolitics, global balances and national interests*." [706]

Finally, Omer Taspinar states that there are basically three factors that define the neo-Ottoman tendencies of the AKP. The first is the willingness to come to terms with Turkey's Ottoman heritage at home and abroad. Neo-Ottomanism does not seek to re-create the Ottoman Empire with territorial ambitions in the Middle East and beyond. It favors a more activist policy in foreign affairs, particularly in terms of a willingness to mediate conflicts. In this neo-Ottoman paradigm, Ankara exerts more "soft power" (i.e. political, economic, diplomatic and cultural influence) in former Ottoman territories and in other regions where Turkey has strategic interests. This broad vision for Turkish foreign policy requires an embrace of Ottoman multicultural legacy.[707]

It is important to note that neo-Ottomanism denotes a change in the mindset of traditional Turkish policy making. Since the Ottoman Empire pursued a more tolerant policy towards ethnic and religious minorities, neo-Ottomanism promotes

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[705] Saban Kardas, Turkey on NATO's Role in the MENA: Perspectives from a "Central Country", Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012. p. 1. http://carnegieendowment.org/files/Kardas_Brief.pdf
[706] Graham Fuller (2008) The New Turkish Republic: Turkey as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World, Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, p. 169
[707] Omer Taspinar, the Three Strategic Visions of Turkey, US-Europe Analysis Series Number 50, Center on the United States and Europe at Brrokings. March 8, 2011, p. 2 http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/papers/2011/3/08%20turkey%20taspinar/0308_turkey_taspinar.pdf

multiculturalism and plurality. The starkest implementation of this idea can be seen in the way the AKP government has handled the Kurdish issue. As long as the Kurds remain loyal to the existence of the republic, they have been granted their cultural, political rights. Unlike the Kemalist approach, which has aimed to assimilate Kurds into Turkish identity, neo-Ottomanism, both under Ozal and AKP government, has accommodated Turkey's Kurds.[708]

The second characteristic of the neo-Ottomanist approach is the sense of self confidence and grandeur, which is derived from the Ottoman past. As opposed to the Kemalist isolation, passivity and paranoia of being surrounded by enemies, neo-Ottomanism sees Turkey as capable and self-confident regional power. Turkey is a pivotal and central state that has to play an important political, economic and cultural role in the world. This ambitious undertaking requires Turkey to be at peace with its past. [709]

He repeats that Turkey ought not to remain a bridge country but rather a central one. He defines self-confidence by "not being ashamed of its Eastern identity while embracing the high standards of the West. The source of Turkey's self-confidence is derived from its centuries' long relationship with both the west and the east. [710] He states that Turkey no longer should wastes its energy by the view that the state sees its own people as danger. Turkey has become self-confident enough, to Davutoglu, that fundamental freedoms are no longer the source of paranoia and fear. This will strengthen Turkey in its region and in the world. [711]

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[708] Omer Taspinar, p. 2
[709] ibid
[710] Davutoglu, Turkiye Merkez Ulke Olmali (Turkey Ought to be a Central State)
[711] Yesiltas and Balci, A Dictinary of Turkish Foreign Policy…p. 2

The third is that the neo-Ottomanism accepts the West as much as it does the Islamic world. According to this, per its history, Turkey belongs to both worlds. Like the imperial capital Istanbul, it spans on both Europe and Asia and is "Janus-faced".[712]

The official AKP foreign policy in the party program reflects the aspects of the Davutoglu doctrine. According to this;[713]

-*The geopolitical situation of Turkey has the potential to create an attraction zone for many cooperation projects. The ability to convert this potential into a regional and global effectiveness depends on the logical use of the geopolitics in international political, economic and security relations.*

-*On the other hand, the dynamic circumstances brought about by the post-cold war period have created a suitable environment for developing a foreign policy with several alternatives. The particularity of military alliances and blocks to become the determinant elements of international relations has been greatly reduced, and cooperation projects have become a common tool of relations between States. In this new environment Turkey must also rearrange and create its relations with centers of power with alternatives, flexibly and with many axis.*

-*Our Party shall follow a realistic foreign policy befitting the history and geographical position of Turkey, free from prejudices and obsessions, based on mutuality of interests. Turkey, which is respectful of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other countries, deems it its right for other nations and international agencies to respect its territorial integrity and sovereignty.*

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[712] ibid

[713] The AKP official foreign policy program: http://www.akparti.org.tr/english/akparti/parti-programme#bolum6

-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.

This can be seen Turkey's staunch commitment to the EU membership under the AKP administration. Turkey has continued to take active part in NATO, attributing importance to its relations with the United States.

The AKP party program reflects the multi-dimensional foreign policy. It is stated that: *In addition to the traditional Atlantic and European dimensions of the Turkish foreign policy, efforts shall be maintained to develop a policy with a Eurasian axis should also be. In this sense efforts will be made to reinforce the cooperation in the framework of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO).* In this regards, the importance of relations with Russia and China are also emphasized.[714]

The strategic depth places a great deal of emphasize on the *ummah,* Muslim solidarity in the world although there is a sense of national pride that Turkish Muslims are destined to be the leader of the Muslim world and lead them to the high standard of living and modernity.

This ambition can be seen in the "vision of 2023"[715] centennial year of the Republic by which time the AKP officers aspires Turkey to be one of the top ten most important countries politically and economically. Davutoglu said: *"Turkey could become a union of nations just like Britain's union with its former colonies," he reported the foreign minister as saying. "Britain has a commonwealth with its former colonies, he*

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[714] The AKP official foreign policy program: http://www.akparti.org.tr/english/akparti/parti-programme#bolum6

[715] Turkey: A Landmark Decade Vision 2023. Foreign Affairs September-October 2013 http://www.foreignaffairs.com/files/attachments/Turkey%20pdf.pdf

reminded me. Why shouldn't Turkey rebuild its leadership in former Ottoman lands in the Balkans, Middle East and Central Asia?"[716]

Davutoglu has criticized the nation-state concept in Turkey, which he believes is one of the main reasons for it to fail to reach its full potential. He criticizes the Kemalist detachment from the Ottoman past, Islam and the Middle East. He believes that "*a major reason for Turkey's relative isolation from its neighborhood had to do with the framework that dominated the mindset of Turkish foreign-policy elites for decades -- a mindset that erected obstacles between Turkey and its neighbors physically, mentally, and politically*." He goes on saying; "*Turkey's reintegration to its environment is essential and this requires a substantial abandonment of the old foreign policy culture (the Kemalist)*."[717]

7.8.2 Davutoglu's Policy Principles: A New Vision for Turkey

In tandem with the Strategic Depth concept, Davutoglu puts forward three methodological and five operational and principles of foreign policy that he envisioned for Turkey. The methodological principles are;

- "Visionary" approach to the issues instead of the "crisis-oriented".
- To base Turkish foreign policy on a "consistent and systematic" framework around the world.
- The adoption of a new discourse and diplomatic style, which has resulted in the spread of Turkish soft power in the region.

[716] Cuneyt Ulsever, In Between of Dreams and Reality: Foreign Policy, *Hurriyet Daily News*, 5/1/2011
[717] Ahmet Davutoglu. Zero Problems in a new Era. March 12, 2013, *Foreign Policy*. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/03/21/zero_problems_in_a_new_era_turkey

The operational principles are;

- The balance between security and democracy.
- Zero problems towards neighbors.
- Proactive and pre-emptive peace diplomacy.
- Multi-dimensional foreign policy.
- Rhythmic diplomacy. [718]

In addition to these principles, Davutoglu mentions about Turkey's need for self-confident foreign policy as well as devising policies autonomously, about which he said; *"We do not receive instructions from any other powers, nor are we part of others' grand schemes. In particular, our policies towards neighbors are devised with careful consideration of our own evaluation of the situation. As has been the case so far, we will continue to coordinate our policies with those of our Western partners as we see fit, but will never let such partnership negatively affect our relations with neighbors."*[719]

In the following part, I will try to explain these principles referring to actual foreign policy implementations under the AKP government.

7.8.2.1 Balance between Security and Democracy

First, in a post September 11 environment, he asserts, it is important to establish a fine balance between security and freedom for the sake of democracy. He emphasizes that Turkey was one of the few countries that had established this balance. Davutoglu states;

[718] Ahmet Davutoglu, Turkey's Zero-Problem Policy, *Foreign Policy*, May 20, 2010. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/05/20/turkeys_zero_problems_foreign_policy
[719] ibid

"*In pursuit of our global objectives, we will endeavor to listen to the consciousness and common sense of humanity, and become a firm defender of universal values. While embracing these universal principles, we will enmesh them with local values; and advocate, in particular, human rights and such norms as democracy, good governance, transparency and rule of law. We will extend our assistance to the people who rise up to demand such values because given our belief in the principles of justice and equality, we are convinced that they also deserve to have the same rights and privileges enjoyed by our own people. As its region experiences democratization, Turkey will continue its quest to maintain a balance between promoting democratic values and defending national interests."*[720]

Despite severe criticism from the Kemalist circles, the AKP initiated what is called the "Kurdish Opening", which aims to resolve the PKK problem. One of the historical moments in this regard came in Diyarbakir in August 2005. He emphasized that common religious bonds and democratic values are the key in the solution of the problem.[721] Prime Minister Erdogan stated: *"The sun heats everybody and the rain is God's grace for everybody. Thus I address those asking, 'What will happen to the Kurdish problem?' The Kurdish problem is my problem…. We will solve all problems through democracy."*[722]

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[720]ibid

[721]Murat Somer, Evangelos G. Liaras, (2010) Turkey's New Kurdish Opening: Religious versus Secular Values, *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, Summer, p. 154

[722] ibid, quoted from Hakan M. Yavuz, Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey (Cambridge University Press, 2009) p. 189

Furthermore, emphasizing the importance of establishing a balance between security and freedom Erdogan said *"no stepping back from the Copenhagen criteria in the fight against terror"*[723]

7.8.3 Zero Problem with Neighbors

One of Davutoglu's most important theoretical foreign policy approaches is the "*Zero Problem with Neighbors*" concept. According to this, Turkey must abolish the paranoia that it is surrounded by enemies and end subsequent security oriented policies.[724] Davutoglu posits that it is important for Turkey to reintegrate with its neighbors in order to achieve a regional power status. He goes; "*While Turkey goes through a domestic transformation and reform processes, Turkey also has embarked on the parallel undertaking of moving to consolidate ties to its region. One strength of our foreign policy, thus, is the ongoing process of reconnecting with the people in our region with whom we shared a common history and are poised to have a common destiny*."[725]

This idea denotes a historical change in Ankara's threat perception. Davutoglu notes that decades old chronic problems with once "problematic" neighbors such as Armenia and Cyprus began to be solved[726] The AKP party manifesto included "*While our country's foreign policy used to be run on the basis of the assumption that Turkey is surrounded by enemies, we turned this imagination and psychology into the policy of*

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[723] Ekrem Dumanlı (2005) Erdogan: No Stepping Back from the Copenhagen Criteria in the Fight Against Terror, *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*.
http://www.zaman.com/?bl=international&alt=&trh=20050914&hn=24050
[724] Davutoglu, Turkiye Merkez Ulke Olmali (Turkey Ought to be a Central State)
[725] Ahmet Davutoglu, (2012, April) Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy and Regional Political Structuring, Center for Strategic Research-Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No:3, p. 4
http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/vision_paper_TFP2.pdf
[726] Davutoglu, Turkiye Merkez Ulke Olmali (Turkey Ought to be a Central State)

Zero Problems with the Neighbors. We are solving problems that were thought to be insoluble, formed friendships people thought could not be formed."[727]

In the following section, I will examine how the zero problem policy has been implemented by the AKP government.

7.8.3.1 Normalization Efforts with Armenia

Although Turkey was one of the first countries to recognize the Republic of Armenia in 1991, the bilateral relations have been frozen when Armenian forces occupied the Nagarno Karabakh, which is recognized by the United Nations as Azeri soil. This incident also resulted in the closure of the Turkey-Armenia border. The worldwide political campaign of the Yerevan and the Armenian Diaspora for the events of 1915 to be recognized as "genocide" further strained the relations. The normalization efforts came by the signing of the Turkish-Armenian Protocols[728] by Ahmet Davutoglu and Edward Nalbandian, on Oct. 11, 2009, in Zurich in the presence of US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov and EU foreign affairs and security official Javier Solana.[729] The protocols have been suspended due to the Constitutional Court of Armenia's objection[730] and the intense opposition of Armenian Diaspora as well as Ankara'a insistence that the normalization could only be possible

[727] Gencer Ozcan, Policy of Zero Problems with Neighbors, IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook Med.2012, [59-63]p. 61

[728] The original text of the protocols: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/d-tr/dv/1006_10_/1006_10_en.pdf

[729] Cengiz Candar, No Incentive for Turkey, Armenia to Normalize Relations, *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse*, May 3, 2013, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/05/turkey-armenia-incentive-normalization.html#ixzz3IRfZ1Rbj

[730] Fehim Tastekin, Turkey Extend Hand, but No Apology to Armenia, *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse*, December 12, 2013. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/12/turkey-tentative-gesture-armenia.html

pending the solution to the Nagarno-Karabakh problem. Despite this setback, it is a historical step for the reconciliation between the two countries.

7.8.3.2 Syria

The Turco-Syrian rapprochement is another example to the Zero Problem policy. The relations with Syria hit bottom rock in 1998 when Ankara issued an ultimatum to Damascus to expel the PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan. Damascus eventually expelled him in the same year.[731] Although the relations began to normalize after 1998, they enjoyed their peak on December 22-23, 2009 when the Turkish-Syrian High Level Strategic Cooperation Council, or HSCC, was held in Damascus. According to this Turkey and Syria were to increase their cooperation in economic, political and security fields.[732] As a result of the HSCC the trade volume between the two countries increased considerably. In September 2010, the two countries agreed to abolish visa requirements, enabling free roaming.[733] In 2010, 750,000 Syrians entered Turkey while the number of Turks visiting Syria reached 1.35 million people.[734]

7.8.3.3 The Cyprus Issue

The Cyprus issue has been a very contentious issue in Turkish foreign policy. Turkey's intervention in the civil strife to save the Turks from massacre by the EOKA militants resulted in the division of the island into north being Turkish south being Greek.

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[731] The then Chief of Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces Huseyin Kivrikoglu stated that If Syria had not complied Turkey was determined to stage a land invasion. Faruk Mercan, (2005, October 17) "Our tanks were about to enter Syria" Aksiyon, http://www.aksiyon.com.tr/dosyalar/kivrikoglu-tanklarla-suriyeye-girecektik_513341

[732]Joint Statement of the First Meeting of the High Level Strategic Cooperation Council Between the Syrian Arab Republic and the Republic of Turkey, Damascus, December 22-23, 2009 http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye---suriye-ydsik-1_-toplantisi-ortak-bildirisi_-22-23-aralik_-sam.en.mfa

[733] "Turkey, Syria sign strategic deal, lift visa" , *Today's Zaman*, September 17, 2009 http://www.todayszaman.com/latest-news_turkey-syria-sign-strategic-deal-lift-visa_187372.html

[734] Gamze Coskun, Model Partnership in the Middle East: Turkish-Syrian Relations, Hurriyet *Daily News*, February 1, 2011 http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=model-partnership-in-the-middle-east-turkish-syrian-relations-2010-12-31

The Cyprus problem has been an obstacle for Turkey's EU membership negotiations partially because of the Greek and Cypriot vetoes. The previous Turkish governments tended to pursue a statuesque preserving policy vis-à-vis Cyprus. The most serious attempts to solve the problem came with the AKP government. Due to the EU aspect of the issue, the AKP pursued an ambitious foreign policy in this regard. The impending accession of the Cyprus Republic in the EU in 2004 accelerated the Turkish efforts to facilitate a solution. The change began with abolition of the old aged rhetoric that "Turkey's defense starts from Cyprus." [735]

The AKP government started to support the unification of the island under a fair federal system as opposed to the previous governments in Ankara that promoted the two state solution.[736] This deviation was clearly against the Kemalist policymakers' perception of a solution to the Cyprus problem.

One of the results of this abrupt policy change was that the Turkish Cypriot veteran politician Rauf Denktas, who always supported the independence and vehemently rejected any other solution and was considered to be the father of the self-proclaimed the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) was "brushed aside" by the AKP government. [737] The AKP government perceived him outdated. In a bold move Erdogan declared on January 2, 2003 "*I am not in favor of the continuation of the policy that has*

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[735] Pinar Bilgin (2007) Only Strong States Can Survive in Turkey's Geography: The uses of ''geopolitical truths'' in Turkey Political Geography 26, p. 752 quoted from Ilhan, S. (n.d.). Kıbrıs Adasının Jeostratejik-Jeopolitik Konumu ve Etkinligi; Annan Planı [The Geostrategic-Geopolitical Position and Influence of the Cyrpus Islan: The Annan Plan]. www.kibris.gen.tr.

[736] Ayse Aslihan Çelenk, (2007). The Restructuring of Turkey's Policy towards Cyprus: The Justice and Development Party's Struggle for Power. Turkish Studies, vol. 8, no. 3, p. 351. [pp. 349 – 363].
Quoted from Nathalie Tocci, "Cyprus and the European Union Accession Process: Inspiration for Peace or Incentive for Crisis?" Turkish Studies, Vol.3, No.2 (2002), p. 113.

[737] Tazun Baheheli and Sid Noel (2009) The Rise of the AK Parti and Ankara's Changing Role: Paving the Way for the 'Yes'" in Andrekos Varnava, Hubert Faustmann (ed.) *Reunifying Cyprus: The Annan Plan and Beyond*, I.B.Tauiris& Co Ltd, p. 240.

been maintained in Cyprus over the past 30-40 years. We must produce solutions not obstacles. We will do whatever is required of us. This is not Denktas' private matter."[738] Among those who condemned Erdogan's policies to alienate Denktas were the then president Ahmet Nejdet Sezer and the members of the People's Republican Party, all of whom represent the Kemalist elite.

Then came the peace plan prepared by the then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan (also named as the Annan Plan). [739] The plan, which was supported by the AKP government, aimed at unifying the island on equal terms that both parties would be represented in government. To the dismay of the European Union, in the referendum the Greek Cypriots overwhelmingly rejected it by 75%, while the Turkish Cypriots supported it by 65%.

Celenk states that the AKP's support and willingness for the unification and the Annan Plan constituted a great contrast to the policies of the previous Turkish governments, who would have considered the move betrayal to the Turkish interests in the region. It is one of the many signs that the AKP has denounced the Kemalist foreign policy. [740]

7.8.3.4 Iran

As mentioned in the previous chapters, Iran had been considered by the Kemalist state to be a great danger due to Tehran's overt attempts to export its theocratic regime to Turkey. This threat perception was coupled with Iran's nuclear program and its Shahab-3 medium range ballistic missiles that would pose threat to Turkey's populated areas. Until

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[738] "Denktas'a Sert Elestiri" (A Harsh Criticism to Denktas), *Sabah*, February 1, 2003
[739] The full document of the Annan Plan: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2004/annan-cyprus-problem_maps_26feb03.pdf
[740] Celenk, p.352

2010, Iran was among the threats that were mentioned in the military's Red Book. In that year Iran was removed from the perceived threats and even was praised for its cooperation against the PKK. [741]

In August 2007, Turkey and Iran signed an important energy agreement despite the sanctions on the latter. According to this, the Turkish Petroleum Corporation (TPAO) is now allowed to explore for oil and gas in the South Pars fields of Iran and deliver Iranian as well as Turkmen gas to Europe via Turkey, but also supply the Turkish market.[742]

In January 2014, Turkey and Iran signed a comprehensive trade agreement, which aims the bilateral trade to reach to 30$ billion dollars by the end of 2015.[743]

Finally, as part of the "zero problem with neighbors" policy, Greece, Iran and Russia were removed from the "Red Book", which defines the threat perception. Whereas, in the 2005 Red Book, Greece's intention to extend its territorial waters from six to twelve miles was considered a casus belli. In the 2010 Red Book, a war with Greece in the Aegean region is deemed unlikely and the twelve-mile issue is no longer considered a casus belli. The new document also emphasizes the need for cooperation with Greece. Additionally, the rapprochement with Greece included high level of visits. Then Prime Minister Erdogan visited Greece on May 6, 2004, which was the first in 16 years and the Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis visited Turkey on January 23, 2008, which was first of its kind in 49 years.

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[741] Hay Eytan and Cohen Yanarocak, The Red Book: The Bible of Turkish Foreign Policy…
[742] Elin Kinnander (2010) The Turkish-Iranian Gas Relationship: Politically Successful, Commercially Problematic, *Oxford Institute for Energy Studies*, January, p. 11
[743] "Iran, Turkey to Boost Economic Trade Level to $30 billion" Al-*Alam,* May 16, 2014 http://en.alalam.ir/news/1594619

7.8.3.5 Greece

Finally, Davutoglu's zero problem policy has manifested itself in relations with Greece. Greece had been in the Red Book of threat perceptions until 2005 because of its intention to extend the territorial waters in the Aegean Sea to twelve miles from six, which was considered by Turkey *casus belli*. [744] The new foreign policy understanding under AKP places more emphasize on the mutual cooperation with Greece.[745] The rapprochement with Turkey and Greece yielded high level visits. Then Prime Minister Erdogan visited Greece on May 6, 2004, first of its kind in 16 years and the Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis visited Turkey on January 23, 2008, which was first of its kind in 49 years.[746]

Jashua W. Walker argues that a spurned Turkey guided by its policy of "strategic depth" will not follow the typical Kemalist prescription of isolation, but could just as easily reach out to other important regional actors such as Iran and Russia to form a loose alignment.[747]

7.8.4 Multi-Dimensional Foreign Policy

Davutoglu's third principle of foreign policy is *multi-dimensional foreign policy*. This, to Davutoglu, means that Turkey should pursue a foreign policy that is complementary, not competition. For example, according to this foreign policy principle, Turkey's EU bid, its relations with Russia and strategic relations with the United States are all complimentary

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[744] Duygu Guvenc, 12 Mil Artik Savas Nedeni Degil (12 Mile is not *Casusu Belli* Anymore), Sabah, August 23, 2010 http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2010/08/23/kirmizi_kitapta_savas_degil_isbirligi_vurgusu#

[745] Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak, The Red Book: The Bible of Turkish Foreign Policy, *Tel-Aviv Notes*, October 21, 2010 http://www.tau.ac.il/dayancenter/Red_Book_final.pdf

[746] Relations with Greece, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-greece.en.mfa

[747] Jashua W. Walker (2007) Learning Strategic Depth: Implications of Turkey's New Foreign Policy Doctrine, *Insight Turkey*, Vol 9, Number 3. p. 37.

and synchronized. That is to say, the relations with Russia cannot be considered as an alternative to the US. [748]

Talip Kucukcan and Mujge Kucukkeles argue that due to its geo strategic position in the Afro-Eurasian landmass, Turkey's identity mandates that it synthesizes multiple civilizations. For example, as opposed to the Islamists worldview, such as that of Erbakan, Turkey cannot see the Islamic world as an alternative to the west, therefore cannot be anti-Western. Likewise, unlike the Kemalist worldview, the East cannot solely be an alternative to the West. [749] According to Davutoglu's view of policy, Turkey's distinctive identity is based on the blend of West and East, which means one cannot be forgone for the sake of the other. This requires a multi-dimensional foreign policy.[750]

However, the rhetoric of some Turkish foreign policy makers occasionally reflected the opposite of this notion that created an "axis shift" argument. For example Erdogan said at a press conference with Vladimir Putin;

"EU wants to forget us but it can't. It is reluctant. We will be more comfortable if it says so. Instead of stalling us, let it say so and we will go our own way. ... Of course, when this [EU] affair is not proceeding well, as the prime minister of 75 million you start looking around for alternatives. This is what I told Mr. Putin the other day, 'Take us into Shanghai Five and we will forget the EU.' Take us into Shanghai Five and we will say

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[748] Ahmet Davutoglu, Turkey's Zero-Problem Policy

[749] Talip Kucukcan and Mujge Kucukkeles, Understanding Turkish Foreign Policy, *The New Turkey*, May 17, 2012 http://www.thenewturkey.org/understanding-turkish-foreign-policy/new-turkey/82

[750] Talip Kucukcan and Muge Kucukkeles, European Perception of Turkish Foreign Policy, SETA Policy Report, April 2012, Report No:10, p. 18, quoted from Bülent Aras, ''Davutoglu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy'', SETA Policy Brief, No. 32, May 2009. http://arsiv.setav.org/public/HaberDetay.aspx?Dil=tr&hid=117681&q=european-perceptions-of-turkish-foreign-policy

goodbye to EU and leave. What is the point of this stalling?... Shanghai Five is better, stronger."[751]

In fact, Turkey took concrete steps and applied to become a guest member of Shanghai Cooperation Organizaiton (SCO) in 2007, 2009 and 2010 only to be rejected. For example, the first application came in 2007 after EU suspended negotiations in December 2007 on the grounds that Turkey did not fulfill the requisites of the additional Protocol and the Greek and Cypriot vetoes. On March 23, 2011, Turkey officially bid its "Dialogue Partnership Status" for the SCO.[752]

At the annual summit in Beijing on June 7, 2012, the communiqué stated; "The member states note with satisfaction an increasing interest of the interational community in establishing contacts with the SCO and welcome the participation of the Republic of Turkey in the cooperation within the SCO framework as a dialogue partner." [753]

However, the SCO members, especially Russia and China, have certain reservations regarding a NATO member's observer status and future membership.[754]

Last but not least, one of the most striking examples of Turkey's active/multi-dimensional foreign policy making can be seen in its relations with Latin American countries. While occasional visits were made to Latin America during the governments before AKP, it is during the AKP administration that real dynamism in relations could be

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[751] Kadri Gursel, "Erdogan Serious About Turkey's Bid For Shanghai 5 Membership", *Al Monitor Turkey Pulse*, January 31, 2013 http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/01/shanghai-cooperation-organization-erdogan-turkey.html#ixzz3J0vIQ76V

[752] Kadri Gursel, "Erdogan Serious About Turkey's Bid For Shanghai 5 Membership" Al-Monitor,

[753] Declaration of the Heads of the Member States of The Shanghai Cooperation Organization on Building a Region of Lasting Peace and Common Prosperity, The Official Web Site of Organization, June 7, 2012 http://www.sectsco.org/EN123/show.asp?id=442

[754] Fatih Ozbay, "On Turkey's Membership to Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Customs Union" The Hazar Strateji Enstitusu, December 13, 2013 http://www.hazar.org/blogdetail/blog/on_turkey%E2%80%99s_membership_to_shanghai_cooperation_organization_and_customs_union_390.aspx

seen. According to this, political consultation mechanisms have been established with 14 countries (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Cuba, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Chile, Paraguay, and Venezuela). An "Action Plan for Strategic Partnership" was signed with Brazil during the of-ficial visit of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to Brazil between May 25 and 29, 2010.[755]

Inter-Parliamentary Friendship Groups for 12 Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) countries (Argentina, Brazil, Jamaican, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, and Venezuela) was founded in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, to enhance parliamentary relations with the countries of the region.[756]

This dynamism vis-à-vis Latin America resulted in a considerable rise in the number of diplomatic representations. Accordingly, Turkish Embassies in Bogota, Columbia nd Lima, Peru became oepraitonal in February 2010 and March 2010, increasing the number of the Turkish Embassies in the region to eight. The Turkish Consulate General in Sao Paulo-Brazil was opened in November 2009. Turkish Embassy in Quito, Ecuador was opened in 2012. In turn, LAC counries have reciprocated by increasing their representations in Turkey. With the establishment of the Ecuadorian, Peruvian and Colombian Embassies in Ankara, the number of LAC resident Embassies in Turkey has reached nine. [757] Economic and Trade Cooperaiton agreements have been signed with Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Guatemala, Guyana, Jamaica, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Chile, and Uruguay. In addition to the Turkey-Brazil Business Council established in 2006, founding agreement of Turkey-Mexico Business Council

[755] Turkey's Relations With the Latin American and the Caribbean Countries, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/i_turkey_s-relations-with-the-latin-american-and-the-caribbean-countries.en.mfa
[756] ibid
[757] ibid

was signed on December 11, 2008. The national oil company of Turkey TPAO/TPIC has become active in oil producing countries like Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. Furthermore, Brazilian oil companies PetroBras and TPAO/TPIC jointly carried out oil exploration projects in the Black Sea in 2010 and 2011. [758]

Brazil is especially important for Turkey and its most important partner in Latin America. Prime Minister Erdogan attended the Third Forum of the alliance of Civilizations in May 2010, around the time when tripartite agreement between Iran-Brazil and Turkey on nuclear swap was signed. [759]

During that visit, the heads of governments signed the "Action Plan for Strategic Association" based on eight cooperation points: bilateral and multilateral political dialogue, commerce and investment, energy, biodiversity and environment, defense, security, science and technology and lastly education and culture.[760] During his visit in May 2009, which was the first of its kind,[761] President Lula da Silva attended multiple events, including the "Turkish Brazilian Economic Forum" and the opening of the "Centre of Latin American Studies" at Ankara University.[762] Finally, Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff visited Turkey in October 2011 and "Strategic Perspective of a Dynamic Association Turkey-Brazil" joint declaration and bilateral cooperation agreements were signed.[763]

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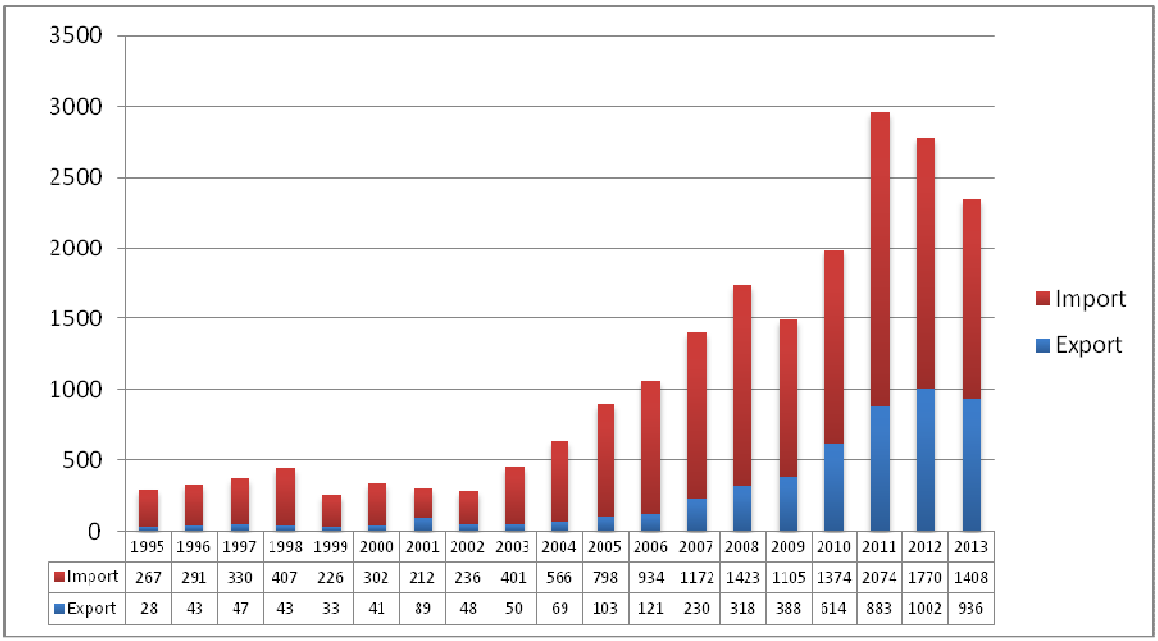
[758] ibid
[759] Ariel Gonzales Levaggi (2013) Turkey and Latin America: A New Horizon for a Strategic Relationship, *Perceptions*, Winter 2013, Volume XVIII, Number 4, pp. 108-109.
[760] ibid
[761] Brazil, (2009, May 22) The Web Site of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey http://www.tccb.gov.tr/guests/384/50211/brazil.html
[762] The Center's Web Site: http://latinamerika.ankara.edu.tr
763 "Distance has no meaning in Turkish-Brazilian relations" October 7, 2011 http://www.tccb.gov.tr/news/397/80944/distance-has-no-meaning-in-turkishbrazilian-relations.html



	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Import	267	291	330	407	226	302	212	236	401	566	798	934	1172	1423	1105	1374	2074	1770	1408
Export	28	43	47	43	33	41	89	48	50	69	103	121	230	318	388	614	883	1002	936

Figure 7.1 Turkey-Brazil Bilateral Trade (millions $)
Source:http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/disticaretapp/disticaret_ing.zul?param1=4&param2=0&sitcrev=0&isicrev=0&sayac=5908

7.8.5 Proactive/Preemptive Peace Diplomacy

By this, Davutoglu rejects Turkey's long established "static" and "one-dimensional" understanding of foreign policy given the dynamic environment in global affairs. The most important aspect of the proactive/ multi-dimensional foreign policy is Turkey's active participation in preemption, prevention and resolution of conflicts, especially in its immediate surroundings. Davutoglu justifies this approach by citing the increasing divide between Transatlantic, Eurasian, Middle Eastern, North and South. [764]

In the AK Party era, proactive diplomacy has been accompanied by the concept of pre-emptive diplomacy. This type of diplomacy requires diplomatic, rather than military approach to problems. The most striking examples of this policy approach can be seen in

[764] Davutoglu, Turkiye Merkez Ulke Olmali (Turkey Ought to be a Central State)

Turkey's active involvement in the conflict resolution in the Palestine-Israel[765], Syria-Israel[766], Iranian-Western and Bosnian-Serbian conflicts. This policy approach acknowledges the importance of nation states as well as non-state actors. [767]

To Davutoglu, Turkey must pursue and is pursuing "*a multidimensional, proactive, constructive and forward looking foreign policy initiative aimed at complementarity rather than competition."* It is Turkey's "*strategic location, economic performance ranking as the 17th largest global economy, historical background, geographical and cultural ties, stature as a reliable and trusted partner, insight to the issues and accumulated experience that give Turkey leverage to conduct such foreign policy."* [768]

In line with the pre-emptive peace diplomacy the AKP government has also tried to play a mediator role, especially in the Middle East. Turkey tried to mediate between Israel and the Hamas. This policy is a new phase in Turkish foreign policy, considering Turkey had isolated itself from the region in previous eras. Clearly, Turkey's mediator role deepened its good relations with the parties, however after 2006, the situation started to change after Hamas won the Palestinian election and the Israeli-Lebanon/Hezbollah war broke out. The biggest blow to Turkish mediation came during and after the Operation Cast Lead of 2008-2009. This ambitious policy approach is certainly a new concept. However, it was not free of unsuccessful attempts and drawbacks. For example,

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[765] Bulent Aras, Turkey and the Palestinian Question, Today's Zaman, January 19, 2009 http://www.todayszaman.com/todays-think-tanks_turkey-and-the-palestinian-question_164614.html
[766] Richard Boudreaux, "Turkey Mediating Israel-Syria Talks", *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 2008.
[767] Murat Yesiltas and Ali Balci (2013). A Dictionary of Turkish Foreign Policy in the AK Parti Era: A Conceptual Map, SAM Papers. …p. 12 http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/SAM_Papers7.pdf
[768] Ahmet Davutoglu's interview with the Daily Star Newspaper, July 31, 2009. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/article-by-h_e_-ahmet-davutoglu-published-in-daily-star-newspaper-_lebanon_-on-31-july-2009.en.mfa

the biggest blow to Turkey's negotiator position came during and after the Operation Cast Lead in the winter of 2008-2009. The following section will examine Turkey's peace diplomacy in the context of the Iranian's nuclear program.

Before 2002, Turkey's official policy in this regards was wait and see, which is very typical of Kemalist approach. Although, the security elite in Turkey had at times voiced their concerns over Iran's nuclear ambitions, they nevertheless, did not take a concrete step towards it. The advent of AKP in 2002 marked a noticeable difference in Turkey's approach to the issue in that it displayed willingness not to be an observer to the issue but rather a facilitator and then a mediator.[769]

In 2005, the Iranian issue became so tense that the talks of a joint American-Israeli strike to Iran's nuclear sites became louder. American journalist Seymon Hersh said about this immediate issue that; "*What we are dealing with is a joint US-Israeli military operation to bomb Iran, which has been in the active planning stage for more than a year. The Neocons in the Defense Department, under Douglas Feith, have been working assiduously with their Israeli military and intelligence counterparts, carefully identifying targets inside Iran.*"[770]

Turkey's main concern stemmed from the assumption that a military strike on Iran and its retaliation would greatly destabilize the region. [771] It is this point that Turkey

[769] Aylin G. Gürzel, Eyüp Ersoy (2012) Turkey and Iran's Nuclear Program, *Middle East Policy*, Volume 19, No.1, Spring, p. 39. http://www.mepc.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/turkey-and-irans-nuclear-program?print

[770] Michael Chossudovsky, Planned US-Israeli Attack on Iran, Center for Reseach on Globalization, May 1, 2005. http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/CHO505A.html

[771] Anthony H. Cordesman, Bryan Gold, Robert Shelala, and Michael Gibbs, U.S. and Iranian Strategic Competition Turkey and the South Caucasus, *Center for Strategic and International Studies,* June 6, 2013. P.5 http://csis.org/files/publication/130206_turk_casp_chap9.pdf

began to assert itself as a negotiator between Iran and the West. This would also help Turkey to relive the pressure that it had to choose either side. [772]

The Turkish mediation between the US and Iran began after Erdogan's visit to Washington in December 2009.[773] Turkey's mediator position was accepted by U.S Secretary of State Hilary Clinton, who welcomed it. Mohamed El-Baradei, then the IAEA director general, also asked for Turkey's diplomatic support to convince Iran to restart the negotiations. Soon, Ankara began the shuttle diplomacy between Tehran and related capitals.[774] However, the Turkish officials admitted having a difficult time in convincing their Iranian counterparts to participate in the negotiations. Namik Tan, then Turkish ambassador to the United States, said; *"We went to Iran—and don't forget, it was the Persians who invented the game of chess—it took two 18-hour days to get their cooperation"*[775]

Consequently, in October 2009, the notion of a uranium fuel-swap agreement between the 5+1 countries (the Security Council plus Germany) and Iran was discussed in Vienna. El-Baradei's proposed solution was to place Iran's low enriched uranium (LEU) in Turkey's custody in return for the Vienna Group's supplying Iran with LEU for the production of electricity.[776] The proposal was welcomed by Turkey, Russia and US. In May 2010, Iran too agreed to send its uranium to be enriched in Turkey. Turkey and

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[772] Gurzel and Ersoy, p. 40

773 Howard LaFranchi, (2009, December) In Obama meeting, Turkey Touts Diplomacy for Iran Nuclear Program, *The Christian Science Monitor*.
http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Foreign-Policy/2009/1207/p02s13-usfp.html

[774] Gurzel and Ersoy, p. 40

[775] Pat McDonnel Twair, Turkish Ambassador Addresses Israel, Egypt, Cyprus, Iran, Other Regional Issues, Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, April 2011 http://www.wrmea.org/2011-april/turkish-ambassador-addresses-israel-egypt-cyprus-iran-other-regional-issues.html

[776] Sarah Diehl, Eduardo Fujii, Brazil Challenges International Order by Backing Iran Fuel Swap, The Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) July 15, 2010, http://www.nti.org/analysis/articles/brazil-backing-iran/

Brazil, then non-permanent members of the Security Council, negotiated the deal with Iran at the same time the Security Council was voting over the sanctions.[777]

Afterward, on June 9, 2010, the Resolution 1929, which *"determined to give effect to its decisions by adopting appropriate measures to persuade Iran to comply with resolutions 1696 (2006), 1737 (2006), 1747 (2007) and 1803 (2008) and with the requirements of the IAEA, and also to constrain Iran's development of sensitive technologies in support of its nuclear and missile programs, until such time as the Security Council determines that the objectives of these resolutions have been met.",*[778] was adopted by the UN Security Council. Disappointed by the adoption of the resolution, Turkey and Brazil considered new sanctions as detriment to diplomatic negotiations and voted against them, but 12 members of the Security Council were concerned enough about the proliferation risks posed by Iran and its non-cooperation with the IAEA to vote for the sanctions.[779] To sum, Turkey wanted to integrate Iran into the international system as the most constructive endeavor in achieving global peace.[780]

The Balkans policy of Turkey under Davutoglu reflects proactive/preemptive policy understanding. According to this policy understanding, Turkey under AKP has pursued foreign policy vis-à-vis the Balkans based on three goals; 1) to strengthen Turkey's good relations with traditional Balkan partners; 2) to make openings toward countries with which Turkey has had problematic relations; and 3) to undertake the role

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[777] Diego Santos Vieira de Jesus (2011) Building Trust and Flexibility: A Brazilian View of the Fuel Swap with Iran, *the Washington Quarterly*, Spring, p. 61.
[778] Original text of the Resolution 1929: http://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/unsc_res1929-2010.pdf
[779]Vieira de Jesus, p. 65
[780] Cengiz Candar, Turkey's Soft Power Strategy: A new Vision for a Multi-Polar World, SETA, Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research,| December, 2009 p. 8, http://setadc.org/pdfs/SETA_Policy_Brief_No_38_Turkeys_Soft_Power_Strategy_Candar.pdf

of a mediator and lead multilateral initiatives, which is aimed to improve regional stability.[781]

One of the most striking examples of this mediator role in the Balkans is the initiative that Davutoglu launched in 2009 to mend the Bosnia-Serbia relations, which had been frozen since the Bosnian War of 1992-1995. Turkey initiated trilateral consultations, which eventually resulted in success. Thanks to the shuttle diplomacy, the Serbian Government passed the resolution to apologize for the Genocide of Srebrenica in July 1995[782], although the Serbian officials stopped short of calling the killings 'genocide'[783] Bosnia and Herzegovina later appointed an ambassador to Belgrade, which had been vacant before.

Davutoglu has referred to the Ottoman presence in the Balkans occasionally, which reinforces the notion of the neo-Ottoman foreign policy making under AKP. In the conference "*The Ottoman Legacy and the Balkan Muslim Communities Today*" in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 16-18, 2009, Davutoglu devotes a great deal of his speech on the Ottoman past of the Balkans. Davutoglu said;

"*... the Ottoman history is a history of Balkan region' it is a history on the central character of the Balkan region in world politics. Not only in the political sense, because the main trade routes of the time were passing through the Balkans. Thessaloniki, which was a small town before, became the center of economic activities in the region. During the Ottoman era, Thessaloniki became one of the main centers of international trade*

[781] Loïc Poulain and Akis Sakellariou, Western Balkans: is Turkey back? Center for Strategic and International Studies, April 25, 2011. http://csis.org/print/30115
[782] Matteo Tacconi, Turkey's Diplomatic Advances in Balkans Stalled by Domestic Difficulties, World Politics Review, September 25, 2013. http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/13231/turkey-s-diplomatic-advances-in-balkans-stalled-by-domestic-difficulties
[783]Servet Yanatma (2010 April 2) "Turkey sets stage for Serbian apology over Srebrenica", *Today's Zaman*, http://www.todayszaman.com/diplomacy_turkey-sets-stage-for-serbian-apology-over-srebrenica_206148.html

activities…Similarly, Belgrade was like a village or a small town in the 14th century. But, during the Ottoman period, Belgrade became the central city, pivotal city of Danube and Central Europe in the economic and cultural sense. Hundreds of mosques and churches were built with lively cultural activities. Sarajevo should be seen as a miracle, like a miniature if this heritage. If you understand Sarajevo you can understand the Ottoman history…Sarajevo is a prototype of the Ottoman civilization. Sarajevo has been the prototype of the Balkan region, and the global rise of the Balkans."[784]

Furthermore, Davutoglu's frequent visits to the Muslim populated areas of the Balkans and certain practices during these visits generated a new foreign policy term; '*mosque diplomacy*'. During his visit to Kosovo, Davutoglu performed *terawih* prayer in Pristina and Prizren, as well as in the Bosnian city of Mostar, with the local people. In Constanta, Romania, he performed a noon prayer at the historic Hunkar Mosque, where he also exchanged best wishes for Eid al-Fitr, a Muslim religious holiday, with residents of the city. [785]

The mosque diplomacy also involved in the restoration of historical mosques in the Balkans. Turkey's Religious Affairs Directorate (Diyanet Vakfı) and the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA) performed the restorations. The Fatih Sultan Mosque in Pristina, the Sinan Paşa Mosque in Prizren and the Hünkar Mosque in

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[784] Ahmet Davutoglu, "Adress of H.E.Prof. Ahmet Davutoglu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey", The Ottoman Legacy and the Balkan Muslim Communities Today Conference Preceedings, Sarejevo 16-18 October 2009, p. 15 https://www.academia.edu/4316098/Surviving_elements_of_Ottoman_legacy_in_the_Balkans_in_non-Muslim_Communities_and_cultures?login=ironmaiden32@gmail.com&email_was_taken=true

[785] Ahmet Davutoglu Conducts Mosque Diplomacy, *Today's Zaman*, September 4, 2011. http://www.todayszaman.com/diplomacy_ahmet-davutoglu-conducts-mosque-diplomacy-in-balkans_255671.html

Constanta, Romania, all Ottoman-era mosques, are among the structures restored by Turkey. [786]

It is important to note here that the restoration of mosques by the Turkish government as a foreign policy practice is not limited to the Balkans. According to the Diyanet, Turkey has or is currently involved in mosque projects in the United States, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Albania, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, Palestine, Belorussia, Somalia [787] and Haiti.[788] This is definitely something the secular Kemalist foreign policy would not have focus on.

7.8.6 Rhythmic Diplomacy

Another aspect of the Davutoglu doctrine is rhythmic diplomacy, which envisages using diplomacy "simultaneously and harmoniously" in different fields. This aims at a more active role for Turkey through Turkey's active involvement in all international institutions and virtually all global issues.[789]

Yesiltas and Balci state that Davutoglu's rhythmic diplomacy concept harbors mobility and harmony. According to this logic, mobility without harmony may lead to chaos. Likewise, rhythm without mobility is equally bad for foreign policy as there would not be progress.[790]

Davutoglu says; "*If we look at the international meetings and organizations it has hosted since 2003. The NATO Summit and the OIC Summit are just two examples: clearly*

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[786] "Ahmet Davutoglu Conducts Mosque Diplomacy", Today's Zaman, September 4, 2011. http://www.todayszaman.com/diplomacy_ahmet-davutoglu-conducts-mosque-diplomacy-in-balkans_255671.html
[787] Murad Sezer, 'Turkey's mosque-building diplomacy' January 2015, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/02/turkey-mosque-building-soft-power.html
[788] Turkey's Religious Affairs Directorate official web site. http://camilereyardim.com/
[789] Davutoglu, Turkiye Merkez Ulke Olmali (Turkey Ought to be a Central State)
[790] Yesiltas and Balci, A Dictinary of Turkish Foreign Policy…p. 13

Turkey has gained more influence in international organizations. Interesting developments in this regard took place in 2007. For instance, Turkey now has an observer status in the African Union, a natural result of Turkey's opening to Africa in 2005. Turkey has been invited to the Arab League twice, both at the level of foreign minister and prime minister. Turkey signed a special agreement with the Arab countries during a meeting of Iraq's neighbors held in Istanbul on November 2, 2007."[791]

One result of the rhythmic diplomacy was that for the first time since 1961, Turkey was elected to be a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 2009-2010. Erdogan said; *"This is a reflection of our increasing weight in international politics and the confidence that the international community has in us (Turkey)"* [792]

Furthermore, Turkey assumed the chairmanship-in-office of the South-East European Cooperation Process for 2009 and 2010.[793] Turkey is a G20 member[794], and acquired an observer status in the African Union in 2005[795], and has a strategic dialogue mechanism with the Gulf Cooperation Council (214) and actively takes part in the Arab League. [796] The opening of 15 new embassies and diplomatic representatives in Africa

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[791] Ahmet Davutoglu (2008) Turkey's Foreign Policy Vison: An Assesment of 2007, *Insight Turkey*, Vol.10, No.1, pp. 82-83

[792] Turkish officials hail Turkey's United Nations Security Council Seat, *Hurriyet Daily News*, (no date on file) http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/english/world/10150122.asp

[793] http://rspcsee.org/en/pages/read/about-seecp/chairmanships-in-office

[794] Nick Tattersall and Orhan Coskun, "Turkey Seeks to Bolster Global Influence with G20 Role", *Reuters*, November 13, 2014 http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/13/us-turkey-g-idUSKCN0IX1R220141113

[795] Karen Kaya and Jason Warner, Turkey and Africa: A Rising Military Partnership? Kaya K, Warner J. Turkey and Africa: A Rising Military Partnership?. Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Foreign Military Studies Office; 2013 p. 2 http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/jasonwarner/files/kaya_and_warner_2013_turkey-africa.pdf

[796] Lebanese Druze leader: Admit Turkey into Arab League, *World Bulletin*, September 9, 2014 http://www.worldbulletin.net/news/143990/lebanese-druze-leader-admit-turkey-into-arab-league

and Latin America was another result of the active diplomacy the AKP government has pursued.[797]

7.8.7 Soft Power

One of the most important changes in Turkish foreign policy was the emphasis on soft power in international relations by resorting to diplomacy, culture, dialogue, cooperation and historical understanding. There is a visible difference between the current AKP government, which used democratic tradition, institutions and free market economy, and the previous discourse in which military might was heavily used in conducting foreign policy.[798]

In this regard, the soft power in Turkish politics means that it should take measures that do not involve coercion in foreign policy making. William Hale states that the zero problem policy with neighbors is a good example of implementation of soft power as it means that Turkey abandon the "surrounded by enemies" feeling and was willing to establish peaceful relations with the neighbors where it had used military threat in the past.[799] Hale also states that in this regard, Turkey's foreign policy resembled that of the EU.[800]

In regards to soft power, Davutoglu states; '"…the adoption of a new discourse and diplomatic style has resulted in the spread of Turkish soft power in the region. Althought Turkey maintains a powerful military due to its insecure neighborhood, we do not make threats. Instead, Turkish diplomats and politicians have adopted a new

[797] Davutoglu, "Turkey's Zero-Problem Policy, *Foreign Policy"*
[798] Yesiltas and Balci, A Dictinary of Turkish Foreign Policy…p. 10, quoted from İbrahim Kalın, "Türkiye'nin İnce Gücü", TUİÇ Akademi, 8 February 2011.
[799] William Hale (2009) Turkey and the Middle East in the 'New Era', *Insight Turkey,* Vol. 11 / No. 3, p. 156
[800] Hale, Turkey and the Middle East, p. 145

language in the regional and international politics that prioritizes Turkey's civil-economic power". [801]

Tarik Oguzlu mentions about the facilitating factors (internal and external) behind the rise of Turkey's soft power. One of them is the changing nature of the civilian/military relations in favor of the former, which removed the pressure of the latter in civilian politics. This situation also impacted the PKK problem. The AKP government clearly distinguished between the PKK and the Kurds in Turkey facilitated the desecuritization process. [802]

The examples of soft power approach in Turkish Foreign Policy are many. One striking example is Turkey's "Africa opening". In this context Somalia is important. Erdogan's visit to Mogadishu in 2011 was the first of its kind in 20 years where a world leader outside Africa visited the country. It was also symbolic that the visit took place in the Muslim holy month of Ramadan and Turkey delivered humanitarian aid in excess of $200 million worth. Pinar Tank argues that this visit elevated the war torn country to a world agenda.[803]

Most of the state aids are dispersed through the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), established in 1992. In 2011 the office also donated $93.4

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[801]Ahmet Davutoglu, Turkey's Zero-Problem Policy, Foreign Policy, May 20, 2010. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/05/20/turkeys_zero_problems_foreign_policy

[802] Tarik Oguzlu, "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 61:1, March 1, 2007, pp. 88-89 [81-97] http://www.sbu.yildiz.edu.tr/~faksu/Fuatyayinlar/TDPIIdocs/769777241.pdf

[803] Pinar Tank (2013) Turkey's New Humanitarian Approach in Somalia, NOREF-Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center, December, p. 2 http://www.peacebuilding.no/var/ezflow_site/storage/original/application/bbea860140d9140ccbcb6c5d427b4f28.pdf

in humanitarian relief to Somalia. Somalia became the largest receiver of Turkish foreign aid in Africa. [804]

According to Mahmut Ozhan, Turkey's involvement in Africa and especially in Somalia is a "novelty" and one of the "firsts" in foreign policy. For the first time, Turkey initiated a strategy of state building[805] in a continent where it had not had experience in such an area. Another "first" was that the Turkish governemtn cooperated with Turkish NGOs in the Somalian state building. Ozkan also argues that Turkey's active engagement in Somalia is a reflection of its great interest in the future of Somalia, in particular, and in that of the continent, generally. [806]

The TIKA (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency), has undertaken extensive agricultural and infrastructure projects in Burkina Faso, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Senegal, Comoros, Madagascar, Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda. The Improving Quality Potato Production project in Comoros Islands and the national agricultural master plan for Djibouti are examples of such projects.[807] TIKA has currently 11 offices in Africa. (Egypt, Ethiopia, Cameroon, Kenya, Libya, Namibia, Niger, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan and Tunisia)[808]

Turkey was the first country to successfully finish the promised housing projects in the hard hit Aceh, Indonesia in which about 1050 houses, three schools and a hospital

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[804] Tank, p.2

[805] On April 13, 2013, a communiqué between Somalia and Somaliland was signed under the auspices of Turkey. It was aimed to unify the civil war ridden country. The full text of the communique: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/ankara-communique-_-between-somali-and-somaliland_-13-april-2013.en.mfa

[806] Mehmet Ozkan, "Turkey's Involvement in Somalia: Assesment of a State-Building in Progress" SETA, p. 11-17 http://file.setav.org/Files/Pdf/20141021155302_41_somali_eng-web.pdf

[807] Mehmet Ozkan (2013) Does "Rising Power" Mean "Rising Donor"? Turkey's Development Aid in Africa, *Africa Review*, 5:2, [139-147], p. 143

[808] TIKA-AFRICA report. p. 3 http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2015/Prestij/Afrika_Ing.pdf

were built.[809] Turkey extended help to flood stricken parts of Pakistan where it engaged in house and school projects.[810] Turkey evacuated its citizens from Libya in 2011 using the navy, which according to Oya Akgonenc, was an example to using hard power means to achieve soft power goals.[811] The most striking example of using hard power means to achieve soft power goals was when the Turkish Navy set out on a three-month, 28 country circumnavigation of Africa, which was the first in 148 years that Turkish ships rounded the Cape of Good Hope.[812] On its tour, for example, the Turkish Navy task force handed 4500 tons of food in Namibia for distribution to drought affected areas, 80 wheelchairs for children as well 300 school bags with stationery.[813]All of these represent the humanitarian and constructive outreach aspects of Ankara's soft-power diplomacy.

7.9 Conclusion

The advent of the Justice and Development Party to power and its three successive electoral victories that have kept the party at the top of governance has had important social and political implications for the country. First of all, it became evident that the social fabric of Turkey has changed such that it allowed for a party with pro-Islamic and conservative backgrounds to stay in power this long and grow effective in the country's administration. Another important aspect of the AKP rule is its profound impact on the civilian-military relations. With the overwhelming parliamentary

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[809]Turkey built over 1000 houses for Indonesia tsunami victims, (2009, December 9). *Today's Zaman*. http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail.action;jsessionid=T2EDphT4keSq6kPNyIcBfn2D?newsId=194375&columnistId=0

[810] Turkey delivers homes to Pakistan flood victims, *World Bulletin*, September 16, 2013 www.worldbulletin.net/haber/118109/turkey-delivers-homes-to-pakistan-flood-victims

[811] Oya Akgonenc, The Use of Soft and Hard Power in Turkey's Foreign Policy, *Turkish Review*, March 19, 2012. http://www.turkishreview.org/tr/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?newsId=223411

[812] Jashua Kucera, "As Black Sea 'Boils' Turkish Navy Heads to…Africa" Eurasianet, March 17, 2014 http://www.eurasianet.org/node/68151

[813] Eveline DeKlerk, "Namibia: Turkish Navy Donates 4 500 Tons of Food", Allafrica, http://allafrica.com/stories/201405071273.html

dominance and the popular support coupled with the zealous pursuit of the European Union reforms and using it as an instrument, the AKP was able to ward off the dominance of the secular military. The Kurdish opening also resulted in the de-securitization of the PKK conflict. The AKP is now able to effectively control the state bureaucracy as well as the institutions, including the higher education and judiciary that once were the bastions of the Kemalist ideology.

Also a contributing factor was the purge of high ranking officers through a series of court trials, which intimidated and deterred any kind of future anti-government move from the higher echelon of the military.

The removal of the Kemalist tutelage manifested itself in certain ways. One remarkable example is "the Kurdish Opening", a democratic initiative that was introduced by Erdogan in 2005, to end the PKK violence and restore the state authority in south east Turkey by improving the rights of the Kurds of Turkey. The government has moved so far as to hold secret negotiations with the PKK in Oslo in order to find a non-military solution to the problem. Such a move would not have been possible with the Turkish military, which advocated a full armed solution to the problem, still in power.

The reforms that the AKP undertook literally aimed at erasing the militant aspect of Kemalism from all aspects of life in Turkey. The national security classes that promoted the supremacy of the military and that once were mandatory in high schools were abolished. The military parades and student procession that are reminiscence of former Communist countries are now anostalgia. These would have been unthinkable for a government to implement before 2003.

The waning influence of the Kemalist bureaucracy and the military has had implications on the foreign policy. The Davutoglu Doctrine that stipulated an ambitious pro-active, multi-dimensional and identity based foreign policy would not have been easily implemented with the Kemalist bureaucracy and the military tutelage still in effect. For example, the thawing relations with Armenia, rapprochement with Greece and the political steps towards the solution of the Cyprus problem. Rather than insisting on the existing status quo, attempts to nurture close relations with Muslim world, especially with Iran, Syria, the Gulf countries and the Hamas Government would not have been possible if the Kemalist military, which had always advocated a security oriented and secular foreign policy, was still in charge of foreign affairs. When, for example, Erbakan wanted to severe ties with Israel, he was met with strong opposition from the generals so much so that he felt compelled to accept the prescription for Turkish-Israeli relations determined by the military. However, Erdogan did not hesitate to fry the Turkish-Israeli relations in 2009 after Israel's Gaza operation. This showed that the civilian government now is in full charge of foreign affairs.

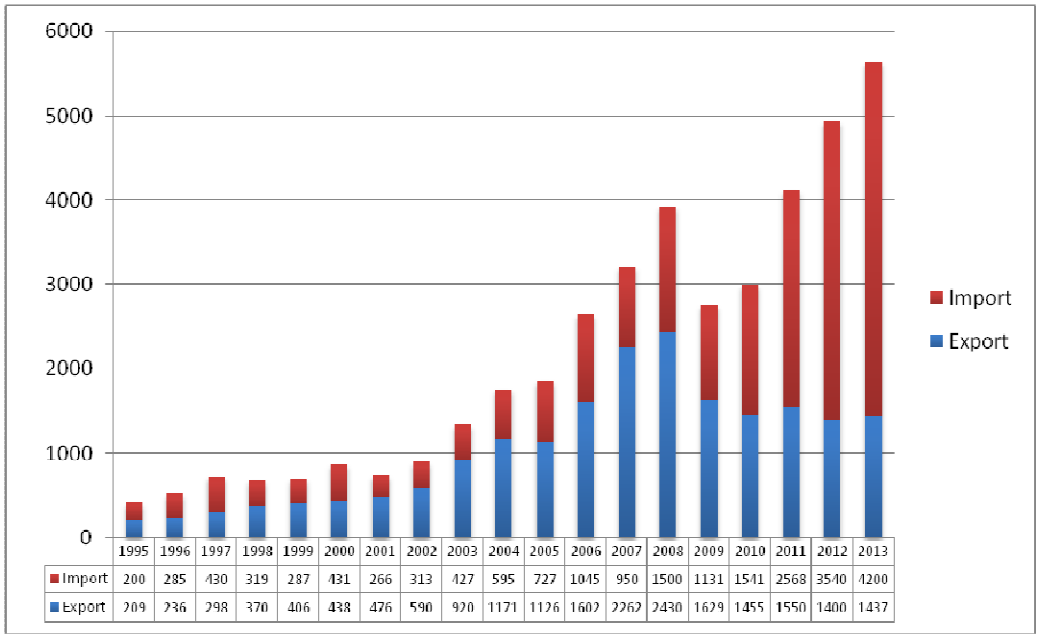
I should note that my analysis of foreign policy practices is limited up to 2011. After that date the Arab Spring and the subsequent uprisings has dealt a blow on Davutoglu's zero-problem policy as well as the overall neo-Ottomanist approach to the Middle East.

Goals and priorities of the AKP Foreign Policy

- Making Turkey a regional as well as a global power (Neo-Ottomanism)
- Pro-active/preemptive
- Complimentary foreign policy (Multidimensional/Pro-Western, Euroasianist as well as Third Worldist)
- The zero problem policy with neighbors
- Soft Power
- Self Confidence

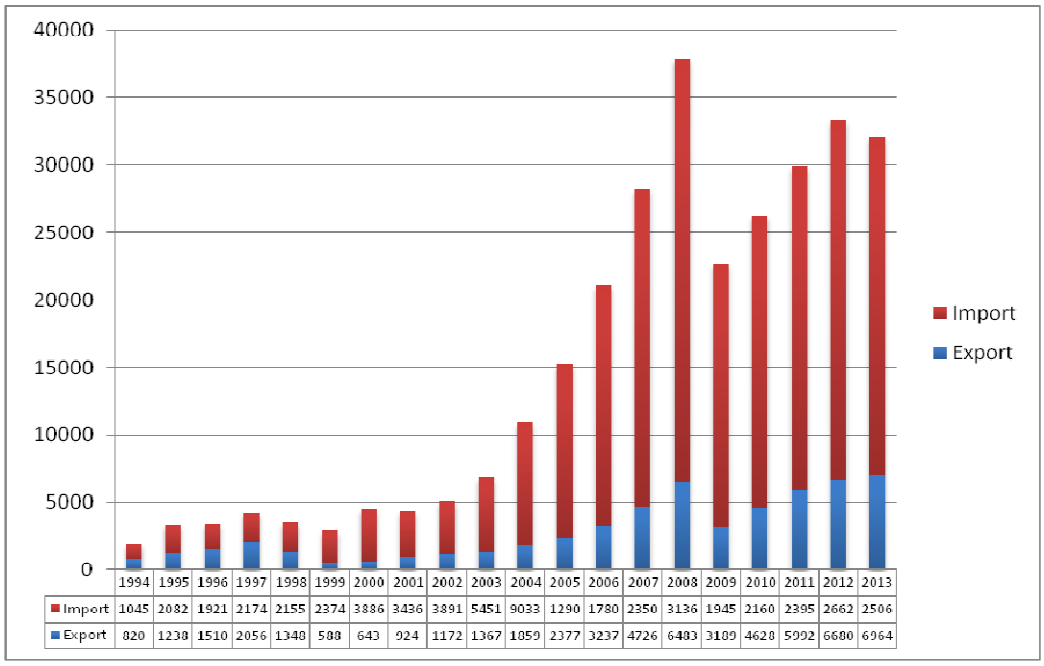
Instruments of the AKP Foreign Policy

- The Executive Branch (The Presidency)
- Head of Government (The Prime minister)
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs



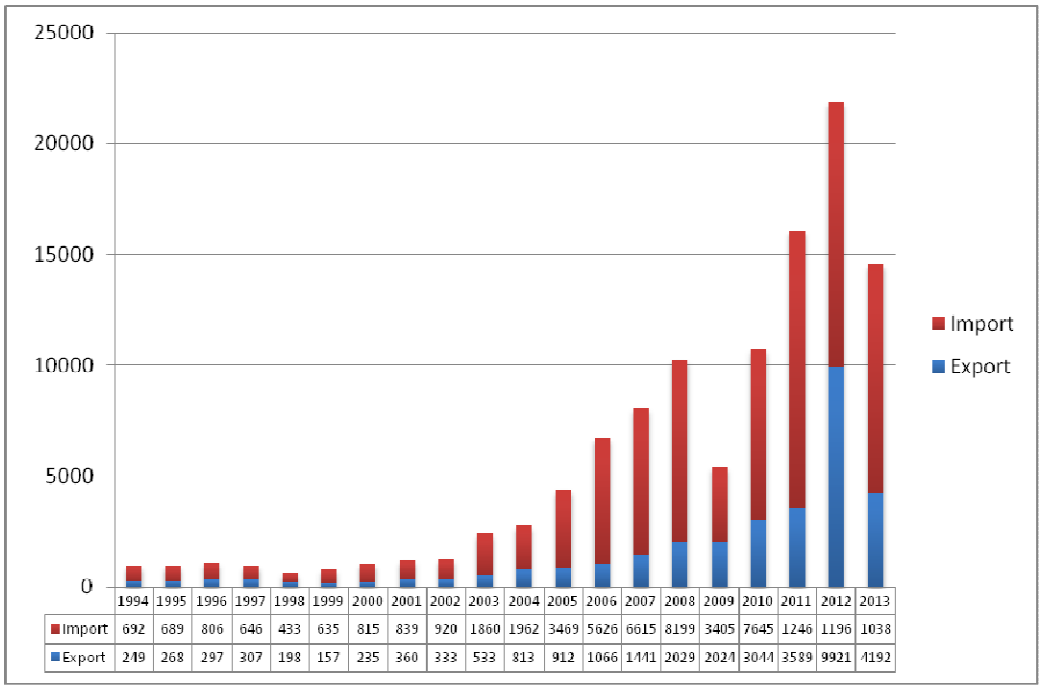
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Import	200	285	430	319	287	431	266	313	427	595	727	1045	950	1500	1131	1541	2568	3540	4200
Export	209	236	298	370	406	438	476	590	920	1171	1126	1602	2262	2430	1629	1455	1550	1400	1437

Figure 7.2 Turkey-Greece Trade (Millions $)
Source:http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/disticaretapp/disticaret_ing.zul?param1=4&param2=0&sitcrev=0&isicrev=0&sayac=5908



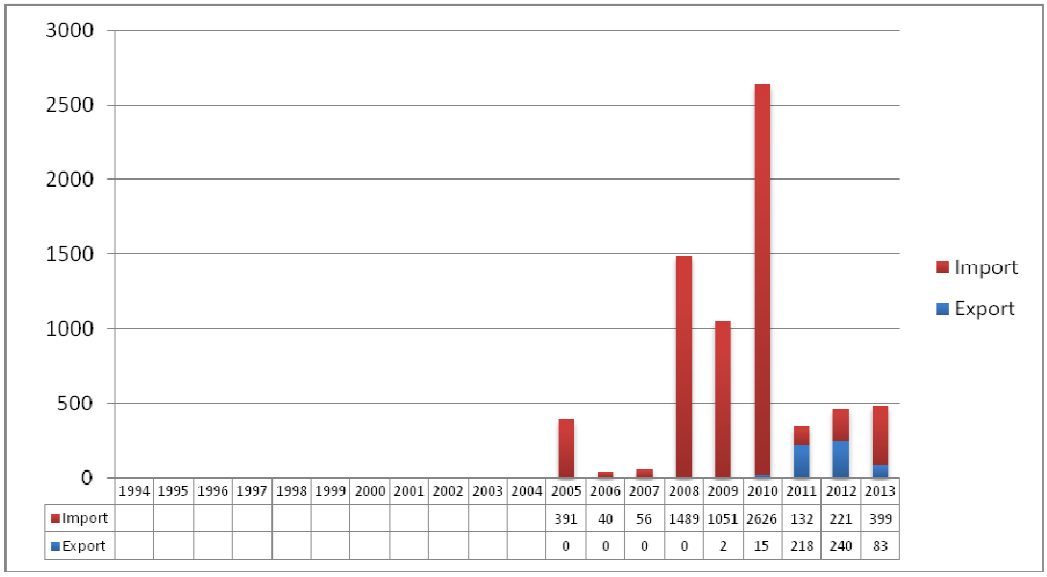
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Import	1045	2082	1921	2174	2155	2374	3886	3436	3891	5451	9033	1290	1780	2350	3136	1945	2160	2395	2662	2506
Export	820	1238	1510	2056	1348	588	643	924	1172	1367	1859	2377	3237	4726	6483	3189	4628	5992	6680	6964

Figure 7.3 Turkey-Russia Trade (million $)
Source:http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/disticaretapp/disticaret_ing.zul?param1=4&param2=0&sitcrev=0&isicrev=0&sayac=5908



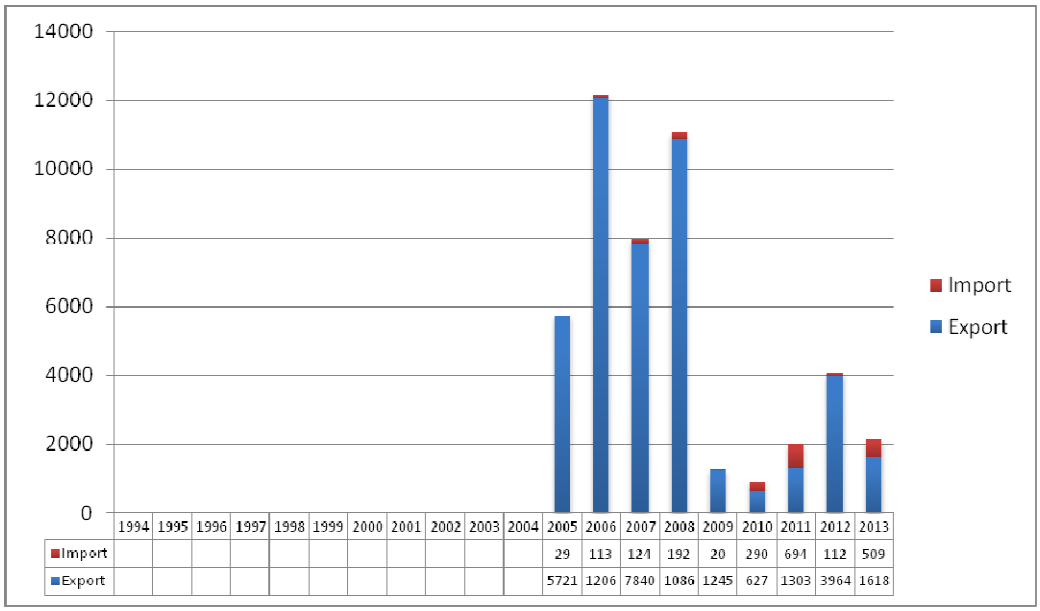
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Import	692	689	806	646	433	635	815	839	920	1860	1962	3469	5626	6615	8199	3405	7645	1246	1196	1038
Export	249	268	297	307	198	157	235	360	333	533	813	912	1066	1441	2029	2024	3044	3589	9921	4192

Figure 7.4 Turkey-Iran Trade (million$) **Source:** http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/disticaretapp/disticaret_ing.zul?param1=4&param2=0&sitcrev=0&isicrev=0&sayac=5908



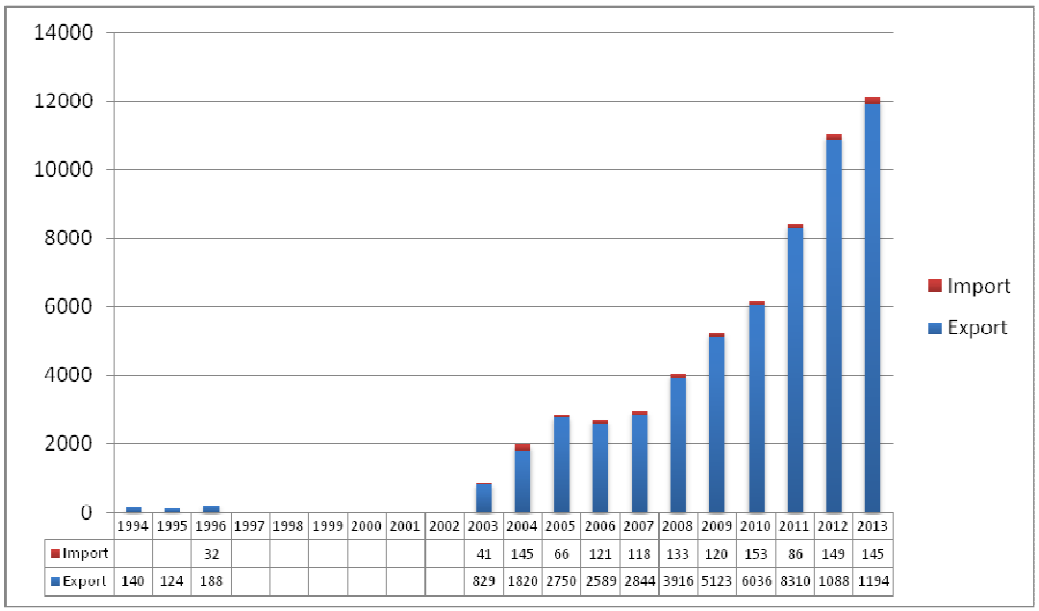
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Import												391	40	56	1489	1051	2626	132	221	399
Export												0	0	0	0	2	15	218	240	83

Figure 7.5 Turkey-Armenia Trade (thousands $
Source:http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/disticaretapp/disticaret_ing.zul?param1=4&param2=0&sitcrev=0&isicrev=0&sayac=5908



	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Import												29	113	124	192	20	290	694	112	509
Export												5721	1206	7840	1086	1245	627	1303	3964	1618

Figure 7.6 Turkey-Southern Cyprus Trade (thousands $)
Source:http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/disticaretapp/disticaret_ing.zul?param1=4&param2=0&sitcrev=0&isicrev=0&sayac=5908



	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Import			32							41	145	66	121	118	133	120	153	86	149	145
Export	140	124	188							829	1820	2750	2589	2844	3916	5123	6036	8310	1088	1194

Figure 7.7 Turkey-Iraq Trade (in millions $)
Source:http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/disticaretapp/disticaret_ing.zul?param1=4&param2=0&sitcrev=0&isicrev=0&sayac=5908

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

"*Is Turkey leaving its traditional westward foreign policy direction in favor of the east under the AKP government, creating a paradigm shift*?" The answer is Turkey is not leaving the west but the country has experienced an ideological paradigm shift under the AKP administration; the Kemalist paradigm being replaced by the neo-Ottomanist one.

In order to explain the paradigm shift phenomena in Turkey, this dissertation compared between the ideological content, institutionalization, the elite formation of the two competing paradigms; Kemalism and neo-Ottomanism, applying the policy paradigms theory.

The in-depth examination of the Kemalist ideology yielded that Mustafa Kemal was inadvertently influenced by the political realities of the time. According to this, the every trace of the Ottoman was to be completely removed from the public sphere as well as the state for a clean slate in an attempt to form of the new republic. This made the new republic a complete anti-thesis of the Ottoman Empire, which was Islamic and multi-cultural. This prompted the adoption and strict top-down implementation of secularism and mono-ethnic nationalism, which alienated most Kurds and pious Muslims, creating resentment towards the Kemalist state. This would later result in the onset of movements, such as Erbakan's pro-Islamic National View and the PKK Kurdish violence against the state.

The foreign policy, too, was an extension of domestic affairs. The flimsy creation of the state after the devastating war of independence and intense efforts of nation

building prompted M. Kemal to adopt a more cautious, reactive, stagnant foreign policy, which became a norm for the foreign policy makers after his death. Additionally, the legacy of the war of independence, which was fought against multiple invading forces, created a trauma in the minds of the Kemalist elite. The Sevres Syndrome and the "surrounded-by-enemies" feeling led to the introvert, suspicious as well as security oriented nature of the Kemalist foreign policy understanding.

The creation and institutionalization of the new Kemalist elite was in conjunction with the domestic and foreign state of the time. The hard earned territories could only be held in hand via top-down, autocratic regime that dictates its citizens the novice elements of the Kemalist revolution. The Kemalist elite (the core) took full control of the institutions and bureaucracy of the state, pursuing an exclusionist policy towards those citizens who think outside the Kemalist ideology. According to this, those Kurds and pious Muslims as well as rural Anatolia (the periphery) were excluded from participation in state affairs, their upward social mobilization was prevented and if necessary they were punished. The first blow to this elitism came when Adnan Menderes, who identified himself as pro-Islam and his Democrat Party, won the 1950 elections with a landslide. It is this point that the representative of the Kemalist elite, People's Republican Party (PRP) was proven to be ineffective to stop the rise of the periphery through democratic means and their sharing of the authority, to which PRP felt fully entitled. This brought the forceful means to the scene, thus the Turkish military. The tutelage of the Turkish Armed Forces officially began with the 1960 coup, in which the generals forcefully removed the elected representatives and executed Menderes. The elite reinforced its grip on the state with institutions that govern all aspect of life, from education to judiciary. The foreign

ministry bureaucracy as well as the military made sure the Kemalists principles were adamantly pursued abroad.

The rising treat of Communism in 1970s and ensuing political and social turmoil compelled the Turkish military to step in and seized the power in an attempt to restore the Kemalist principles of the state that had "eroded" in the last decade. The military decided to counter the threat of Communism by loosening the secular principles. This opened up the way to the rise of Ozal, who was known to be a devout Muslim. Ozal represented the periphery. His liberal political and economic reforms, which irked the Kemalist circles, paved the way for the periphery to gradually rise to prominence. Now, the periphery was closer to the core, even intermingled in certain aspects of life, which increased the friction between the two camps. For example, as more and more head scarf wearing girls wanted to have university education, the more the Kemalist status quo asserted the secular principles through the Higher Education Council, which had banned the headscarf on campuses.

Ozal's foreign policy understanding was such that he openly criticized the existing status quo, bureaucracy and institutions of Kemalism for being too timid, cautious. Certainly, the end of Cold War helped him to decide to maneuver liberally in the near abroad and he succeeded to some extend by, for example, initiating the Black Sea Economic Cooperation and an active diplomacy. However, he was constrained by the Kemalist institutions, namely military and the foreign policy bureaucracy, which he criticized for being timid and passive. Between 1983 and 1993, Ozal, especially in his presidency (1989-1993) brought an unprecedented activism to the Turkish foreign policy but his unexpected death in 1993 threw Turkey back to its stagnant position, as the flimsy coalition governments brought political and economic instability. It should be noted that

the changing international system due to the waning Soviet influence and subsequent collapse of the Berlin Wall greatly enabled Ozal to implement ambitious foreign policy goals especially towards the Central Asia and the Caucasus.

1990s also witnessed the rise of the influence of the military. With the Cold War is over and the separatist PKK terrorism raging, the military asserted itself more than ever. The epitome of the core vs. the periphery confrontation came when Erbakan, who was an overt Islamist, anti-Western and anti-Zionist, became the prime minister in 1996. He was the first ever prime minister, who openly supported the advent of Islamic rule in Turkey. To some, this marked the triumph of political Islam. However, pro-Islamic agenda Erbakan pursued at home and abroad had the Turkish military flex its muscles and Erbakan was forced to resign. The inability of the political Islam to win over the strong Kemalist military taught some members of Erbakan's Welfare Party, who later founded the Justice and Development Party (AKP), that conformity with the system was the only viable way to success.

The 2002 elections granted the AKP an opportunity to form a single party government, which meant an outstanding legislative power in the Turkish parliament. In order to eliminate the clout of the Kemalist institutions and bureaucracy, especially the military, the AKP implemented policy of de-militarization in governance by aggressively adopting the EU reforms. While the military and the Kemalists attempt to undermine the AKP government through covert means and coup attempts they were never materialized. As a result of a series of court trials, those military officers, who plotted coup against the government, prosecuted in an unprecedented wave of arrests. The AKP government also effectively took the administration of such important institutions as the Supreme Board of

Judges and Prosecutors, the Council of Higher Education, the Presidency of Religious Affairs, which had been part of the Kemalist state machinery.

The rise of Menderes, Ozal and Erbakan to power before the AKP government was clearly an indication of serious attempts to puncture the Kemalist hegemony but since the institutional and bureaucratic makeup of the existing status quo (the Kemalism) was too strong, they failed to attain their goals. Therefore, their attempts to reorient the policy goals and priorities of the policies of Kemalism did not amount to a complete shift or replacement of the Kemalist paradigm. However, it can be said that their trials and errors heralded the AKP success. With the relative power advantage vested by the single party rule and staunch pursuit of the EU reforms in the name of civilianization of politics in Turkey, it is the AKP government, which has been able to gradually eliminate the institutional and bureaucratic resistance of the Kemalist elite, particularly the military. For example, one result of the deterioration of the Turkish-Israeli relations after the 2008-2009 Israeli-Gaza Conflict was that Turkey, under AKP government, barred Israel from participating in the Anatolian Eagle air force exercise in 2009 also freezing arms deals with Israel. In the same situation, it would be expected that the Erbakan government would not have had enough clout over the military, which had close relations with Israel, to do the same. This proves how the AKP government has been able to subdue the Kemalist aspect of the Turkish military. However, the data shows that political deterioration in relations with Israel did not reflect on trade relations between Turkey and Israel.

The examination of Turkish foreign policy under the AKP government showed that replacing the Kemalist foreign policy priorities with those of neo-Ottoman did not result in Turkey's radical departure from the west. Instead, Turkey continued to be part of

the western bloc while also increasing its relations with the West. This can be called as "*diversification of foreign policy options*". For example, although it began formal membership negotiations with the EU in 2006, the next year, Turkey expressed its intention to become a member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which is considered to be an alternative to EU.

Between 2003 and 2011, the Turkish foreign policy experienced an unprecedented activism. One of the most striking characteristics of the proactive Turkish foreign policy during this time was that it carried the neo-Ottomanist features. For example, as opposed to the traditional Kemalist understanding of foreign policy that advocates the preservation of the status quo, the neo-Ottoman ideology prompted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under Ahmet Davutoglu to engage with Cyprus and Armenia, which were considered taboo. Strikingly, the AKP government eliminated Rauf Denktas, who supported an independent Turkish republic in the north, and promoted a united Cyprus, which to most Kemalists and nationalist was "treachery". Likewise, the bold step came when Turkey and Armenia decided to establish political communication, although this was to some extent dictated by the United States.

The extent of activism in Turkish foreign policy went far beyond the traditional limits of Turkey and extended as far as Latin America and Africa. This manifested itself with the rapid proliferation of consular entities in the aforementioned continents. As foreign policy instrument, under the AKP government the soft power concept replaced the more security oriented Kemalist view, which brought pro-active and preemptive involvement of foreign issues. One such remarkable example was the attempt to reach a political resolution to the Iranian nuclear issue, pioneered by Turkey and Brazil. Furthermore, Turkey witnessed the rise of identity politics under the AKP government.

The common denominator, Islam, was the driving force in Davutoglu's shuttle diplomacy between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. The term "Mosque Diplomacy" was also used to define Turkey's willingness to reach to the Muslims of the Balkans. Certainly, the identity based diplomacy, be it Islam or Turkishness, is a major departure from the Kemalist tenets of the traditional Turkish foreign policy.

The comparison between the Ozal and Erbakan showed that while both policymakers pursued neo-Otomanist foreign policy, they differed in their interpretation of identity politics. They both recognized Islam as a common denominator but they again differed in how they perceive Islam. While Erbakan focused on a more third wordlist Islamic foreign policy, Ozal's focus was mostly the newly independent Muslim-Turkic former Communist/Socialist countries in the Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Balkans. The AKP era foreign policy can be a combination of both Ozal and Erbakan, thus more encompassing and comprehensive.

In sum, while Menderes, Ozal and Erbakan challenged the status quo in foreign policy, by pursuing exceptionally active policies abroad, they failed to completely overcome the Kemalist institutions and their bureaucracy and create a shift in the paradigm. The chart below compares the periods of governments that are included in this dissertation in terms of their ideological features.

Ideological Comparison

Kemalism	Ozal	Erbakan	The AKP
Anti-Ottomanist	Neo-Ottomanist	Neo-Ottomanist	Neo-Ottomanist
Exclusionist (*Kurds&Pious Muslims*)	Pluralist (*accepting Kurds and pious Muslims*)	Pluralist (*accepting Kurds and pious Muslims*)	Pluralist (*accepting Kurds and pious Muslims*)
Anti-Identity foreign policy (*anti-Islam, anti pan-Turkist*)	Turkish-Islam Identity Synthesis (The Muslim-Turks in Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Balkans)	Islam is the common denominator in identity politics. (*Creating D-8 based on Islamic identity e.g*)	Islam is the common denominator in identity politics. (The Hamas in Gaza, the Rohingya Muslims in Burma e.g)
In terms of Turks, the Focus is on the Turks in Anatolia	In terms of Turks, the focus is on the Turks in the newly independent Communist/Socialist states.	In terms of Turks, the Focus is on the Turkish migrants in Europe. (The Political/Financial Source of the National View Movement)	In terms of Turks, the focus is on worldwide Turkish population. (*Attempts to create a Turkish diaspora concept*)
Pro-Western	Pro-Western	Anti-Western	Pro-Western
One Dimensional Foreign Policy	Multi-Dimensional Foreign Policy	One Dimensional Foreign Policy	Multi-Dimensional Foreign Policy
Reactive Foreign Policy	Pro-Active Foreign Policy	Pro-Active Foreign Policy	Pro-Active Foreign Policy
Security Oriented Foreign Policy/ the Sevres Syndrome	Mixture of Soft and Hard Power in Foreign Policy (Willing to annex Mosul and Kirkuk. Willing to Militarily Confront Armenia in the Nagarno Karabagh War e.g)	Soft Power Oriented Foreign Policy. (Establishing economic and political relations with the Muslim countries e.g)	Soft Power Oriented Foreign Policy (Until 2011) [Emphasizing the Cultural Ties with near Abroad.
Etatist/State Control in Economy	Liberal Economy (Aspiring to turn Turkey into a "small America" with liberal economic policies)	Liberal Economy (Emphasizing the Importance of Private Entrepreneurship)	Liberal Economy (Sweeping privatization of the State Owned Enterprises. Attracting the Gulf/Oil Money in Turkey.)

Applying the Theory

*The policymaking process can be structured by a particular set of **ideas**, just as it can be structured by a set of **institutions**. The two often reinforce each other since the routines of policymaking are usually designed to reflect a particular set of ideas about what can and should be done in a sphere of policy.*[814]	The Kemalist elite utilized the Kemalist ideology in order to create a paradigm. While before the advent of multi-party system it was the People's Republican Party (PRP) that represented the Kemalist ideology as well as supervised its application in the state and over masses, after the 1960 coup, the military became the spearhead of the Kemalist ideology, protecting it from the perceived internal and external threats. Besides the Military, the other Kemalist Institutions such as the Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors and the Council of Higher Educations, in cooperation with each other, served to uphold the Kemalist principles.
*One of the most important explanatory variables is the **ideas** due to the fact that policy change is typically highly constrained because the ideas that support **the status quo** remain extremely powerful. However, in the presence of paradigmatic shifts the policies themselves can be transformed, creating a new equilibrium and a severe break from the past.*[815]	Ozal and Erbakan were highly constrained to change the policy paradigm/staus quo (the Kemalism) because the reinforcing symbiotic relationship between the Kemalist institutions/bureaucracy and the ideology rendered it difficult to alter the prevalent paradigm until the beginning of the AKP era.
*The movement from one paradigm to another that characterizes third order change is likely to involve the **accumulation of anomalies**, **experimentation with new forms of policy**, and policy failures that precipitate a shift in the locus of authority over policy and initiate a wider contest between competing paradigms.*[816]	Due to its exclusionist nature (especially the pious Muslims and Kurds) the Kemalist top-down revolution failed to embrace a wide portion of the Turks, which led to the emergence and the rise of the "periphery". This "anomaly" for the Kemalist paradigm culminated in the emergence of political movements and actors like Ozal and Erbakan, who experimented with new form of policy (neo-Ottomanism) albeit failed due to the potency of the existing status-quo. However, for the Kemalist policy realm, the growing anomaly precipitated in the formation of the AKP government.
*Third-order change entails simultaneous changes in **instrument settings**, **instruments themselves**, **and the rearrangement of policy goals**.*[817]	As seen in Chapter 7, the AKP took over the Kemalist institutions/bureaucracy one by one in order to implement its own agenda. At the same time the AKP's manifested policy goal, neo-Ottomanism, is a through discrediting of the Kemalist ideology. For example, the neo-Ottomanism in foreign policy promotes soft-power as an instrument unlike Kemalism, which is security oriented and hard power is paramount.
"…the actions constituting	The process that culminated in the replacement of the

814 Peter Hall, (Apr., 1993) "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain", Comparative Politics, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Apr., 1993), p. 290

815 Frank Baumgartner, Ideas and Policy Change, Governance, Volume 26, Issue 2, April 2013 p. 240

816 Hall, Policy Paradigms…, p. 280

817 Hall, p. 279

paradigm shift cannot be pinned down to a single moment in time *and that should be considered as a phrase in a broader process of change.*"[818]	Kemalist paradigm with that of neo-Ottomanism by the AKP can be said to have started all the way back to early 1950s, by which time the Menderes Government began to take aim at the Kemalist ideology and institutions. Although, failed, this process continued in the decades to come. Ozal and Erbakan challenged the tenets of Kemalism during their tenure.
"…an idea's time arrives not simply because the idea is compelling on its own terms, but because ***opportune political circumstances*** *favor it. At those moments when a political idea finds persuasive expression among actors whose institutional position gives them both the motive and the opportunity to translate it into policy-then, and only then, can we say that an idea has found a time.*" [819]	Ozal and Erbakan could not fully go against the Kemalist establishment because they lacked opportune political circumstances. The institutions of the Kemalist establishment were simply too powerful to overcome for the two. The AKP, however, was able to translate its ideology into policy when the right time came after the government was able to subdue the Turkish military and the other Kemalist institutions.
*"****Replacing an earlier elite*** *to* ***institutionalize the new paradigm*** *may occur relying on force, as in coup d'état or violent revolution,* ***through democratic process****, such as elections or nominations, societal negotiation, or generational cohort shift. A new group or coalition with a new paradigm or model of institutional arrangements appears on the scene and assumes a position of power, enabling it to bring about a substantial shift in the institutional paradigm and arrangements.*[820]	No sooner did the AKP acquire the required power to silence the Kemalist institutions and bureaucracy, the Kemalist upper echelon in those institutions were replaced by those who are pro-AKP. For example, the AKP was able to exert enough influence at the National Security Council to get pro-government officers to become the Chief of Staff of the Turkish armed forces. This replacement process occurred, as Carson suggests, through democratic elections that conslolidated the power of the AKP.

[818] Marcus Carson, Tom R. Burns, Dolores Calvo eds. (2009) Paradigms in Public Policy: Theory and Practice of Paradigm Shifts in the EU. Peter Lang GmbH. 1st edition, pp. 377-378
[819] Robert C. Lieberman, Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change. The American Political Science Review, Vol. 96, No. 4 (Dec., 2002), p. 709
[820] Carson et.al, p. 21

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