Chapter 1

Introduction

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The tectonic forces that reshaped international relations at the end of the twentieth century—the collapse of the Soviet Union, ethnic conflicts in the Balkans and Eurasia, the growing stridency of Islamic fundamentalism, globalization of national economies, and increasing demands for democratization and civil society—also thrust Turkey into an increasingly pivotal role on the geopolitical stage. The aftershocks at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the events of September 11, 2001, the global spread of anti-Western terrorism, the U.S. invasion of Iraq, and the cracking of consensus in NATO and the UN threw up additional challenges for Turkey that have confirmed and complicated its critical role. How Turkey will react to these external forces and aftershocks and hence shape its destiny in the new international arena raises fundamental questions as to the future of Turkish foreign policy.

Pondering the future in times of transformation and challenge is not intended as a pretentious exercise. It is rather a normal reaction to the unpredictability of what is to come and the desire to pattern it from experience of what has been. This tension is reflected in the aphorisms of two well-known spokesmen from earlier times of global political upheavals, the American and French Revolutions. "I know no way of judging the future but by the past," said Patrick Henry, the American liberal. "You can never plan the future by the past," said his philosophical opponent, Edmund Burke, the British conservative.[1]

1. Jane Carson, *Patrick Henry, Prophet of the Revolution* (Williamsburg: Virginia Independence Bicentennial Commission, 1979), p. 45 (quoting from Henry's Speech to Virginia Convention, Richmond, March 1775); Edmund Burke, *A Letter to a Member of the National Assembly, 1791* (Oxford: Woodstock Books, 1990), p. 73.

In the face of this paradox, the aim of this book is to seek answers to the following fundamental questions: what are the critical foreign policy issues that the Turkish Republic will face in the coming years? What perspectives do its foreign policymakers adopt in order to fashion solutions to those issues? We intend that the answers to these questions will give the reader insights into the formative principles that guide Turkish foreign policymaking and an understanding of the directions that Turkish foreign policy may take in the next decade or so.

The contributors to this work include both analysts and advocates, Turks and non-Turks. Each offers a complex world-view that matches the complexities of foreign policy decision-making in general and Turkey's foreign policy in particular. There are no simplistic or ideological answers to the baffling issues that bedevil the future of Turkish foreign policymaking. Nor do the world-views of the contributors mirror the shifting viewpoints of Turkey's domestic political parties—center left, center right, nationalists, Islamists, "Republicans," and so forth. The experts who advocate solutions to the foreign policy issues posed in this volume are fairly balanced. As a result there are no easy labels that caption their complex philosophies, such as "conservatives" or "liberals." However, for propaedeutic purposes we may refer to the most common opposition of viewpoints as that between advocates of continuity and advocates of change.

To present the guiding principles of Turkish foreign policy and its future challenges, we adopt three perspectives. The first is historical and philosophical. Thus, we open with an outline of the history of modern Turkish foreign policy, then feature the philosophical differences that affect policy choices. The second perspective is geographic and strategic. As befits a state situated at the intersection of Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, we examine challenges from all three directions. First we view the challenges from the West: Turkey's relations with the United States, Europe, and also Greece. Then we look at the challenges from the East: Turkey's relations with Russia and the buffer states, and also challenges from the Middle East. Finally, we consider challenges raised by Turkey's strategic needs and resources: its water supplies and energy demands.

Our third perspective derives from Turkey's domestic politics. We review the challenges to the future of Turkish foreign policy that are raised by the international dimensions of Turkey's development of a civil society: Islamization, the Kurdish question, and human rights. These are the foreign policy determinants that arise from Turkey's vibrant domestic politics and the clash between the advocates of Kemalist continuity within the regime and the advocates of change within its diverse ethnic and religious political community.

Let us take a closer look at what each contribution to the book provides. Feroz Ahmad's contribution, "The Historical Background of Turkey's Foreign Policy," lays the historical groundwork for the conflict of principles in the Republic's foreign policy. He examines the period from the founding of the Republic in 1923 to Turkey's entry into NATO almost thirty years later. With what degree of consistency did the Republic apply its Kemalist principles of foreign policymaking during this period?

How should the Turkish Republic apply these principles after the end of the Cold War, September 11, and the military intrusion of the United States in Iraq? How will Turkey reconcile its Kemalist conservatism in foreign affairs with its new public role as a pivotal actor on the global stage? The contributors reflect a collective endorsement of the need for Turkish activism at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Where they differ is in describing the type of activism that the foreign policy establishment in Ankara should pursue.

This clash of philosophies is evident in the eloquent contributions to the book by Mümtaz Soysal, "The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy," and Cengiz Çandar, "Turkish Foreign Policy and the War on Iraq." Soysal advocates continuity and holding the course. Çandar takes the opposite view and urges reform. They differ on the implications of history, the priorities that the decision makers must consider, and the risks to which they must respond.

What are the foreign policy issues over which the advocates of continuity and of change may clash in seeking to steer the state in the future? Turkey's primary geostrategic goals are to maintain strong relationships in the West, with Europe, and with the United States. Joining the European Union (EU), in fact, represents a cardinal objective of Turkey's Western-oriented foreign policy. Atila Eralp's chapter, "Turkey and the European Union," examines the glacis to the Helsinki Summit of 1999 and considers what steps after Helsinki both the Europeans and Turkey might take to improve Turkey's chances of becoming a full member of the EU.

Ian Lesser's chapter, "Turkey and the United States: Anatomy of a Strategic Relationship," considers the potential dilemma facing Turkey in pursuing accession to the EU at the same time as it maintains a strategic bilateral relationship with the United States. On the one hand, the U.S. relationship is critical for Turkey's achievement of certain security goals in its "dangerous neighborhood." On the other hand, maintaining that relationship where U.S. and European interests diverge may impinge on Turkey's chances of joining the EU.

A similar paradox lies at the heart of Turkey's relations with Greece, which also has a hand on the key to Turkey's entry into the EU. Panayotis Tsakonas and Thanos Dokos, in "Greek-Turkish Relations in the Early

Twenty-first Century: A View from Athens," present the Greek view of the future of this relationship. Is it possible to reduce the tensions and resolve the open issues between these often hostile neighbors?

Looking to the East, Turkey has faced similar risks of hostilities with Russia (and earlier with the Soviet Union) as well as tensions in the Middle East. Oktay Tanrısever's chapter, "Turkey and Russia in Eurasia," lays out succinctly the interplay between cooperation and competition between Ankara and Moscow over economic advantages and influence in the predominantly Muslim Eurasian buffer states between the two powers. Is greater cooperation possible between Turkey and Russia in the future?

My own chapter, "Turkey's Middle East Foreign Policy," explores the dilemmas that confront the Republic resulting from its pursuit of converging and diverging interests with the major Middle Eastern actors in this unstable region, and the additional dilemma created by the introduction of U.S. forces in Iraq. What policies should Ankara implement to further its national interests under such complex conditions?

Some of the dilemmas of Turkey's Middle Eastern policy arise from its strategic advantage in the control of water sources for two neighbors, Syria and Iraq, and its strategic need to import two critical energy sources, oil and gas. İlter Turan's chapter, "Water and Turkish Foreign Policy," explores the foreign policy implications of Turkey's control over the Euphrates and Tigris, as well as Turkey's ability to offer water as an inducement for achieving other foreign policy goals.

Fiona Hill's chapter, "Caspian Conundrum: Pipelines and Energy Networks," explores Turkey's search for energy security through the development of oil and gas supply networks in the Caucasus and Central Asia. This search puts Turkey in direct competition with Russia and Iran over routing pipelines through states troubled by ethnic and religious strife, in regions in which the United States and its allies have strong interests in the outcomes of that competition.

Focusing Turkey's often problematic foreign relations will not suffice to ensure a tension-free future in the new world order. The Turkish Republic's domestic policies in pursuit of a civil society themselves have international dimensions and create challenges for its future foreign policy. For example, Turkey's becoming a full member of the EU also depends upon its achieving significant reforms in its economy, reconciliation of its secular democracy with the demands of its multifaceted Islamic movement, sensitive treatment of its Kurdish minority, and noteworthy improvement of its human rights record.

Sencer Ayata explores the foreign policy ramifications of the increasing strength of the Islamic movement within Turkey in his chapter,

"Changes in Domestic Politics and the Foreign Policy Orientation of the AK Party." What are the implications for Ankara's foreign policy of the new political discourse adopted by the moderate Islamist AK (Justice and Development) Party, after its surprising electoral victory in 2002?

The unwillingness of the Turkish military to prevent or overcome the parliament's decision not to join the United States in its invasion of Iraq in the spring of 2003 contrasts with the military's strong-handed treatment of the Kurdish separatist guerrilla movement, the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK), and its political supporters. In "The Kurdish Question and Turkish Foreign Policy," Kemal Kirişci examines the multiple foreign policy implications of the Kurdish issue that has troubled the Republic since its inception. Even after the abatement of the activities of the PKK following the capture and trial of the PKK leader, has the Republic been able to come to grips with the demands for recognition of a distinct Kurdish identity and culture within the Turkish state?

If the answer is negative, there will be continuing international criticism of Turkey's human rights record. Elizabeth Andersen's chapter, "The Impact of Foreign Relations on Human Rights in Turkey," describes the inconsistencies of the international criticism of Turkey's human rights record. Is there hope for human rights improvements in the future?

Dimitris Keridis sums up the intersection of Turkish domestic politics and its foreign policymaking in his thought-provoking chapter, "Foreign Strategies and Domestic Choices: Balancing between Power Politics and Interdependence."

In the concluding chapter, the editors challenge the reader to appreciate the complexity of Turkish foreign policy and to consider the ways in which future foreign policy choices may contribute to making Turkey into the dynamic, influential, secure, and prosperous state it has the promise to be.