

**Centre for West Asian Studies
School of International Studies**

Course: **PhD**

Course No: **WA 637**

Course Title: ***Foreign Policy of Turkey***

Course Type: Optional

Course Teacher: Prof. Aswini K Mohapatra

Credits: Four

Contact Hours: Four per Week

Evaluation Methods: Sessional Assignments & Semester Examination.

Course Objective:

Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) is a sub-field of International Relations (IR) discipline. It is a multilevel analysis of external behaviour of states by linking international and regional systemic factors to their domestic state-structure and perceptual orientation of the decision-makers. Based on this conceptual framework, the Course will provide students with theoretical grounding to analyse continuity and change in the foreign policy of Turkey since its emergence as a modern Republic from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire in 1923.

Learning Outcomes

The Course seeks to encourage students to undertake theory-oriented research to explain rather than understand why a country behaves the way as it does. The analytical skills acquired by students will not only motivate them to pursue innovative domain-specific research but also enable them to opt for career in the foreign policy establishment, research institutes, think-tanks and media outlets.

Course Content

Unit I: Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA)

Theoretical Perspectives: Realist, Neo-classical realist and Innenpolitikers

Operational Environment: international and regional setting; domestic state-structure; power resources; role of media, interest groups and civil society

Decisional Unit: decision-making structure & process; perceptual orientation of the decision-makers

Unit II: Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy

Geographical location; Population & Ethnic Composition; Collapse of Ottoman Empire & Emergence of Secular Kemalist Republic; Evolution of Turkish Polity; Military in Politics;

Etatism to Free-market Economy; Kurdish ethno-nationalism; Islamic Revivalism & Rise of the Justice & Development Party (AKP).

Unit III: Neutrality to Alliance: Foreign Policy Shift in Post-War II Period

Tenets of Kemalist Foreign Policy; Inter-War Years: Non-involvement in European affairs, Turco-Soviet Friendship Treaty of March 1921, Turco-Greek Rapprochement of 1930, Montevideo Convention of 1936; Cold War in the Near East: Soviet Pressure for joint Control of Bosphorus and Dardanelles and territorial claims; Western Alignment: Entry into the European Council & NATO; Baghdad Pact & CENTO; Americanisation of Turkey's Foreign Policy; Ramifications of Cuban Missile Crisis & Cyprus Conflict; Turco-Greek Dispute over the Aegean Sea; Turkish intervention in Cyprus & American Arms Embargo in 1974; Rise of anti-Americanism & Beginning of a Multi-faced Foreign Policy

Unit IV: Bridging Role: Second Cold War Phase

Collapse of East-West Détente; Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan; 1979 Iranian Revolution & Iran-Iraq War; Arc of Crisis & Onset of New Cold War; Turkey's strategic saliency as West's Frontline State; End of Embargo & Resumption of American Military Assistance; 1980 Coup in Turkey; Kurdish Insurgency; Rise of Centre-Right Motherland Party under Turgut Ozal; National Role Conception as a Geo-Political Bridge between East & West; Economic Liberalisation & Diversification of External Relations; Rapprochement with Greece; Upgrading of Diplomatic Relations with Israel; Improvement in Bilateral Relations with Soviet Union & India; Trade Diversion to West Asia; Policy of Non-Interference & Neutrality in the Intra-West – Asian Affairs.

Unit V: Multi-Regional Power Role: Post-Cold War Era

End of Col War Rivalry & Disintegration of former Communist Super-Power; Disappearance of Soviet Threat & Strategic Space for Turkey's Regional Power Role; Turkey during the 1990-91 Gulf Crisis; Turkey-Israeli Axis & Active Engagement in West Asia; Efforts to fill Power Vacuum in the Post-Soviet Central Asia & Caucasus; Bilateral Tensions with Greece in Eastern Mediterranean; Balkan Conflict; Issue of EU Membership & Cyprus; Islamic Turn/Thrust in Foreign Policy under RecepTayyip Erdogan's AKP; Strategic Depth & Neo-Ottoman Space; From Zero-Problems with Neighbours to Zero Friends in Post-Arab Spring West Asia; Growing Foreign Policy Ambitions & Limitations

Unit VI: Diversification of Relations: South Asia, Central Asia & Africa

Relations with India & Pakistan; Soft Power projection & pro-active Engagement in Central Asia & Africa; Scope & Limitations

Basic Readings:

- Alaranta, Toni (2022), *Turkey's Foreign Policy Narratives: Implications of Global Power Shifts*, Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing
- Alden, Chris and Aran, Amnon (2017), *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches*, London: Routledge
- Aydin, Mustafa and Ismael, Tareq Y. (2003), eds., *Turkey's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: A Changing Role in World Politics*, London: Routledge
- Brecher, Michael (1972), *The Foreign Policy System of Israel: Setting, Images, Process*, London: Oxford University Press
- Couloumbis, Theodore A. (1983), *The United States, Greece and Turkey: The Troubled Alliance*, New York: Praeger
- Hale, William and Ozbudun, Ergun (2000), *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000*, London: Routledge
- Ercan, Pınar Gözen (2017), *Turkish Foreign Policy: International Relations, Legality and Global Reach*, London: Palgrave-Macmillan
- Erik, Cornell (2001), *Turkey in the 21st Century: Opportunities, Challenges, And Threats*, London: Routledge
- Gunter, Michael (2018), *Routledge Handbook on the Kurds*, London: Routledge
- Jonathan, Alford (1984), "Greece and Turkey; Adversary in Alliance", *Adelphi Paper*, no. 12, pp. 91-119
- Jongerden, Joost (2021), *The Routledge Handbook on Contemporary Turkey*, London: Routledge
- Kuniholm, Bruce R. (1980), *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East*, Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Lewis, Bernard (1968), *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London: Oxford University Press
- Mohapatra, Aswini Kumar (2008), "Bridge to Anatolia: An Overview of Indo-Turkish Relations", *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations* (Ankara), vol. 39, pp. 159-181
- (January-March 2001), "Turkey's Quest for a Regional Role in Central Asia", *International Studies*, vol. 38, no.1, pp. 29-52
- Robbins, Philip (March 2013), "Turkey's 'double gravity' Predicament: The Foreign Policy of a Newly Activist Power", *International Affairs*, vol. 89, no. 2, pp. 381-397
- Vali, Ferenc (1971), *Bridge Across the Bosphorus: The Foreign Policy of Turkey*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press

Suggested Readings:

- Casier, Marlies and Jongerden, Joost (2010), *Nationalisms and Politics in Turkey: Political Islam, Kemalism and the Kurdish Issue*, London: Routledge
- Cornell, Svante (Winter 2012), "What Drives Turkish Foreign Policy?", *Middle East Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 13-24
- Dal, Emel Parlar (June 2012), "The Transformation of Turkey's Relations with the Middle East: Illusion or Awakening?", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 245-267

Demir, Mustafa (2019), *The Geopolitics of Turkey–Kurdistan Relations: Cooperation, Security Dilemmas, and Economies*, London: Lexington Books

Deringil, Selim (1983), *Turkish Foreign Policy during the Second World War: An Active Neutrality*, London: Cambridge University Press

Hale, William and Ozbudun, Ergun (2010), *Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey: The Case of the AKP*, London: Routledge

Gunes, Cengiz and Welat Zeydanlioglu (2013), eds., *The Kurdish Question in Turkey: New Perspectives on Violence, Representation and Reconciliation*, London: Routledge

Hughes, Edel (2011), *Turkey's Accession to the European Union: The Politics of Exclusion*, London: Routledge

Isiksal, Hüseyin and Örmeci, Ozan (2015), eds., *Turkish Foreign Policy in the New Millennium*, Peter Lang GmbH: Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften

Karaosmanglu, Ali (Fall 1983), "Turkey's Security and the Middle East", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 62, no. 1, pp. 157-175

Kardas, Saban (Spring 2010), "Turkey: Redrawing the Middle East Map or Building Sandcastles?", *Middle East Policy*, vol. 17, no.1, pp. 115-136

Karpat, Kemal H. (1975), *Turkey's Foreign Policy in Transition*, London: E. J. Brill

Kreyenbroek, Philip G. and Sperl, Stefan (1992), eds., *The Kurds: A Contemporary Review* London: Routledge

Kubicek, Paul (2017), "The New Sultan: Erdogan and the Crisis of Modern Turkey", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 752-763

Kutlay, Mustafa and Öniş, Ziya (July 2021), "Turkish Foreign Policy in a Post-Western Order: Strategic Autonomy or New Forms of Dependence?", *International Affairs*, vol. 97, no. 4, pp. 1085–1104

Mohapatra, Aswini Kumar (2011), "Turkey's Transition to Liberal Democracy and the Issue of Its EU Membership", *India Quarterly*, vol. 67, no. 2, pp. 149-164

----- (1997), "Cyprus Conflict: An Overview" in R. C. Sharma and Stavros Epaminondas (ed.), *Cyprus: In Search for Peace and Justice*, New Delhi: Somali Publication

Mufti, Malik (Summer 2014), "Arab Reaction to Turkey's Regional Reengagement", *Insight Turkey*, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 15-23

Oguzlu, Tarik (March 2008), "Middle Easternization of Turkey's Foreign Policy: Does Turkey Dissociate from the West?", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 3-20

Robbins, Philip (2003), "Confusion at Home, Confusion Abroad: Turkey between Copenhagen and Iraq", *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no.3, pp. 647-566

----- (1990), *Turkey and the Middle East*, London: Printer/RIIA

Sozen, Ahmet (2010), "A Paradigm Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy: Transition and Challenges", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 103-123

Uslu, Ali Resul (2011), *Democracy in Turkey: The Impact of EU Political Conditionality*, London: Routledge

Yilmaz, Barton, Greg and Barry, James (2017), "The Decline and Resurgence of Turkish Islamism: The Story of Tayyip Erdogan's AKP", *Journal of Citizenship and Globalization Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 48-62