



Hacettepe University the Graduate School of Social Sciences

The Department of International Relations

**WESTERNISM IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY: FROM
EMPIRE TO THE REPUBLIC**

Sedef BULUT

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2015

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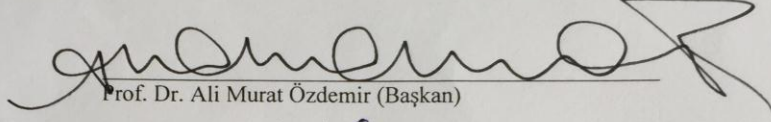
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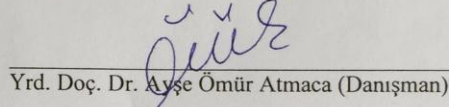
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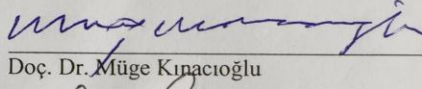
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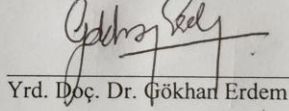
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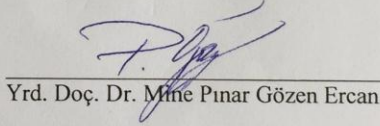
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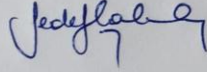
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DEDICATION

**Ömrümün tek hayali evlatlarım; Mustafa Selim'e ve Ayşenur Jülide'ye;
Ömrümce onları birbirine en yakın evlatlarımın isimlerinde gördüğüm anneme ve
babama;
Ömrümün "Boğaziçi" eşime...**

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ÖZET

BULUT, Sedef. İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türk Dış Politikası'nda Batıcılık, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2015.

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'nin Batıcılık yolculuğu, farklı lider-ideoloji tertiplerine bağlı olarak inşa edilen siyasi terminoloji ve bu terminoloji içinde tanımı ile tatbiki değişmesine rağmen, mevcudiyeti sabit kalan, Türk Dış Politikası'nın Batıcılık unsuru tetkik edilmiştir. Bu tezin ana maksadı, Türkiye'nin farklı yönetim şekilleri ve liderlikler altında dahi, sahip olduğu kültür, ikamet ettiği coğrafya ve tarihi mirası dolayısıyla, yönünü Batı'dan başka bir yöne çeviremeyecek olmakla beraber, Batı karşısındaki siyasi gücünü muhafaza için çok yönlü politikalar izleme mecburiyetinde oluşunu, iç ve dış politika olaylarından örnekler vermek suretiyle takdim etmektir. İlaveten, Türkiye'de bir Dış Politika unsuru olmasının yanı sıra, bir fikir akımı olarak da Batıcılık incelenirken; lider ve konjonktür kaynaklı Batıcılık algısı farklılıklarının, politika uygulamalarına aksi değerlendirilmiş, bu sayede, liderin ve terminoloji inşasının politikaların şekillenmesindeki tesiri sunulmaya çalışılmıştır. Sözkonusu fikir ve tespitler, özellikle dönüm noktası teşkil ettiği düşünülen; İttihat ve Terakki Partisi'nin iktidara gelişi, Cumhuriyet'in ilanı ve Atatürk Dönemi, Soğuk Savaş'ın başlaması ve bitişi, askerî darbeler, Turgut Özal'ın açılım politikaları ve Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin iktidara gelişi gibi, siyasi hadise ve liderlerle örneklendirilerek desteklenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Dış Politikası, Batıcılık, Çok Yönlülük, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti

ABSTRACT

BULUT, Sedef. Westernism in Turkish Foreign Policy: From Empire to the Republic, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2015.

In this study, Turkey's Westernism journey has been analysed and the constructed political terminology in accordance with the leader-ideology combinations and despite its modified definitions and implementations within that constructed terminology the invariable Westernism element of Turkish Foreign Policy have been examined. The main purpose of this thesis is to present through examples from domestic and foreign political events that even under different regimes and leaderships, because of its culture, geography and historical legitimacy, though being unable to head another direction than the West, Turkey always had to follow multidimensional policies to conserve its political strength before the West. In addition, while analysing Westernism as an ideological stream of thought, besides it being one of the elements of Foreign Policy in Turkey; the reflection of the differences of Westernist perceptions on the policy implementations, sourced from the leaders and the conjuncture, has been investigated and through this the influence of the leader and the terminology construction in policy development has tried to presented. The aforementioned ideas and evaluations have tried to be supported via exemplification of political events and leaders which are considered to constitute turning points as; the Union and Progress Party's come into power, proclamation of the Republic and Atatürk Period, the beginning of the Cold War and its end, the military coups, Turgut Özal's initiative policies and Justice and Development Party's come into power.

Keywords: Turkish Foreign Policy, Westernism, Multi-dimensionality, Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey

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ABBREVIATIONS

- ANAP : Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party)
- DNA : Deoxyribonucleic acid
- EC : European Community
- EEC : European Economic Committee
- EU : European Union
- IMF : International Monetary Fund
- ISIS : Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham
- JDP : Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)
- MLF : Multi-Lateral Force
- MNP : Milli Nizam Partisi (National Order Party)
- NATO : North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- PKK : Kurdistan Workers' Party
- RPP : Republican People's Party
- US : United States
- USA : United States of America
- USSR : United Soviet Socialist Republics
- WTO : World Trade Organization

INTRODUCTION

The motivations being of a variety, Turkey¹'s relations with the West occurred on an on-going basis. The West found meaning in Turkish politics sometimes as a target to overcome and sometimes as a union to become a part of but it always possessed a civilizational denotation rather than merely a geographical direction.

The purpose of this study is to present the Westernisation journey of Turkey in the frame of Foreign Policy, starting from the period of the Ottoman Empire till today's Republican period. Concerning this period of time in Turkish Foreign Policy the literature is quite wide however, within the frame of this study the works of some scholars are often taken as reference guide as the footnotes demonstrate. Baskin Oran, as one of the most often referred authors in this study, with his books and articles does not only present events that took place in Turkish Foreign Policy but also through giving coverage to views and comments of other scholars in the field and adding his personal viewpoint to those events, reveals a better understanding of the issues. Faruk Sönmezoğlu may be regarded to walk on a similar road with Baskin Oran in Turkish Foreign Policy analysis as well. The difference making common point of these two scholars is that they establish a meaningful relation between IR Theory, Diplomatic History and Foreign Policy which enrich the field of IR study very much. Fahir Armaoğlu's, Oral Sander's, Mehmet Gönlübol's and Cem Sar's works are very much benefitted in this study's historical follow-up of events. Besides their successful presentation of historical events in their works their interpretation of them are surely very sound with the conjuncture that the events took place. The works of Kemal Gözler, Şeref Gözübüyük and Orhan Aldıkaçtı possessed the main place for sources of the legal documents within this study and especially views of Kemal Gözler in terms of the Westernist character of the legal documents were very inspiring. Kemal Karpat and Ramazan Gözen works are more occupied with the events in Turkish Foreign Policy

¹ Instead of pointing at a precise time course as Empire or Republic, Turkey is used here as a general name for the land of the Turkish.

which are of relatively contemporary and their comments are very valuable in the sense that they are representatives of a comparatively different viewpoint than the above mentioned scholars who give works in Turkish Foreign Policy. This study benefitted from the works of İlber Ortaylı very much in terms of both historical events and domestic and Foreign Policy issues since his perspective always stood distinct and his mergence of history and politics enlightens many other events. Bernard Lewis and Feroz Ahmad works surely are the most often used sources not only in this study but in all studies that analyse Turkey, Turkish Foreign Policy and the Westernism phenomenon in Turkey's geography. Their ideas and interpretations are certainly very valuable both for their detailed studies and their relatively objective views because of their foreign identity.

Although the time course of the Westernisation phenomenon of Turkey can be dated back much earlier than the Deed of Alliance in 1808, the starting point is chosen as such to provide concrete evidences for Westernisation through political reforms and constitutional regulations in order to demonstrate that the Westernisation in Turkey was not only a movement of thought but an ideal in terms of the level of development which was aimed to be achieved by a systematic and continuous effort. Certainly, while tracing Turkey on the road of Westernisation, there is always the concern of answering two questions behind the presentation of policies and events which are: why did Turkey choose to head in to the West and how did it walk on its Westernisation road or in other words in what fashion? Furthermore, although the study mainly focused on the Westernisation process of Turkey in the Foreign Policy field, the domestic politics of Turkey is often touched upon because of the interrelated nature of them, especially in the case of Turkey. The differences in Westernisation perception, particularly because of the social construction of the political terms, within the domestic community and amongst the politicians as well as the personal characteristics of the leaders, played a crucial role in terms of the policies adopted and decisions made for the short term, though the Foreign Policy axis of Turkey stayed Westernist in a certain manner.

The main reason for the choice of Westernisation process subject in Turkey is the belief that when an ideology (Westernism) is constructed for a community (and thus the country) in a sound manner, meaning that ideology to match with the social and cultural dynamics of the society and to be internalised by them; the analysis and understanding of that ideology enables a deeper reading of the developments in the domestic and foreign politics and the behaviours of the society while making a perfect foresight for the state behaviour possible. In this frame, the two different types of Westernism constructions and thus perceptions, one of them during the period of the Empire and the other during the Republican period, as well as the reflections of these perceptions on both the society and the policies are going to be analysed in this study. Although there is hardly a gap in the literature about Westernisation and Westernism of Turkish Foreign Policy, certainly the more a vital issue is discussed and the variety of viewpoints increased the better it is.

The method used for analysis in this study is more of a sampling one and through periodization, in the sense that the Westernisation phenomenon and the Westernism determinant of Turkish Foreign Policy have tried to be presented through the events, the policies and the leaders in Turkish political life. Every period that the following chapters are going to indicate are going to underline the differences in political describing of terms as Westernism and Westernisation in accordance with the conjuncture. Therefore, the first chapter is going to be of the conceptual framework's which is going to reveal the leader-policy-conjuncture relationship while defining the often constructed terms as nation, nationalism, national identity, Westernism and modernism. The second chapter is going to start with the beginning of the reification of Westernism in the Ottoman Empire and thus briefing the legal documents as the Deed of Alliance, the Gulhane Hatt-ı Sharif, the Edict of Reform, 1st and 2nd Constitutions and finalise with the analysis of the Union and Progress Party's ideology and influence on that period's politics. The third chapter is going to be carrying the second chapter to the forth by emphasising the smoothness of the transition period from the Empire to the Republic. Third chapter's subject is going to be on Atatürk's struggle for national sovereignty, the proclamation of the Republic and the Republic's Foreign Policy determinants. After the demonstration of what is perceived by certain Foreign Policy

determinants as status quoism and Westernism, the fourth chapter is going to put forward the Foreign Policy with and without Atatürk while presenting the fact that the Foreign Policy issues which occupied the early years of the Republic were mostly of the Empire's political legitimacy merged with the Republic's new policies. The last chapter is going to lay out "the period of military coups" and the "period of change" with Turgut Özal, concluding with the Justice and Development Party's beginning period till 2010 with its leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Foreign Policy ideologue Ahmet Davutoğlu and their policies. A common point is going to be noticed between the events presented in the last chapter, which is the leaders and their personal characteristics as well as the conjuncture being very influential on Turkish politics.

Although the Conceptual Framework part is going to present the ideology of this study, there is good in stating here that the terms which are going to be underlined as socially constructed, constitutes the skeleton of this thesis since their different perceptions are capable of opening up totally distinct discussions. In the Conceptual Framework part, the terms "nation", "nationalism", "national identity", "Westernism" and "modernism" are going to be defined diversely. The main reason for this diversity is surely their social constructions since the origins of these terms are in Europe but their most often usage takes place in far geographies than Europe. Importation of terms from other languages certainly is to serve and meet a need, in other words to fill a term gap in a language in a certain society which has not witnessed an event that requires such naming. When nationalist movements started in the Balkans against the Ottoman Empire's unity, the Empire fell in need of constructing the meaning of the already imported term nationalism as something almost as patriotism as the first and the second chapter are going to reveal. The aim of this naming was obviously to keep the land of the Empire intact and prevent the nationalist movements within the Empire, which were mainly rooted from ethnicity and carried a secessionist character. For this aim, all the related terms as nation and national identity were constructed accordingly and although this construction did not prevent the Empire's and the ideologues of the Empire, the Unionists' nightmare of dissolution from coming true, the Republic benefited from these already constructed terms, which worked well for the unity of the Republic of Turkey.

Out of the constructed terms, Westernism stands out the most because of the variety of its perceptions. For the late Ottoman Period, Westernism meant to imitate the science and technology that is existent in the West in order to save the Empire from the backwardness that it is in, in positivist terms, although later it meant the Sultan to be more responsible to his people via the Western values as rights and liberties for the public through constitutional movements. The meaning of Westernism was used almost as synonyms with the term modernisation during the Ottoman Empire period since the measures taken for Westernisation were pointing the definition of modernisation. Modernisation is described by the Turkish Language Association as “the comprehensive social stream that tells the longing and struggle of the backward societies for reaching the most developed stage possible within the contemporary science and its implementation in fields as economy, science, culture, social order etc.”² The Republic on the other hand with Atatürk’s leadership, foresaw a total Westernisation, which included all Western norms and values as democracy and secularism as well as all Western living style as outfit, arts, literature, etc. The period after Atatürk witnessed a very sharp Westernism, which could not stand any signal of the otherwise with the fear of losing what Atatürk has achieved. However, as demonstrated in the last chapter with Menderes Period, through the support that the Democrat Party gained it rose to surface that the previous period went a bit too far with Westernism and came into conflict with the community. The following periods of the 60s, 70s and 80s witnessed much political turmoil within Turkey and seemingly during these periods rather than construction there were deconstructions as the last chapter is going to suggest. But the following Özal Period policies turned back to the active Westernism in Foreign Policy although he read things backward and followed intense policies towards other geographies to stand stronger before the West, in other words; made Turkish Foreign Policy multidimensional to make Turkey a stronger member of the West. The Justice and Development Party followed a similar path with Özal and neither denied the obligation of Westernism of Turkey nor accepted a unilateral Foreign Policy as Ahmet Davutoğlu

² Türk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Language Association), Büyük Türkçe Sözlük (Grand Turkish Dictionary), Çağdaşlaşma (Modernisation). See http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_bts&arama=kelime&guid=TDK.GTS.55799a4dacc14.28404758 (10.5.2015)

always underlined Turkey's Ottoman legacy and its relations with ex-Ottoman communities.

Certainly, the following chapters are going to struggle presenting a "journey" which took more than two centuries. However, the easy part of it is the cognition of the fact that Turkey, either as an Empire or as a Republic, always headed the West as a civilisation although with different intentions. Besides, when the Empire shrink into the Republic's current geography, almost all four sides became as the West for Turkey because of the Western influence and rule over the Middle East and Africa. Eventually, because of its history, culture and political tradition, seemingly Turkey is going to face the West for a long time but in the same time its geography is going to oblige it to be always cautious and forseeing about its East in specific because of these reasons as well.

CHAPTER 1

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

It is quite often in the literature to come across to scholars that approach to political issues as independent phenomena. This is sometimes because of their theoretical viewpoints and sometimes because it is simpler to analyse political issues without examining the decision-makers' deeply in terms of their socio-cultural background. However, if an analogy is possible to be made between a handcraft with its crafter and a policy with its maker; it would be quite difficult not to find the prints of the crafter on his handcraft just like a politician on his policy.

While analysing a certain political issue, the role of the leader(s) and conjuncture during the conduction of that policy is sometimes missed. It is more common in the literature to witness works on political science and International Relations that cite from diplomatic history and statistical data which may be considered as the prerequisites of an academic study. However, without understanding the social, cultural and historical background of the leader(s) and the conjuncture that he/she grew up in and thus the society and the domestic politics of a certain country, the analysis over any political issue concerning one or more countries, is going to be incomplete.

Then why is it so important to consider the role of the leader and conjuncture in more detail in analysing a political issue and policies concerning that issue? Margaret Hermann puts it as “personal characteristics (of the leader) are expected to affect both the style and content of Foreign Policy. Because beliefs and motives suggest ways of interpreting the environment, political leaders are likely to urge their governments to act in ways consistent with such images. Specifically, political leaders' beliefs and motives provide them with a map for charting their course.”³ Thus, although it is only a part of it, better analysis of the reasons for a certain type of political decision, the knowledge of

³ Margaret G. Hermann, “Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders”, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, March, 1980, pp. 7-46, p.10. (See also : <http://maihold.org/mediapool/113/1132142/data/Herrmann.pdf>) (retrieved on 13.5.2015)

the leader's personal characteristics and the conjuncture that was grown up in and the existing conjuncture that the decision of a policy is made in is of importance. Also as one of the famous Turkish diplomats/politicians Kamran İnan states "the success of a state' Foreign Policy lies beneath the success and intelligence of the leader that drives the policy"⁴ since the leader with all his/her characteristics is very influential on the policies that he/she produces and that the government adopts. For instance, Che Guevara was a socialist leader and him following socialist policies in accordance with his experiences as a medical student in South and Central America witnessing serious poverty and oppression besides his membership to a middle class family⁵ was not a coincidence. Surely there is a similar relation between Recep Tayyip Erdoğan having taken a religious education (surely with the consent of his family which implies his family's socio-political roots too) in his high school years and him keeping on with religious discourse, activities, policies and a special interest in the Muslim world in his political career in Turkey.⁶ So, especially leaders with sharp ideological viewpoints cannot be expected to isolate their beliefs of what is right and their political decisions about what should be done. One of the best examples about the role of the leader in the national policies of states is the example of Turgut Özal and the Foreign Policy during his period of rule in Turkey which will be presented in the third chapter of this study but for here it can be stated that Turgut Özal was one of the politicians in Turkish politics whose personal character became influential on his policies⁷ the most.

Consideration of the social, cultural and historical structure of the society and the conjuncture in the creation and conduct of the policies is of crucial importance for the success of policies whether it is of domestic or foreign kind. In this context, the leader of a state may easily be considered as representing the majority of the society in terms of worldview, beliefs and perception of his/her own nation and country in many aspects since that leader most of the time is a member of that society. Therefore, the leader

⁴ Kamran İnan, *Dış Politika*, "Dış Politika Faktörleri", İstanbul, Ötüken, 1994, see: http://web.itu.edu.tr/~yildizh/Kitaplar/Sosyal_guncel/dis_politika.htm (retrieved on 17.2.2015)

⁵ Che Guevara (1928 - 1967), BBC History, see: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/guevara_che.shtml (18.2.2015)

⁶ Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı (TCCB), Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Biography, see: <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/receptayyiperdogan/biyografi/> (18.2.2015)

⁷ Sedat Laçiner (a), "Turgut Özal Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası", <http://egitimcihaber.net/sizdengelenler/gundem/turgut-ozal-donemi-turk-dis-politikasi.html> (retrieved on 20.2.2015)

might constitute a suitable element to be used in order to make a projection to the society in general while taking into consideration the effects of the conjuncture on the leader as well. So if policy is to say the ultimate product of politics, politician becomes the producer and the people or society or preferably to say nation is the raw material of that policy. From this point of view, the three components, which are policy, politician (conjuncture is included in the politician's character and decisions) and nation, are not only inseparable but also the reasonable chain in order to understand and analyse a certain policy of a state since "state" is not a living organism but rather is "what we make of it".⁸

It is probably as old as knowledge itself that academic studies have to make "citation" to studies which have been written before. This obligation for recognition of a work as academic got a rightful and in the meantime safe point since the "asserter has to prove his/her assertion" and if someone else has already claimed a thesis and proved it, it is much easier to walk on that already exercised path. However, as easy as it is, the possibility of fully agreeing to that "someone else" is very low and thus every academician or scholar somehow has his/her own approach while staying in the frame of another recognised and named approach in the literature. Consequently, this study will stay in the frame of various already presented approaches on Turkish Foreign Policy's Westernism determinant while presenting a personal view of it.

⁸Alexander Wendt (a), *International Organization*, "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics", Vol. 46, No. 2, Spring, 1992, p. 395.

1.1. NATIONALISM, NATIONALITY, NATIONAL IDENTITY

There is hardly another field of science that exactly the “same word” may come to mean tens of other different meanings. In social sciences, besides the variety of interpretations over an ordinary piece of work, even the terms are understood, used and described very differently amongst scholars. The proximate cause seems to be the language differences between people, because within languages the words and their meanings are so socially, culturally and historically constructed that one single term in one language might mean something that crucially differs from its meaning in another language.

The term nationalism is one of those terms that are understood, used and described differently in accordance with the social dynamics of a community. The European literature tends to define nationalism as the classification of people in accordance with their physical peculiarities which allows determining the ethnic origin. In Malcolm Anderson’s book he reports the words of Elie Kedourie as;

“Elie Kedourie in his celebrated opening sentence to his book on nationalism asserted: ‘Nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. An influential German strand of thought suggested that nations are natural phenomena; individuals are born into nations and therefore share certain objective characteristics such as a common language. In this view of the nation there is an essential blood relationship. In the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, many thought that this blood relationship resulted in shared physical, psychological and social characteristics.’”⁹

Both nationalism and patriotism are concepts of European origin and defined in accordance with European expressional needs based on European social-economic-political dynamics and thus to often cause a misinterpretation or misuse in the social and political literature of other communities. In fact nationalism identifies identity via

⁹Malcolm Anderson, *States and Nationalism in Europe Since 1945*, London, Routledge 2000, p. 3-4.

ethnic origin and language while patriotism via country, and patriotism's place of origin was Western Europe its point of arrival was the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰

The Ottoman Empire being a multinational community, the term patriotism fitted smoothly and served the unity of the Empire although it was not going to last long and after years of nationalist movements, it was to start breaking apart with the Balkan War of 1912.¹¹ Very much due to the nationalist movements in the Balkans, Turkism arose as a reaction and Turkism is often explained as Turkish ethno-nationalism starting from 1911.¹² However, known as the father of Turkism, Ziya Gökalp explains nation as “a society consisting of people who speak the same language, have had the same education and are united in their religious, moral, aesthetic ideals...those who have a common culture and religion.”¹³ The aim of Turkish nationalism that was witnessed to appear amongst the Ottoman Turks was the unity and liberty of the Empire as Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey stated and probably because of the imperial tradition, Turkish nationalism did not rest on ethnic base like it was in Europe; rather the mentality was as Turkist Ziya Gökalp stated, searching for racial relativities amongst horses would be more sound¹⁴ for the Ottoman Turks. It may be remarked that nationalism as a term needed construction by its own users in order to reflect the meaning that is intended to be given. From the term construction here, it is not meant to state that nationalism as an ideology constructs nations that did not exist before but rather to underline the fact that the meaning of the term itself has been constructed in accordance with the dynamics of the nation that it comes into.

Nationalism in Europe often implies a dislike towards the “others” and consideration of these people especially from the ex-colonised nations as inferior. However, such description would not only be uncivilised but also to a certain extent xenophobic. On the other hand, if Turkey is taken as a counter example to this European description, Turkish description of nationalism equates nationalism with patriotism. This kind of

¹⁰ Bernard Lewis (a), *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East*, New York, Schocken Books, 1998, pp. 22-23.

¹¹ Yılmaz Öztuna, “Balkan Savaşlarının Kısa Tarihi”, *Bir Asır Sonra Balkan Savaşları*, ed. Mustafa Çalık, Ankara, Cedit Neşriyat, 2014, p. 13.

¹² Hans Lukas Kieser, “Introduction”, ed. Hans Lukas Kieser, *Turkey Beyond Nationalism*, New York, I. B. Tauris, 2006, p. vii.

¹³ Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism-The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*, London, Luzac and Company Ltd and The Harvill Press Ltd, 1950, p. 63.

¹⁴ Nevzat Kösoğlu, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Doğuşu ve Ziya Gökalp*, İstanbul, Ötüken, 2005, pp.51, 57.

nationalism brings about concepts such as one land, one flag, one nation and that nation do not distinguish ethnic origins from its whole but rather welcomes and unifies them in its being in order to constitute the Turkish “nation” not to constitute the group of ethnic Turks. One of the famous¹⁵ Turkish nationalists, Mustafa Çalık, states that “The majority of the Turkish nationalists understand Turkishness as a historical, civil and cultural identity instead of an ethnic-racial one.”¹⁶ So it can well be observed that the Turkish nationalist thinkers walked on a very similar line with each other in defining Turkish nationalism, none underlining ethnic origins, despite a century of time and a series of experiences passed between them. There may be various reasons for such stability for Turkish nationalism ideology but one of them will certainly be the smooth transition of the Empire to the Republic carrying herewith the culture, common language, customs and multi-ethnic structure of the state, which always posed a certain level of threat to the unity of both the Empire and the Republic.

In order to present how different nations understand different things from the same concept, it would be appropriate to touch upon the discussion over subjective and objective perception of nationalism as well. Even here the concepts of objective and subjective would differ in explanation from one nation/state/region to another. In the English language the concept “objective” implies a positive meaning as being unbiased. However, objective nationalism in Turkish would be understood as a racist description since that kind of description would imply objective standards for a person to be included in a nation such as his/her physical peculiarities and roots of his/her ethnic origin. In the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, Article 66 states “Everyone that is bound to the Republic of Turkey with citizenship ties are Turkish”.¹⁷ This Article and the famous saying of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey, “How happy is the one who says I am a Turk” indicates the subjective nationalism perception of the Turkish nation.

One more point should be added in terms of different perceptions of nationality, nationalism and national identity and it is that when one is to make a research on those

¹⁵famous amongst the nationalist/idealist wing and the Nationalist Movement Party and has his PhD on “Nationalist Movement”, See: Mustafa Çalık (a), *MHP Hareketi*, Ankara, Cedit Neşriyat, 1995.

¹⁶ Mustafa Çalık (b), *Milli Kimlik, Milliyet, Milliyetçilik*, Ankara, Cedit Neşriyat, 2009, p.29.

¹⁷*T.C. Anayasası*, Ankara, Adalet Yayınevi, 2008, p.41.

terminologies for the Turkish case he/she will witness that the only matching and sound explanations with the reality in Turkey, are the ones written by Turkish scholars. Because when a term is defined in order to explain a specific issue, the social and historical construction of that term accordingly with the subject, is inevitable. Thus, when the terms; Turkish nation, Turkish nationalism and Turkish national identity are matter of discussion the best explanations are expected to be made by the Turkish scholars just like Europeans would make the best explanations for their cases and Africans for theirs.

The crucial starting point in explaining the terms nation, nationality, identity and national identity is to present them through what they are not. It is somehow not in the interest of this study to analyse the supra-sub identity discussions since the definitions given simultaneously with the discussion are not consistent with the logic of this work. So, what is a nation?

The term nation is described by Plano and Olton as:

“A social group which shares common ideology, common institutions and customs, and a sense of homogeneity. ‘Nation’ is difficult to define so precisely as to differentiate the term from such other groups as religious sects, which exhibit some of the same characteristics. In the nation, however, there is also present a strong group sense of belonging associated with a particular territory considered to be peculiarly its own.”¹⁸

On the other hand, the explanation of the term ethnicity is related with race and blood ties and thus makes it an objective notion. İhsan Peter Andrews states, “With ethnicity, we understand norms, sentiments and actions that are special to ethnic communities. These describe the *communities within a state* and of same status to others. Ethnic communities are usually endogamic (marry to people belonging to that specific group) and their cultural definitions are made in accordance with their tradition that is selected from past.” And he presents in his article that, all of the elements of ethnicity do not

¹⁸Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, *The International Relations Dictionary*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1969, p. 119.

have to be present at the same time but with different combinations, they can be listed as language, religion, sect and clan.¹⁹

Ethnic nationalism is defined as “a group identified by ties of ethnicity” which “may lead to expressions of irredentism and secession as political goals”.²⁰ Certainly this description gives clues about the political nature of such action that makes it ideological. For a certain ethnic structure to be called a nation, the state should be composed of people who “all” belong to that ethnicity. However, in most cases, states are composed of people who belong to a variety of ethnic groups, which have constituted one nation.²¹ For the Turkish case then, Turkishness means the name of the nation and it embraces all ethnic groups within Turkey.

However, identifying one’s self as for instance Kurdish, does not mean that person to belong to Northern Iraq or else. This would be as wrong as disregarding one’s ethnic identity and imposing another instead. That Kurdish person’s homeland is Turkey and his/her nationality is Turkish as long as he/she considers him/herself to be so. But, cultural identity declarations are binding for their declarants since those declarations are subjective and a subjective consideration cannot be transformed into an objective criterion otherwise that would turn into a totalitarian imposition.²²

The concept of nation however, is an imagined being according to Benedict Anderson. In his famous work “Imagined Communities” he states that most of the nations are not even in knowledge of their fellow members while they relate themselves to them and imagine a community that is bound with feelings of fraternity and deserves to be died for.²³ Certainly there are objectively observable criteria for relation to a group of people but this only prevails a genetic legacy not a reality about the national identity that person regards his/herself as part of. The people who have a definite Dutch look and considers themselves as South African is numerous just like ethnically Turkish people

¹⁹ İhsan Peter A. Andrews, *Türkiye Günlüğü*, “Görünen Köy Kılavuz İstemez”, Vol. 99, Autumn 2009, pp.93-94.

²⁰ Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newnham, *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*, London, PenguinBooks, 1998, p.154.

²¹ Şener Aktürk, *Türkiye’nin Kimlikleri*, İstanbul, Etkileşim, 2013, p.138.

²² Mustafa Çalık (b), op. cit., p. 23.

²³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London-New York, Verso, 1991, pp. 6-7.

who were born in Germany and internalised German culture, calling themselves German while looking typically Turkish.

Finally in the case of Turkey the term nationalism is equated with patriotism and this kind of nationalism has neither been built on an ethnic base nor been marginalising. Rather, since the Ottoman period till today, the official name of the state has referred to geography and Atatürk, as the founder of the Republic of Turkey, formulated Turkish nationalism on the basis of common citizenship within the territory of the Republic of Turkey.²⁴

1.2. WESTERNISM AND MODERNISM

The terms West and Westernism may well be described differently in accordance with the meanings constructed for them in different societies. Although the roots of Westernism amongst Turkish people lay in the Ottoman period, for the newly established Republic the terms were explained in parallel with Atatürk's understanding of Westernism as; "West does not refer to a geographic destination rather it is type of a civilisation which is sub-structurally capitalist and super-structurally rely on the superiority of human reason instead of faith."²⁵

Similarly with the terms "nation" and "ethnicity", "modernism" and "Westernism" share the faith of confusion however, not as much as the former. One of the former Ministers of Turkish Foreign Affairs, İsmail Cem states,

"Modernisation and Westernisation are different terms: Westernisation takes places within modernisation and only with its contributing characteristics to modernisation. ...Modernisation is the whole of pluralistic democracy peculiarities, freedom of belief, thought and politics, human rights and equality, equality of women and men, toleration and sensibility, solving problems through peaceful methods rather than struggle, scientific thought, sensibility of humane judgement and justice, morality and respect to beauties. ... then the reason for using those two

²⁴ Metin Heper and Nur Bilge Criss, *Historical Dictionary of Turkey*, Lanham & Maryland, Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2009, p. xxi, 112.

²⁵Baskın Oran (a), *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar, 1919-1980*, Vol. 1, İstanbul, İletişim, 2012, p.49.

terms as synonyms is because a significant part of those standards of judgements are valid in today's West."²⁶

In this frame, neither Westernism nor modernism is understood and implemented in Turkey as it is described in dictionaries. It is correct that Turkey's political direction has been towards the West since its Ottoman times; however, this directing did not mean adoration and copying it out, rather the West constituted a model for development in terms of liberations and material means. The main difference between the Empire and the Republic was that, while the Empire was critical and picky about the West especially in terms of its values, the Republic wanted to implement everything modern that is existent in the Western world and in specific, its values.

The Republic's determined Westernism was in line with the aim of Atatürk to construct a Western Turkish national identity. National identity is often constructed on common language, common beliefs and common memory. In this construction the historical and political circumstances plays the biggest role but in the cases when these two are not that available then political law, ideology and ideological tools are used. However, as important as they are, the ideological, political and social engineers' capacities and skills are just as effective on the consequences.²⁷ Therefore, although the Westernisation phenomenon was existent in the Empire and there were various Westernist policies adopted by Ottoman political figures already, Atatürk's "Westernisation Project"²⁸ was not easy to achieve since the society that the Republic took over from the Empire hardly had a common belief in Westernism, and thus, Atatürk's personal capabilities played the most crucial role in the success of Turkish Westernisation.

In terms of the theoretical structure of this work, it has been tried to be presented that everything in social sciences, concerning norms, terms and ideas, is socially constructed and when Foreign Policy is in question, the main actors of such construction are the leaders. Therefore, a certain level of emphasis has been put on the "leadership" issue at

²⁶*Türkiye Günlüğü*, "Taha Akyol, İsmail Cem ve Hüsrev Hatemi ile Mülakat" Vol.2, May 1989, p. 43.

²⁷ Mustafa Çalık (b), op. cit., p. 18.

²⁸ Meliha Altunışık and Özlem Tür, *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change*, New York, Routledge, 2005, p. xv.

the beginning of this chapter, since the success in the analysis of the social and cultural background of the leaders is of crucial importance in true reading of the policies adopted by them.

It has also tried to be presented that nation, nationalism and national identity are terms which are frequently used by the leaders and often constructed by them intentionally to both lead the society's cognition of these terms towards a favoured way and to offer definitions for these terms which are capable of explaining that specific society's cases.

When it comes to defining Turkish nationalism, examples are given from Atatürk's statements as a leader and from Ziya Gökalp's and Akçuraoğlu Yusuf's understandings/explanation as thinkers, and the conclusion reached is that ethnic identity is included within the Turkish identity or in other words the term nation embraces the ethnicities. Therefore, in the example of Turkey, "Turkishness" constitutes an umbrella for different ethnic groups within Turkey.

Through the construction of the aforementioned terms within Turkish society, a Western identity for the Turkish and a Westernist Foreign Policy for Turkey has tried to be achieved in the Republican Period. As oppose to the Ottoman selectivity over what should be taken from the West, the Republic aimed at a total Westernisation. However, Turkey's geographic and social dynamics which always resemble a rich variety of components made the domestic Westernisation more difficult than its Westernism in Foreign Policy. Certainly, it would be desirable for Turkey to become "Western" as described by İsmail Cem while on the other hand staying "Anatolian" and preserving its beliefs, language, traditions, culture; in short its Turkishness.

While summing up the conceptual framework of this study, it is hoped that a "key" has achieved to be given. Although the following chapters are going to be densely presenting issues, policies and leaders concerning Turkish Foreign Policy; the role of the leaders' personal characteristics in the policy making and implementing processes as well as the social construction of terms and norms as nationalism, national identity and Westernism are going to be illustrated as well. Finally, the roots and development of the

Westernisation idea starting from the times of the Ottoman Empire and the path of this ideology till reaching its peak with the “Westernisation Project” in the Republican period and in that frame the Westernism determinant of Turkish Foreign Policy are going to constitute the main theme of the following pages.

CHAPTER 2

ROOTS OF WESTERNISM ON TURKISH LAND

“No one doubts that you are the Emperor of the Romans. Whoever legally holds the capital of the Empire is the Emperor and the capital of the Roman Empire is İstanbul.”²⁹

As everything else have, ideologies have origins and no matter what these ideologies are triggered by, since people are the sources of ideologies, their cognitions in general construct the path of it. When the issue is Foreign Policy, the case is similar because of the relationship between the policy and its maker. When the person who is in charge of the Foreign Policy defines a norm as important/advantageous/critical/right etc. that norm is very likely to become the thing that it is as defined. Like Martha Finnemore states, “much of Foreign Policy is about defining rather than defending national interests”³⁰ and in the Turkish case, although various Turkish leaders within the scope of national interest defined the West as a civilisation in various ways, it always kept its quality about being attained meanings, values and targets.

The second chapter of this study is going to focus on the Westernisation phenomenon on Ottoman land starting from the Deed of Alliance till the active years of the Union and Progress Party. For this section of the study emphasis on legal documents is going to be witnessed and the point in presenting such data is to bring to the attention the concrete effort for Westernisation not only in technical terms but in the social life and thus mentality of the Ottomans before the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Therefore the chapter is going to reveal the roots of Westernism before the Union and

²⁹ The words belong to the philosopher Georgios Trapezuntios who was born in Crete. He addressed Mehmed II The Conqueror (Fatih). Halil İnalçık (a), “Mehmed II”, in Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, Vol. 28, Ankara, 2003, Manisa Mevlevihanesi-Meks, p. 406.

³⁰ Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society*, New York, Cornell University Press, 1996, p. 74. (Cited in Jeffrey T. Checkel, “Constructivism and Foreign Policy,” in *Foreign Policy: Theories. Actors.Cases*, ed. Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008). See also <http://www.e-ir.info/2011/07/17/the-relevance-of-constructivism-to-foreign-policy-analysis/> (retrieved on 6.5.2015)

Progress Party, the main idea of the Deed of Alliance, the Articles of Gulhane Hatt-ı Sharif, Edict of Reform, 1st and 2nd Constitutions which carry a Westernist character. Finally, the chapter is going to be concluded with the Union and Progress Party in general, its ideology and influence within the Empire and its legacy to the forthcoming orders.

2.1. A BRIEF HISTORY OF DEMOCRATISATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The birth of an ideology and it finding space for implementation in politics and acceptance in ordinary lives of people happens in two ways. The first is when an ideology becomes popular and accepted at social level and take place as a social movement and then affect the political life of a country it means that the ideology follows a path from bottom (citizens) to top (rulers). The second way is when the ideology is decided to be followed by the ruling elite and implemented to politics and imposed on the citizens, which makes the ideological path from top to down.³¹ Both ways are found in the diplomatic history such as socialist ideology taking place in Russia as a social movement and through revolution in 1917³² and Westernism taking place in Turkey in 1920s and 30s through Kemalism.³³ However, although it is very hard to determine an exact time for the beginning of an ideology most of the time for the Turkish case, the start of Westernism is pinned with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. On the other hand, there were views especially amongst the Unionists that Westernism has started on this land with the Union and Progress Party as one of the Young Turk leaders, Sabahaddin Bey, stated : "Since we established relations with Western civilization, an intellectual renaissance has occurred; prior to this relationship our society lacked any intellectual life."³⁴ However, as Ortaylı states, modernisation of the Ottoman cannot be limited with the Hatt-ı Sharif of Gulhane

³¹ Baskın Oran (a), op. cit., p. 23.

³² Oral Sander (a), *Siyasi Tarih İlkçağlardan 1918'e*, Ankara, İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2005, pp. 388-389.

³³ Baskın Oran (a), op. cit., p. 23.

³⁴ M. Şükrü Hanioglu (a), *The Young Turks in Opposition*, Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 17.

neither can it be considered as a shock because of the Ottomans meeting with the Europeans since Ottoman geography has been in political and economic relations with Europe throughout its history.³⁵ So it can be stated that Westernisation in Ottomans has always existed because of its geography and social dynamics but some events have presented stronger examples for such posture. Thus as argued, the Westernisation period of the Ottoman Empire and the beginning of Westernism amongst Turkish people can be dated back much earlier, however, in this study this period will be taken from the active years of the Union and Progress party, starting from 1908, marking one of the turning points for Turkish ideological journey in the recent history.

One of the famous Ottoman Commanders and founders of the Union and Progress Society (later on a political party) in Manastır (today's Bitola city of Macedonia) and later on founder of the İstanbul organisation of it, Kazım Karabekir³⁶ states that “the young people who have observed that the civilised world is making progress in all fields and targeting freedom and salvation, ... they have established a society called İttihad-ı Osmani (Unification of Ottomans) and aimed for constitutional ruling and its preservation (1889).”³⁷ Feroz Ahmad states that; the Union and Progress Society was founded as a secret society in Salonika (today's Greek Macedonia's capital city and back then an Ottoman city - therefore often confused if the Society was established in Macedonia -Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia- or in Greece) made up of lowly enlisted officers and stayed as a secret society till some of the members have decided to take the hills and start a revolt against the Sultan in 1908.³⁸ He further points that; it is stated as “some of the members” since the group that revolted has sent declarations to public authorities and signed them as “200 men” not as Union and Progress Society. However, they were members of the Society and their declaration was that they have revolted to fight with the unfairness' and inequalities that are taking place in their motherland and for recalling the 1876 constitution.³⁹ Although very brief till here, it is possible to observe that the political movement of the *İttihatçılar* (Unionists) idealised rules and norms which are present at least ideologically in the West as equality, justice

³⁵ İlber Ortaylı (a), *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, İstanbul, Timaş Yayınları, 2013, p. 13.

³⁶ Kazım Karabekir, *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti 1896-1909*, İstanbul, Emre Yayınları, 1995, p. 12.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 28.

³⁸ Feroz Ahmad (a), *İttihat ve Terakki 1908-1914*, İstanbul, Kaynak Yayınları, 2007, pp. 15-16.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

and liberty⁴⁰ and emphasised *Terakki* (Progress) that is modernisation in all fields of the state executives. In order to understand the “Westernist” and “modernist” character of the society the 1876 Constitution should be analysed. However, the Gulhane Hatt-ı Sharif of 1839 and its follower the Edict of Reform of 1856 can be considered as the start of Westernist ideology since those two have directly found space for change in the ordinary lives of the Ottoman people while the 1876 constitution can be considered to have more to do with the political life of the Ottoman Empire.

Before going into detail with the constitutional movements in the Ottoman Empire that carry a Westernist character one point should be stated that the constitutionalist movements are regarded to have started with the Deed of Alliance in 1808 since it implies limited government and rule of law in its context however, it was neither implemented long enough nor was it as comprehensive as the following Edicts of *Tanzimat* (Gulhane Hatt-I Sharif) and *Islahat* (Reform). As Özbudun and Gençkaya stated:

“The first constitutional document of dubious legal value was the Deed of Alliance (*Sened-i İttifak*) signed in 1808 between the representatives of local notables (*âyan*) and those of the central government. In the document the notables affirmed their loyalty to the central government in exchange for recognition of their traditional privileges. The document also stipulated that the Chief Minister would be responsible for the state affairs. Although the interpretations comparing the Deed of Alliance with the Magna Carta are highly exaggerated, it can still be considered as the first step towards the notions of limited government and the rule of law. However, the Deed remained unimplemented, and was quickly superseded by the authoritarian modernization of Sultan Mahmud II.”⁴¹

The similarities between the two documents were mainly on power sharing of monarchs with other groups (local notables in Deed of Alliance and clergy and nobles in Magna Carta) which sow the seeds of parliament and search for guarantee against arbitrariness of monarchs in terms of punishments which recalled search for rule of law.⁴² Nonetheless, the two documents were declared under different circumstances and in

⁴⁰ Alpay Kabacalı, *Talat Paşa'nın Anıları*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1990, p. 23.

⁴¹ Ergun Özbudun and Ömer Faruk Gençkaya, *Democratization and the Politics of Constitution-Making in Turkey*, Budapest, CEU Press, 2009, p. 7.

⁴² Sina Akşin (a), “Sened-i İttifak ile Magna Carta'nın Karşılaştırılması”, <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/18/22/83.pdf> (retrieved on 5.3.2015)

different states, their most common point was that their commonalities which were to become future's indispensability in terms of Western values that symbolises civilisation.

Hereby, the search for the roots of Westernism on the Ottoman land will start with the declaration of the Gulhane Hatt-ı Sharif in the frame of this study.

2.1.1. The Gulhane Hatt-ı Sharif of 1839

The Gulhane Hatt-ı Sharif of 1839 was the Edict of Sultan Abdülmecit and was declared by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the time Mustafa Resit Pasha to public composed of the Sultan, Ottoman citizens and the foreign ambassadors.⁴³ The Edict addressed many issues in terms of administration and rights of the citizens both in social and economic terms. The following articles are selected from the whole of the text, which are considered to be the crucial points by legal experts.

- 1) Taxation in accordance with the wealth of the citizen
- 2) Legality of the government expenditures
- 3) Fairness in conscription
- 4) Fair trial and no penalty without trial
- 5) Security of life, property and honour
- 6) Ban of confiscation
- 7) Equality of all citizens
- 8) The laws to be prepared by a council
- 9) Supremacy of the laws⁴⁴

The *Tanzimat Fermanı* (The Gulhane Hatt-ı Sharif) although very brief, is crucial in terms of the rights it presents to the Ottoman citizens as well as the Sultan auto-limiting his powers through the laws. The taxation in accordance with the wealth of the citizens brings about a just implementation amongst citizens since objective criteria as someone being taxed a certain amount because of his/her religion is being lifted. The legality of

⁴³ Kemal Gözler (a), *Türk Anayasa Hukuku*, Bursa, Ekin Kitabevi Yayınları, 2000, p. 12.

⁴⁴ Kemal Gözler (a), op. cit., pp. 12-16.

governmental expenditures implies a kind of responsibility of the administration towards its citizens since the expenditures through this law becomes somehow questionable or in other words the expenditures that are made will be accountable. Fairness in conscription indicates the consideration of real dynamics of the society such as a family having one son and him going into the service -and back then for years- caused that family to run out of income. In addition the number of men in a certain geographical boundary was to be considered through this law as well since the number of men going into service would cause decrease in the population in midterm.

The Edict presents a general administrative character in Articles 1 to 4 however, the following points indicate the Western influence on Ottoman internal politics since the norms and rules that are indicated carry a libertarian and egalitarian character as the ones present in the West.

It should be underlined that the notions as justice, equality and liberty (*adalet, musavat, hürriyet*) are accepted to be born in Western civilisations originally ideas of John Locke which laid the main ideals for Enlightenment⁴⁵ however, it is a reality that often rules are created in need of order that are not already existent and for the Ottoman case there is no concrete evidence for discrimination and suffering towards the subjects of the ruler throughout its history. So it can be stated that the need for declaration of such rights and laws in the Ottoman Empire was not originated from the reason that they did not exist at all or there is such reign of horror present in the administration towards its citizens but rather the influence of the West amongst the non-discriminated people of the Empire and a purposeful national awareness creation led for such notions to be stated for the sake of continuation of the unitary structure of the people and the land.

Fair trial and no penalty without trial indicate the authority of the Sultan to decide for execution of someone without needing the consent of another authority. Fair trial can be stated to have existed in the Ottoman administration for very long however, the Sultan being the one to say the last word over the fate of his subjects the fairness in terms of trial became contradictory. So through this law the Sultan auto-limited his authority to

⁴⁵ John Locke, Biography, <http://www.history.com/topics/john-locke> (retrieved on 5.3.2015)

order the execution of someone all by himself. The Edict guaranteed security of life, property and honour for the Ottomans without any discrimination which did not only mean to secure those three amongst the people towards each other but also secure them before law and from the administration as well. This law is combined with the ban of confiscation which lifts the unfair application of confiscating the wealth of a sentenced person since such implementation causes an indirect punishment of his innocent heirs.

The part that declares the equality of all citizens regardless of their religion in the Edict underlines a crucial point, which is that all the Ottomans had the right to benefit from the declared Edict. This can be considered as a milestone since the distinctions were made according to the religions that are being adopted in the Ottoman community and communities that belonged to religions other than Islam were subject to different laws. This did not mean them being oppressed or discriminated but rather meant them not to join the army or become civil servants and to pay different types of taxes for instance.

The Edict foresaw a system for the preparation of the laws, which was a council that prepare the laws, and was made up of scholars and ministers who are to speak freely in the council. The approval of the laws still belonged to the Sultan however; the liberty of speech in the council that has been given (and insisted) and the Sultan limiting his power by giving the authority to prepare the laws to the council is not “nothing” but rather worth noticing in an empire.⁴⁶ In addition, the Edict also declared the supremacy of laws, which meant to bind the viziers, and the Sultan with its rules and at the end of the Edict the Sultan’s vow to respect this Edict presents a guarantee for it since such declaration for an Ottoman Sultan was a serious act for him and his subjects.⁴⁷

The Gulhane Hatt-ı Sharif was a brief however; a very important edict in terms of the rights it provided to the Ottoman citizens and the quality of it that presented a Westernist tendency. The points mentioned above from the Edict describe an open-minded and lawful administration that is close to the ones present in the West.

⁴⁶ Kemal Gözler (a), op. cit., p. 15.

⁴⁷ Bülent Tanör, *Osmanlı-Türk Anayasal Gelişmeleri: 1789-1980*, İstanbul, Der Yayınları, 1995, p. 74.

2.1.2. The Edict of Reform of 1856

The Edict of Reform of 1856 was declared by the same Sultan who has declared the Gulhane Hatt-i Sharif, Abdulmecit, and it was more comprehensive than the previous one. The Edict of Reform reaffirmed the principles of the Gulhane Hatt-i Sharif and listed the additional articles as follows:

- 1) The needs of the non-Muslim subject will be presented and declared to the Ottoman Government (Bab-ı Âli) through the councils which will be established in the patriarchates.
- 2) Reforms will take place in the methods of election of the patriarchs.
- 3) The patriarchs are going to be put on salary by the state.
- 4) The properties and real estates of the patriarchs will be immune of interference.
- 5) For the non-Muslims to transact, the communities are going to elect a council.
- 6) The non-Muslims are going to be allowed to repair and construct their praying halls, schools, hospitals and cemeteries.
- 7) Performing of sects of all non-Muslims regardless of the number of them will be allowed.
- 8) Equality of all subjects in terms of religion, sex, language and sect and prohibition of discrimination and insult of any.
- 9) No force of people to change their sects and religions.
- 10) Non-Muslims to be accepted to the military and civilian schools and civil service.
- 11) In case of commercial and criminal lawsuits with parties of Muslim and non-Muslim or a Muslim group and a non-Muslim group the competence belongs to the mixed courts and the trial will take place openly.
- 12) In case of a trial with both parties of non-Muslim the trial might be done in patriarchates if both parties give consent to happen so.
- 13) The testimony of non-Muslims and Muslims are equal before the courts.

- 14) Torture and torment are banned and the chiefs and civil servants who order such are to be punished.
- 15) The conditions of the jails are to be improved.
- 16) The non-Muslims are allowed to pay the amount in order not to join the army.
- 17) The Muslims and non-Muslims are equal in terms of taxation and the taxes are to be collected directly rather than with the *iltizam*⁴⁸ method.
- 18) The non-Muslims to be able to own property.
- 19) The non-Muslims to be able to join the provincial councils and to be represented in the Ministry of Justice Council.⁴⁹

Finally, it is possible to observe that through the Edict of Reform most of the fundamental rights and liberties given to people in Europe were recognised in the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁰ The remarkable quality of the Edict of Reform is that while the Gulhane Hatt-i Sharif draws a more general frame of rights and liberties for the Ottoman society, the Edict of Reform concentrates on the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire. There is actually no need to state that the pressure felt from the West obliged Abdulmecit for such reforms but the process starting from the Sened-i Ittifak can be considered as a democratisation movement for the Ottoman Empire through constitutionalism. Of course, both of the documents (Gulhane Hatt-i Sharif and Edict of Reform) were *fermans* –Edicts meaning that the Sultan decided for and declared the articles all by himself so in form they are not constitutions however, in terms of the quality of the articles they can both be considered as constitutions. Deed of Alliance on the other hand is a bilateral document, which can be considered as an agreement between the Sultan and the *ayan*⁵¹ presenting both parties with advantages such as recognition of the Sultan’s authority and obedience to his grand vizier and *ayans* to avoid grand vizier’s arbitrary behaviours and recognition of the dominance of *ayans* over their society.⁵²

⁴⁸ Iltizam was a method of tax collection which foresaw the *mültezim* -the tax collector- to promise a certain amount to the state. The tax might have been paid in terms of product.

⁴⁹ Cemil Öztürk, “Islahat Fermanı”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 19, İstanbul, 1999, Hüseyin Mirza-İbn Haldûn, pp. 186-187.

⁵⁰ Kemal Gözler (b), “Islahat Fermanı 1856”, <http://www.anayasa.gen.tr/islahatfermani.htm> (retrieved on 9.3.2015)

⁵¹ The leading people of certain cities, the chamber of notables.

⁵² Bülent Tanör, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

2.1.3. 1st Constitutional Period

The *Kanun-u Esasi*⁵³ of 1876 was declared by the Sultan Abdulhamit II as an edict and in terms of its content it can be considered as a constitution and was of comparative value with that of the European ones.⁵⁴ The articles of the Kanun-u Esasi carries a Westernist character although it cannot be considered as establishing a full fledged constitutional and parliamentary system since legislative and executive functions still mostly belonged to the Sultan⁵⁵ and this situation mainly persisted till the amendments on the 1876 Constitution in 1909. However, in terms of the rights and liberties, the 1876 Constitution manifestations prove its Westernist tendency.

The Constitutional Law of 1876 was a comprehensive and detailed document because of its nature of form and content. Thus, its articles will be summarised in accordance with their relativity to the subject of this study.

The brief content of the Kanun-u Esasi is as follows:

- 1) Although it contains provinces, continents and countries the Ottoman Empire is a unitary state.
- 2) The Ottoman Empire is not a secular state.
- 3) The official language of the Empire is Turkish.
- 4) Personal liberties, safety and legality of crimes are recognised.
- 5) Freedom of worship is recognised.
- 6) Freedom of press (publication) within the frame of law.
- 7) Freedom of establishing companies.
- 8) Freedom of petition.
- 9) Freedom of education.

⁵³ Constitutional Law

⁵⁴ Kemal Gözler (a), op. cit., pp. 23, 25.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 36.

- 10) Equality of all subjects of the Empire before law without discrimination of religion and sect.
- 11) Right to enter civil service without any discrimination.
- 12) Taxation in accordance with the wealth and ban of seizing property of a subject if public welfare does not oblige to and only through prepayment.
- 13) Immunity of domicile is recognised.
- 14) Legal judicial process is recognised.
- 15) Other than in the cases of war confiscation and drudgery are banned.
- 16) Legality of taxation.
- 17) Ban of torture.
- 18) Establishment of the General Assembly composed of two committees namely Chamber of Ayan and Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber of Ayan members to be appointed by the Sultan and for lifetime, the Chamber of Deputies members to be elected every four years.⁵⁶
- 19) The initiative of legislation belongs to the Council of Ministers however, for the initiative the consent of the Sultan is needed and the Sultan has the right of absolute veto.
- 20) The legislative power belongs to the Sultan and the Government.
- 21) The Sultan has the right to appoint and remove the ministers, make international agreements, issue money, declare war and peace, implement law and sharia, arrange regulations, convene and prorogue the General Assembly, adjourn the Chamber of Deputies on the condition that its members to be re-elected and he is the admiral and land forces commander.
- 22) The freedom of courts is recognised.
- 23) The articles of Kanun-u Esasi cannot be suspended and prevented to be implemented.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ The election system was described in detail in the Constitution such as the deputies to be elected through a bi-level system in which the state was divided into two areas Istanbul and the rest. In Istanbul the electors of the deputies were elected and for the rest of the Empire the members of administrative councils in districts, shires and cities were accepted as the second electors who directly elected the deputies. (Kemal Gözler (a), op. cit., pp. 29-30)

⁵⁷ A. Şeref Gözübüyük and Suna Kili, *Türk Anayasa Metinleri 1839-1980*, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, No. 496. See also: <https://yenianayasa.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/1876/1876ilkmetinler/1876-ilkhal-turkce.pdf> (retrieved on 9.3.2015)

One of the most important points in the Constitutional Law of 1876 can be considered as its recognition of the representation of the Ottoman subjects. Although it is not one of the best examples of democratic constitutions because of the Sultan having critical powers in both legislation and execution, the liberties given by it are still meaningful in a state ruled by monarchy and in addition it is possible to state that after the declaration of this constitution the Ottoman Empire is no more ruled by a monarchy that is absolute.

A point should be added concerning the powers of the Sultan in accordance with the 1876 Constitution and it is that the Sultan had the right to adjourn and prorogue. Sultan Abdulhamit II is popularly accused of adjourning however, as Gozler states, Abdulhamit II has adjourned in 20th of March 1877 and as foresaw by the Constitution, election took place for the Chamber of Deputies and in 13th of December 1877 the General Assembly reconvened. The General Assembly, in accordance with the Article 43 of the Constitution, in 14th of February 1878 was closed.⁵⁸ So here there is neither adjourn nor prorogue but what happened was that the General Assembly was closed and Abdulhamit II was supposed to convene it in November however, he did not do so.⁵⁹

2.1.4. 2nd Constitutional Period

An introduction was given at the beginning of this chapter concerning the Union and Progress Party and via that introduction it was aimed to give a brief ideological background of the Party in order to carry the constitutionalist movements and the ideology of the Party hand in hand to this point since it is a generally accepted view that the recalling of the 1876 Constitution and the amendments made in 1909 were because of the leverage put on Abdulhamit II by the Party members.

⁵⁸Orhan Aldıkaçtı, *Anayasa Hukukumuzun Gelişmesi ve 1961 Anayasası*, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Yayınları, 1982, p. 62.

⁵⁹ Kemal Gözler (a), op. cit., p. 33.

The amendments made in the 1876 Constitution in 1909 mark the Second Constitutional Period of the Ottoman Empire and the amendments were crucial in the sense that the regime of the Empire can be considered to change from an absolute or constitutional monarchy to a constitutional parliamentary monarchy.

The famous event of The Union and Progress Society member Niyazi Bey revolting against the Abdulhamit's autocratic regime and the Society declaring freedom in 1908 bred the recalling of the 1876 Constitution. The Society obliged the Sultan to put the 1876 Constitution into force and through this the 2nd Constitutional Period was declared. The Sultan ordered the Assembly to convene and Chamber of Deputies elections took place, which brought about a result that can be considered as the victory of the Society.⁶⁰

1909 amendments on the 1876 Constitution were as follows:

- 1) Legality of arrestment. (it was only as legal judicial process in the Constitution)
- 2) Censorship was banned. (it was only as the freedom of press “within the frame of law”)
- 3) Ban of exile authority. (the Sultan could still exile people through basic police investigation in the Constitution)
- 4) Confidentiality of communication was recognised. (no document can be seen without the ruling of court)
- 5) Right of assembly is recognised.
- 6) Right to form association is recognised.
- 7) The obligation of taking the consent of the Sultan for a legislative proposal is lifted.
- 8) The obligation of taking the opinion of the council of state is lifted.
- 9) The absolute veto power of the Sultan became a rarifying and delaying veto power.
- 10) International Agreements to be validated by the General Assembly.
- 11) The Council of Ministers are responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. (was responsible to the Sultan)

⁶⁰ Durdu Mehmet Burak, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Jön Türk Hareketinin Başlaması ve Etkileri”, <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/19/1271/14637.pdf> (retrieved on 9.3.2015)

12) The Sultan has the right to appoint the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister to appoint the Ministers.

13) The Ministers are responsible from the Government's general policy collectively and responsible from their ministerial works personally.⁶¹

It can be stated that the Ottoman Empire has entered a limited monarchical phase after the 1909 amendments since the power of the Sultan became symbolic in terms of legislation and execution. For that time being the term democracy can be considered as to become a word to speak of. In addition, when the 1839 Gulhane Hatt-i Humayun, 1856 Edict of Reform and 1876 Constitution are compared with the history of other constitutionalist movements in the West, it can be stated that the Ottoman Empire did not fall behind them.⁶² Also, the similarities of the aforementioned documents in the period of the Empire carry many similarities in terms of the executive and legislative powers with that of the Republic's. Of course the analysis of these legal documents would deserve a juridical study all by itself however, it is explicit that there are common articles especially in the 1876 Constitution and the 1982 Constitution that is in force in today's Turkey. For instance Article 10 of 82 Constitution⁶³ and Article 17 of the 1876 Constitution states almost the same things concerning the equality of all without any religious, sectarian discrimination.⁶⁴ Article 17 of 82 Constitution⁶⁵ is same with the Article 26 of the 1876 Constitution which bans torture and any form of torment.⁶⁶ 82 Constitution foresees the President of the Republic to appoint the Prime Minister and to possess the right to re-sent the legislative proposals to the General Assembly to be reconsidered (like delaying and rarifying veto power of the Sultan) in Article 104⁶⁷ and in the 1876 Constitution Article 29 and the part that is about execution⁶⁸ addresses the same points with the 82 Constitution. Certainly, from presenting the similarities between the aforementioned Constitutional documents what is aimed is to reveal the democratic and Westernist character of the 1876 Constitution despite the fact that there

⁶¹ Kemal Gözler (a), op. cit., pp. 36-41.

⁶² Ibid., p. 42.

⁶³ Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, see: <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa82.htm> (retrieved on 10.3.2015)

⁶⁴ Kemal Gözler (a), op. cit., p. 27.

⁶⁵ Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, op. cit.

⁶⁶ A. Şeref Gözübüyük and Suna Kili, op. cit., p. 29.

⁶⁷ Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı, http://www.tccb.gov.tr/sayfa/cumhurbaşkanligi/gorev_yetki/.(retrieved on 10.3.2015)

⁶⁸ Kemal Gözler (a), op. cit., pp. 39-40.

is about a hundred years between the documents while one belongs to a democratic republic and the rest to a Sultanate.

2.2. THE UNION AND PROGRESS PARTY

2.2.1. Establishment of the Union and Progress Party

An introduction concerning the establishment, structure and ideology of the Union and Progress Party was given previously. Hereby, in order to present the circumstances that the Empire was in and the path of Westernist ideology within the Empire, amongst the ruling elite and the society, the Party's administrative period will be briefly examined.

The recalling of the 1876 Constitution back in force was an unexpected success of the Union and Progress Party in 1908 however; the Sultan Abdulhamit giving up his resistance against the Constitution led the society, which is inexperienced of democracy into a chaotic situation. In addition, the Union and Progress Party did not take an active role in politics and rather existed as the bodyguard of the Constitution. The reason for the Party's behaviour was that the Party did not aim a revolution but rather searched for the ways to save the Empire from dissolution and the way that it found was of no difference with that of the Young Turks, which was limiting the powers of the Sultan and recognising the equality of the minorities before law.⁶⁹

The land losses of the Empire and the economic depression present in the country were excuses of pressure to the Party's policies by the opposers of the ruling. These cases are considered as "excuses" because the process of dismantling of the Ottoman Empire did not start with the ruling of the Party but rather with Greece gaining its independence in 1829 or as Ortaylı states although Serbia gained its independence from the Empire in 1878 with Berlin Congress its autonomy was the first warning of the Empire's

⁶⁹ Feroz Ahmad (a), op. cit., pp. 31-33.

dismantling.⁷⁰ The reason for opposition to the Party and in general to the Assembly was its Westernist policies.

The counterrevolution of 31st of March 1909, known famously as the “March 31st Movement”, was against the Union and Progress Party rule by some of the military units of the Empire and their main aim was to bring back the rule of sharia.⁷¹ The counterrevolution was obviously supported by the Sultan and the timing was crossing with the weakening period of the Party in which the Party was not only divided in itself after not meeting with a harsh opposition of the Sultan in 1908 but also the Party members who were religious and opposing the secular policies of the Party were breaking away. In return, the Party was still holding its influence in Macedonia and namely the 3rd Army was still loyal to the Constitution. In order to gain back the power that have been lost and to stand strong against the counterrevolutionaries the “Action Army”⁷² entered to Istanbul without significant resistance and took over the control of the city. In five days time National Assembly declared its decision to depose Abdulhamit and bring his brother Mehmet Resad to Sultanate.⁷³ The 2nd Constitutional period with the amendments on the 1876 Constitution has started.

The 2nd Constitutional period witnessed the rise and fall and re-rise of the Party. The war with Italy in 1911 to which officers as Enver and Mustafa Kemal⁷⁴ were appointed by the Government and the Party⁷⁵ and then the I. Balkan War that broke out in 1912 remarked the Party’s “decline in power” period. However, the Party through this period was not passive and till the *coup d’état*, the Party searched for new ways of cooperation with the “Sultan’s” Government.

⁷⁰ İlber Ortaylı (a), op. cit., p. 92.

⁷¹ Sina Akşin (b), *31 Mart Olayı*, Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası, 1970, p. 233.

⁷² 3rd Army was to describe a certain division of the Ottoman Army and it was named as “Action Army” by Mustafa Kemal. Büyük Larousse Encyclopedia, "Hareket Ordusu", Vol. 8, İstanbul, Milliyet Yayınları, p. 5031.

⁷³ Feroz Ahmad (a), op. cit., pp. 61-66.

⁷⁴ The reason for mentioning the names of Enver Pasha and Mustafa Kemal Pasha is that in the forthcoming years Enver Pasha is going to be considered as Unionist and Mustafa Kemal as Westernist although they both fought for the same Westernist and modernist ideal.

⁷⁵ Feroz Ahmad (a), op. cit., pp. 119, 126.

2.2.2. Westernism and Policies of the Union and Progress Party

During the war days with Italy, the Party was in search for coalition with the opposition and was unsuccessful. Then during the I. Balkan War, the Party was in the opposition position and was trying to establish a government that is moderate. Kamil Pasha who was never in good relations with the Party became the grand vizier during this period and the Party understood the impossibility of cooperation and consensus with him after various meetings. The major disagreement between the Party and Kamil Pasha was over the Balkan War issue, the Party was on the side of continuation of fighting in order to save the city Edirne while Kamil Pasha was insisting on the fact that the troops were too tired and demoralised to keep on fighting and was on the side of armistice with Balkan states to stop the war.⁷⁶

One point here should be underlined which is that the land of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans (Macedonia, Salonika, Edirne) were the places that the Party was strong and it can be stated that both Kamil Pasha's and the Party's attitudes towards the issue may well be reasoned through this equilibrium. Kamil Pasha wanted the Party to weaken and the Party did not want to lose the cities in which it has its strongest supporters. Of course, the Party was not only interested in saving its supporters but also to serve its very reason of establishment which was saving the Empire.

The Party was of a mind of a *coup d'état* since the day Kamil Pasha was assigned as the grand vizier however, the probability of Edirne's loss and Kamil Pasha being in favour of this and thus armistice rather than the continuation of the war was the last straw for the Party. Finally, before the Government even prepared the joint note leaving Edirne to Bulgarians, the Unionists raided to the Government building killing the War Minister Nazım Pasha and making Kamil Pasha to resign at gunpoint.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Feroz Ahmad (a), op. cit., pp. 146-148.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 146, 149.

After the *coup d'état*, the Party started its reformist actions especially in social life and military. The idea of equality amongst all citizens regardless of religion was the main aim and actually this was easier after the Balkan Wars since the Empire had lost most of its land in Europe to other Balkan states which were of mainly other religions than Islam. So, the Party was now to concentrate on and appease mainly the Arabs and Armenians of the Empire.⁷⁸

In terms of military reforms, the Party aimed to modernise the army and did so through exchange of experience with a Western country Germany.⁷⁹ However, the renewing of the military personnel was not as easy and the Party struggled with the old personnel who were planned to retire for a more energetic and younger military crew. Meanwhile, the economic dynamics of the Empire was rightfully one of the biggest worries of the Party and the Party did not only want to modernise the army through retirement of the old staff but also decreasing the expenditures through efficient ruling of the army and the old staff was conservative in many cases especially in terms of military expenditures believing that the expenditures of the army should be of no limit and question.⁸⁰ Especially after the defeat in the Balkan War, it became an obligation for both the civil and military wings of the state to reorganise their attitudes both towards each other and for the future of the state although this caused the military to directly interfere in politics. However, this did not mean for the civil/political wing to come under the rule of the military wing since both sides were of the same level of rights and powers and through this kind of relationship between the two, the Party was able to reorganise the army and prepare it to achieve unexpected successes in the First World War.⁸¹

The Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism ideologies as a combination still existed within the ideology of the Party even after all the land losses of the Empire and thus the changed conjuncture. However, the demographic dynamics within the Empire did not only change but the majority of the population becoming Turkish brought the Party to emphasise Turkism more.⁸² Hereby, the Party has been considered as Turkist because of

⁷⁸ Feroz Ahmad (a), op. cit., pp. 151, 187.

⁷⁹ Liman Von Sanders, *Türkiye'de Beş Yıl*, Vol. I., İstanbul, Yenigün Haber Ajansı, 1999, p. 10.

⁸⁰ Feroz Ahmad (a), op. cit., p. 179.

⁸¹ Ibid. (a), p. 199.

⁸² François Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)*, İstanbul, Yurt Yayınları, 1996, pp. 60-61.

its policies however, the Party's understanding of Turkism was not based on race but rather, even though the word Turk was not read as nation back then, when the Party established the informal National Defence Society in order to provide the support of the community for the Balkan War, the Party aimed to put the word nation instead of Ottomanism and Islamism as a combination.⁸³ Separately, Turkism was originally introduced by the Muslims that came from Russia to İstanbul who were aware of their identity within a Slavist state and although pioneers as Gaspıralı İsmail, Yusuf Akçura and Ahmet Ağayev gained update to Turkism, the Turkism ideology stayed marginal and amongst the limited enlightened group who knew works of some European Turcologists, compared to Ottomanism and Islamism in the multi-ethnic Empire.⁸⁴ The Union and Progress Party's political ideology was neither revolutionist nor nationalist; its ideology embodied words as motherland (*vatan*), liberty (*hürriyet*), equality (*musavat*), fraternity (*uhuvvet*), progress (*terakki*) and unity (*ittihat*) as a Party that wanted to be the nation's representative in a multi-ethnic Empire.⁸⁵ Understandably, the Party was against the differences in legal implementations according to religious belongings, for the citizens of the same state and it was to find it out-dated although this viewpoint somehow served the dissolution of the Empire; it constituted the foundations of the future Turkish state.⁸⁶

The emphasis put on Union and Progress Party's history, actions and policies in this study is because the Party reveals a miniature of both the Empire and the Republic or in other words the internal and external political and social atmosphere that the Party was in and its policies accordingly presents a better picture for understanding the process of transition from the Empire to the Republic. The social, economic and political problems the Party faced were chronic illnesses of the Empire rooting from the multi-ethnic community and the economic bottleneck of decades. But on the other hand the conjuncture that the Empire was facing in international politics was not as chronic but rather new for the Empire while becoming chronic for the Republic of Turkey.

⁸³ Feroz Ahmad (a), *op. cit.*, p. 197.

⁸⁴ Feroz Ahmad (b), *Bir Kimlik Peşinde Türkiye*, İstanbul, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006, p. 67.

⁸⁵ Niyazi Berkes (a), *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014, pp. 403-404.

⁸⁶ M. Şükrü Hanioğlu (b), "İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 23, İstanbul, 1999, İslam-Kaade, p. 484.

What is intended from stating the multi-ethnic community of the Empire is the non-Muslim community of the Empire since ethnic belongings were not considered as a division but rather religious belongings were the matter of different legal and social considerations. However, from this point onwards the non-Muslim community of the Ottoman Empire will be referred as the multi-ethnic community since this would be a better naming for the non-Muslim community because of their social and political attitudes and actions in the forthcoming transition period of the Empire to the Republic.

The multi-ethnic community did not constitute a racial or national problem within the Empire till of course the nationalist movements of them in the World War I period. However, the problem caused by the multi-ethnic community was that this community had liberty in subjects such as language, religion and education which was given in schools established by their own community and these elements were not only keeping their ethnic identities awake as intended by their community leaders (priests, rabbis, political representatives etc.) but also preventing them from integrating into the Ottoman Empire and seeing a common benefit with it. Although the majority of this multi-ethnic community had been on the Ottoman land for so long, they preferred to stay or pass on the citizenship of other states and commercially kept on profiting from the capitulations and socially and politically from the foreign citizenship regulations. Especially the fact that commercial activities were mainly in the hands of this multi-ethnic community and the rest mostly engaged in agriculture the Empire was lacking a “national” bourgeoisie and constantly struggling to get the economic wheels run in accordance with “national” economic policies since foreign citizenship was a barrier before the Empire to impose certain economic regulations on them. Therefore, the Party, -in accordance with its reason of establishment in the first place- wanted to create a national economy and bourgeoisie and was successful for the six years before the World War I broke out and took a crucial step by lifting the capitulations unilaterally after the “Great States” presenting their enmities openly and losing their influence in internal affairs of the Empire which provided the Party the freedom of implementing free economic policies.⁸⁷ These economic policies did not only aim to create a bourgeoisie but also to develop a stronger community which was engaged in agriculture

⁸⁷ Feroz Ahmad (c), *İttihatçılıktan Kemalizme*, İstanbul, Kaynak Yayınları, 2011, pp. 25-31. (quotes added).

however, the Party had to compromise with the landlords because of the internal and external political and economic conditions and not only their idealism but also their problems passed on to the Kemalists in the new Republic.⁸⁸

Even only the social and economic policies of the Party are capable of presenting that the Republic of Turkey did not only carry the people, land, language, culture, religion and flag of the Empire to its new being but also the chronic and potential problems of the Empire. It can be stated that the ideology of the Union and Progress Party was not of a certain one since its ideal in general was to keep the Empire intact through social, economic and military reforms –Westernisation- and at any price while on the other hand the new Republic had a precise ideology with a name Kemalism and had many differences with the former in many aspects. However, rather than comparing and contrasting the two, first of all it should be noted that the father of Kemalism, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was a Unionist himself –like all other young army officers-⁸⁹ and as stated previously he was the chief of staff of the Action Army aside from personally naming that army that played a crucial role in suppressing the March 31st Movement and through which the Party regained its power. Maybe because Mustafa Kemal was on the military wing of the Party and the Party’s policies being on the side of a more civilian administration (just like Mustafa Kemal obliging the members of the parliament who are in the same time members of the army to choose either of their membership in order to establish civil political life for the Republic⁹⁰) Enver and Talat Pashas were more active within the Party and in the political life in general. Therefore, Kemalism aside from all its crucial differences from its former “ideology” can be considered as being the transformed version of it. What is often tended to be missed in terms of Kemalist ideology is that it was shaped exactly in accordance with the –retrospectively looking- needs and possibilities of the new Republic. It does not necessarily mean that Kemalists did what they have exactly aimed to do, rather they did what they could and what they believed necessary to be done just like the Union and Progress Party. Probably it would not be odd to state that both the Unionists and Kemalists were children of the Empire and constituted the necessary milestones on the way of saving

⁸⁸ Feroz Ahmad (c), op. cit., p. 83.

⁸⁹ İlber Ortaylı (b), *Yakın Tarihin Gerçekleri*, İstanbul, Timaş Yayınları, 2014, p. 98.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 163.

what they believed to be sacred: the flag, the land, the nation, the pride and the best formula seemed to be: development + progress = Westernisation = sovereignty.

While concluding the chapter the value dedicated to legal documents and the Union and Progress Party in specific should be read in accordance with -although just a part of it- the thesis of this study which is to present that the Westernisation Project of the Republic of Turkey was not a starting point but a result of the entire Westernisation process of the Empire. Instead of reckoning the Republic of Turkey a whole new state or adversely seeing it as the continuation of the Ottoman Empire it is more plausible to explain the case as a transition from an Empire to a Republic. To state more clearly, the Republic of Turkey is so not a brand new state to payback the debts of the Ottoman Empire for years⁹¹ and so a new state in the same time to change everything including the name, administration and social life of the entire state. It should be noted that the modern teaching of Turkish Foreign Policy generally starts from the Abdulhamit II rather than with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in terms of time frame since it is “Turkish” Foreign Policy, not commonly named as Ottoman Foreign Policy or Turkey’s Foreign Policy.

Finally, Westernisation was an old movement within the Ottoman Empire however, the concrete actions that affected the practice especially in the social life of the Ottoman community started with the legal documents that put forward the serious intention for Westernisation. The Union and Progress Party in this process played its role, first as the dedicated supporter of liberties against the Sultan, though the conjuncture obliged the transformation of these liberties in favour of the Party mostly, secondly as the ideologue of the Westernisation process. It should be underlined that the Unionists did not produce their ideas out of nowhere; rather their ideas were as Jutta Weldes puts it “necessarily rooted in meanings already produced, at least in part, in domestic political and cultural contexts.”⁹² Therefore, Unionists’ representation of the modernist wing of Ottoman bureaucracy⁹³ actually presents the already existent Westernism phenomenon during the

⁹¹ İlber Ortaylı (b), op. cit., p. 81.

⁹² Jutta Weldes, “Constructing National Interests.” *European Journal of International Relations* 2, 1996, 275–318, p. 280.

⁹³ M. Şükrü Hanioglu (a), op. cit., p. 17.

II. Abdülhamit period and Unionists' secular reforms⁹⁴ during their strong period in rule gives clues about the sources of the forthcoming Republican period's Westernist, modernist and secular reforms.

The ideology of the Party never found the chance of becoming a stark and certain one and though Turkism as the Party's ideology had connotations for race, the Party emphasised commonalities of the Empire's people as language since it saw such commonalities as the last chance for the unity of the Empire. At the end, neither the Empire was managed to be kept intact nor the commonalities served the Ottoman community's unity and as the next chapter is going to present, from the period of struggle for National Sovereignty to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, a definite posture of Westernism and nationalism by Mustafa Kemal is going to find a stronger acceptance within and a more successful role for unity for the community of the Turkish Republic.

⁹⁴ Erik Jan Zürcher (a), *Turkey A Modern History*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2004, pp. 121-122.

CHAPTER 3

WESTERNISM AND THE REPUBLIC

“It was the Empire of the Turkish; this is the Republic of the Turkish”⁹⁵

Although having a totally new and sharp start seem to provide a shorter and simpler examination of an issue, in social sciences it is often more advantageous to find sound transitions between issues that reveal more chances of establishing a causal relationship in between and thus a better cognition. Therefore, this chapter will present a bridge between the previous and next chapter, in the sense that the former revealed the Westernisation movements within the Empire while the latter’s subject is on Republic’s Westernisation mission. So, the following pages will be on the transition subject but not a plain transition period is going to be offered; before anything else the reality that a society’s culture is the last thing to be lost even in assimilated communities, the Empire did not legate the community to the Republic, rather the Republic was established by those who saved whatever left from the Empire including themselves as last Ottomans. The transition from the Empire to the Republic, the fight given for national sovereignty and the ideology and motivation behind this fight, Mustafa Kemal’s role and his personality/ideology’s influence on the Republic and Foreign Policy determinants of the Republic will be presented and discussed in order to demonstrate the two very different political orders having a perfect and even obligatory transition in between.

One of the most useful tools in the process of transition from the Empire to the Republic was perhaps the legitimisation that was found in the proclamation of the Republic by both the domestic and international community. If the idea of the necessity of a new way of ruling could not have been achieved well enough, an empire’s transformation into a democracy could not have taken place as smooth. Since, as Finnemore states

⁹⁵İlber Ortaylı (b), op. cit., p. 96. (The statement belongs to the daughter of the last Sultan of the Ottoman Empire Sabiha Sultan, concerning the relationship between the Empire and the Republic.)

“Domestic legitimation is obviously important because it promotes compliance with government rules and laws; ruling by force alone is almost impossible. Thus, international legitimation is important insofar as it reflects back on a government's domestic basis of legitimation and consent and thus ultimately on its ability to stay in power.”⁹⁶ In the meantime, it can be considered that while legitimisation was a useful tool for the mentioned smooth transition, the War of Independence played the most crucial role for the legitimisation of the necessity of a new way of ruling which was described by Mustafa Kemal as the self-rule of the people and the confidence gained by Mustafa Kemal before the eyes of the Turkish people during the struggle for national sovereignty surely made his ideas easier to be internalised by the society.

3.1. TRANSITION FROM THE EMPIRE TO THE REPUBLIC

The historical time frames are mostly dedicated to certain ideological processes or political events within a state and they are analysed in accordance with the precise dates that mark the beginnings and ends of such cases. This type of framing and marking is not only useful in terms of academic studies in social sciences but also helps for a better focus on the study and thus creates more qualified results and expertise. However, for the Turkish case, although the date markings are sharp and stark, it is almost impossible to start studying the Republican Period of Turkey without a certain level of analysis and understanding of the Ottoman Period's last century at least. In general, October 29th, 1923 is referred as the date for the “establishment” of the Republic of Turkey but the entire belongings of the Republic were so of the Empire as the land and community that it is more appropriate to refer to the date as the “proclamation” of the Republic just in accordance with the Sabiha Sultan's words.

In order to present the transition of the same Turkish state from one regime to another, rather than witnessing a sharp cut with its predecessor, some more words are needed to be said with the help of historical data to avail a better picture that it was really a transition and the leading actors of the Republic were not of the idea of the opposite

⁹⁶Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, *op. cit.*, p. 903.

who had gone through the entire process. In short, The Union and Progress Party, cannot be regarded as the beginning of the entire Westernisation movement on the Turkish land nor can it be considered as a political group that struggled for a more democratic order or regime. However, when the period of 1908-1918, which is quite a short time frame to make a serious political change, is considered the Unionists should be given the credit for climbing a considerable step towards a modern and updated system for the future of the Turkish. In addition, the Party's achievements aside from efforts to keep the Empire intact its policies laid down a sketch for the upcoming Republic as presented in the previous chapter. Of course the Unionists are accused of setting up another type of despotism in the political life of the Empire however, retrospectively looking the conjuncture that the World was in was not availing a better example or an alternative. The fact that the Young Turks were really "young" and of no considerable political experience they seemed to act in the best way that they were capable of. Many of the Party's policies and decisions are under accusation today, especially the decision of the Party to make the Empire enter the World War I which is considered to cause an irreversible destruction on both the treasury and the social life of the nation. Surely, the destruction that the World War I caused, affected all parties entered into the War on a large-scale however, no one is capable of a full analysis of the reverse condition that the Empire had not entered the war. "...probably with this war Turkish community has reached the stage of being a nation in modern terms. This is the side of it that makes it different from other nations. Its resistance hardened and identity settled."⁹⁷

The Party was the dominant political group from the year 1908 till the final defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1918 and this period can be qualified to accelerate the Westernisation process which already started in the previous century. According to Bernard Lewis;

"At the end of 1918 it seemed that the Sick Man of Europe was about to die at last. Resentment against the dictatorship of the Young Turk leaders had been mounting for some time; the advance of the Allied armies lent it a force that could no longer be resisted. In July a new Sultan, Mehmed Vahideddin, a younger brother of Abdülhamid, had succeeded to the throne of Osman. In October the Young Turk

⁹⁷İlber Ortaylı (c), *İmparatorluğun Son Nefesi*, İstanbul, Timaş Yayınları, 2014, p. 145.

ministers resigned, and the Sultan appointed Ahmed Izzet Paşa as Grand Vezir, with the task of seeking an armistice.”⁹⁸

And on 30th of October a Turkish delegation signed the Mudros armistice; the Young Turk pashas, Talat, Enver and Cemal fled across the Black Sea on a German gunboat.⁹⁹

The next twenty years can be considered to be the art of another Ottoman soldier, Mustafa Kemal like a sculptor, him using his intelligence and talent on the Ottoman bronze and clay, to constitute the future of the Turkish.

3.2. MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK AND STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

Tarik Zafer Tunaya points out that “the cocoon and the organisation model of the Union and Progress Party should not be searched in Paris, London, and Brussels but in Balkan resistance movements.”¹⁰⁰ Mustafa Kemal was an Ottoman soldier who was born and educated (Manastır –Bitola- Military School) in Balkans and was a Unionist for a certain period of time, which made his national consciousness and awareness of the existing social and political atmosphere that is being in, almost perfect. Ortaylı states that “the intelligence and maturation of the men that grow up in insolubilities develop fast. Mustafa Kemal was in the same time an Ottoman officer. One year he was to establish the Motherland Society (*Vatan Cemiyeti*), the next year he was to come to Macedonia and from there to Tripoli.”¹⁰¹

As it was stated in the previous sections of this study, the role of the leader in the policies that are being adopted is crucial (the sculpture-sculptor example). In the same time the conjuncture in which the “future leader” grew up or educated forms the character of him/her. Therefore, as much as Mustafa Kemal shaped the future of the

⁹⁸Bernard Lewis (b), *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 227, 229.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 239.

¹⁰⁰ İlber Ortaylı (b), op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁰¹ İlber Ortaylı (a), op. cit., p. 104.

Turkish within the Ottoman Empire, as an Ottoman himself the past of the Empire shaped Mustafa Kemal. Accordingly Bernard Lewis states that;

“Kemal Atatürk was a man of swift decisive action...a tough and a brilliant soldier...an autocrat by personal and professional bias, dominating and imperious by temperament, he yet showed a respect for decency and legality, for human...force and repression were certainly used to establish and maintain the Republic during the period of revolutionary changes, but no longer; after the executions of 1926 there was little danger to life and personal liberty. Atatürk was not a revolutionary junior officer seizing power by coup d'état, but a general and a pasha, taking control by gradual, almost reluctant steps in a moment of profound national crisis. In his political ideas Kemal Atatürk was an heir to the Young Turks-more especially of the nationalist, positivist and Westernising wing among them. The two dominant beliefs of his life were in the Turkish nation and in progress; the future of both lay in civilisation of the West, and no other.”¹⁰²

To describe the beliefs and actions of Mustafa Kemal as a result of his character only, would be deficient. Rather, his personality and character should be analysed in accordance with the social, cultural, political and cyclical dynamics as well as the conjuncture that actually constructed these two. Maybe the successful results of his decisions and actions for the future of the Turkish lies beneath his ability to merge his Unionist and “*Osman*”¹⁰³ sides and taking lessons from his past concerning the mistakes that were done during his service in the Empire. Of course the share of his personal abilities, like his famous farsightedness, in his achievements are too great to be qualified as good fortune.

Besides his capabilities, Mustafa Kemal's education may well be considered to give him the chance of having a wider vision of world and for his country. Starting from the primary school he did not take a religious education as it was very common within the Empire's education system. Rather he had new style education in *Şemsi Efendi* primary school then to *Selanik* civil high school and then he decided for himself to become an officer and went to *Manastır* military high school till finally he went to Turkish military college in which he developed his already existing liberty and motherland –*vatan*- ideas and became a rebel to despotism at the end.¹⁰⁴ To regard Mustafa Kemal's educational background as “Western” would be ambitious however, the fact that he did not take a

¹⁰² Bernard Lewis (b), op. cit., pp. 290-292.

¹⁰³ Ottoman

¹⁰⁴ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (a), *Tek Adam Mustafa Kemal 1881-1919*, Vol. I, İstanbul, Remzi Kitabevi, 1999, pp. 46, 50, 64, 69-71.

dogmatic (since religion is dogma) education and as presented in the previous chapter's Westernisation movements within the Empire, Empire's most Westernised institution was its army and Mustafa Kemal seems to have found space for his Western ideas.

Mustafa Kemal's Western ideas will be presented in more detail in the forthcoming parts but the obvious characteristic of his thinking was that he wanted Turkish to become Western both mentally and apparently. His ultimate will was his nation's strength and strength was existent in the West for the time and that strength was via science, technology, economy and thus required free thinking. Western thinkers point various aspects of the Westernisation phenomenon in non-Western societies and one of the most famous on this issue is Samuel Huntington stating that "The expansion of the West has promoted both the modernization and the Westernization of non-Western societies. The political and intellectual leaders of these societies have responded to the Western impact in one or more ...ways... Kemalism (as one of them and as Toynbee calls Herodianism, embraced) both modernization and Westernization. This response is based on the assumptions that modernization is desirable and necessary, that the indigenous culture is incompatible with modernization and must be abandoned or abolished, and that society must fully Westernize in order to successfully modernize."¹⁰⁵ Eventually, Westernism can be reckoned as a combination of thought and act at the same time. The Empire's Westernisation was more on military and administration, much later in terms of political ideas¹⁰⁶, while the Republic with Mustafa Kemal's principles and revolutions went into a total Westernisation process from the start. What lies beneath Mustafa Kemal's success in advancing very quickly concerning Westernising Turkey maybe him already having Western political thoughts as an Ottoman, like many others within the Empire and these thoughts maturing enough till the establishment of the Republic to proceed with.

The principles and revolutions of Mustafa Kemal reflected his perception of Westernism, which was being Western both mentally and apparently. In his famous

¹⁰⁵ Samuel Huntington, *Medeniyetler Çatışması, ve Dünya Düzeninin Yeniden Kurulması*, İstanbul, Okuyan, 2012, p. 97.

¹⁰⁶ Arnold Joseph Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, London, Constable and Company LTD, 1922, p. 133.

*Nutuk*¹⁰⁷ in the second congress of Republican People's Party in 1927¹⁰⁸ Mustafa Kemal laid down the Party Programme as republicanism, populism, nationalism and secularism adding revolutionism and statism in 1935¹⁰⁹ which all became part of the Constitution in 1937.¹¹⁰ These principles were certainly Western in character and aimed to transform the people within the Republic into a Western society in terms of ideology besides these principles (perhaps except secularism) united most of the community under Kemalism since everyone could find something from themselves amongst those principles. In the same time, as presented in the previous chapter on Union and Progress Party's ideology, most of these ideas were already existent during the time of the Empire so people did not struggle to internalise them. Eric Zürcher evaluates these principles as:

“Secularism and nationalism had of course been among the distinctive characteristics of Young Turk ideology at least since 1913. During the 1930s both were carried to extremes, secularism being interpreted not only as a separation of state and religion, but as the removal of religion from public life ... An extreme form of nationalism, with the attendant creation of historical myths, was used as the prime instrument in the building of a new national identity... Republicanism had been a basic principle since 1923 (when, it will be remembered, political activity in favour of a return of the monarchy had been outlawed). ‘Populism’ meant the notion, first emphasized during the First World War, of national solidarity and putting the interests of the whole nation before those of any group or class. In a negative sense it entailed a denial of class interests (according to Kemalism, Turkey did not have classes in the European sense) and a prohibition of political activity based on class (and thus of all socialist or communist activity). Revolutionism – or reformism, ... meant a commitment to ongoing (but orderly and state-led) change and support for the Kemalist reform programme. Statism was a new concept that recognized the pre-eminence of the state in the economic field; and it was probably the most widely discussed issue in Turkey in the 1930s and 1940s.”¹¹¹

Since Kemalism did not lie down a sharp ideology and the terms were of Western origin; certain level of construction was needed for these terms to both fit the Turkish society into a new way of life and to respond-reflect the society's dynamics through these terms. So, for instance meaning of nationalism was constructed and was called as Atatürk's nationalism which was described as people being tied with their own

¹⁰⁷ Speech

¹⁰⁸ Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk*, İstanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1970, p. III.

¹⁰⁹ *CHP Tarihi*, <http://www.chp.org.tr/CHP/0/CHPTarihi-85.aspx> (retrieved on 23.3.2015)

¹¹⁰ Kemal H. Karpat (a), *Türk Siyasi Tarihi*, İstanbul, Timaş Yayınları, 2014, p. 37.

¹¹¹ Erik Jan Zürcher (a), op. cit., pp. 181-182.

subjective declarations concerning their nationality.¹¹² Therefore, the best understanding of these principles would be through the revolutions of Mustafa Kemal that exemplified these principles. Such as, code on clothing that forbid Ottoman/Muslim style men clothing and acceptance of international time and calendar in 1925¹¹³ reflects the revolutionist principle of Mustafa Kemal which foresaw Western living style and improvement. Wide lists of revolutions that are related to these principles are available¹¹⁴ and much more useful in order to limit very general and semantically flexible principles.

Mustafa Kemal was in the belief that the only way to save the sovereignty of the Turkish nation was national resistance¹¹⁵ and therefore he started mobilising people at local level through locally convened congresses. These congresses were serving a broad aim of an unquestionable and total national sovereignty. Namely the “period of congresses” at this point should be touched upon although slightly in accordance with its Westernist side for presenting the roots and type of Westernism that was aimed in the Republican period.

The congresses that were convened with the initiative of Mustafa Kemal were not only drawing the road map of national resistance against all parties that were to put the existence of the nation under jeopardy but also they were revealing a programme for the future type of Turkish nation’s existence.

In the year 1919, the sovereignty and the motherland of the Empire was under a continuous attack through 7th Article of the Armistice of Mudros signed in October 30th, 1918, which foresaw the invasion of anywhere on Ottoman land if the Allied were to see any kind of danger to their safety. After Greek invasion of Izmir in 1919, Mustafa Kemal, as Ottoman 9th Army Military Inspector, appointed by Grand Vizier Damat Ferit

¹¹² See also Conceptual Framework.

¹¹³ Halil İnalçık (b), *Atatürk ve Demokratik Türkiye*, İstanbul, Kırmızı Yayınları, 2012, p. 70.

¹¹⁴ Atatürk İlke ve İnkılapları, <http://www.ataturkinkilaplari.com/ai/72/ataturkun-ilke-ve-inkilaplari-tablosu---tablo-halinde.html> (retrieved on 23.3.2015)

¹¹⁵ *Kurtuluş Savaşımız (1919-1922)*, Ankara, T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Araştırma ve Siyaset Planlama Genel Müdürlüğü, 1973, p. 28.

Pasha himself, went to Samsun to start up the national resistance. Although he was ordered to come back to Istanbul because of his activities, he did not do so.¹¹⁶

After his step up onto Samsun in May 19th, Mustafa Kemal went to Amasya and declared the Amasya Circular in June 22nd, which was laying out the gravity of the existing situation, highlighting the importance of the only solution that was national resistance and drew a roadmap for action. The roadmap firstly indicated, action in concert and thus the necessity of unification of all groups that aim to defend national sovereignty and refuse annexation to any other state. The following congress was in Erzurum and the decisions made in the congress in sum were that:

“...for securing the unity of the motherland and sustaining the Sultanate and the caliphate the sovereignty of the national will (was) essential. In (the) age in which the nations (were) to control their own destiny, the compliance of Istanbul Government to national will (was) obligatory. Therefore, ... (Istanbul) government (had) to convene a national assembly immediately and all decisions that (were) of the nation’s and motherland’s destiny (had) to be under the assembly’s inspection.” The declaration out of this congress did not only release the constitution of the national resistance and laid out the basis of the National Pact but also the foreign policy essentials stating that the support of other states were welcomed as long as they were in line with the principle that the Turkish nation was aiming to establish a peaceful order in which the unity of land and sovereignty of the nation was ensured.¹¹⁷

Sivas Congress, September 4-11, 1919, out of the congresses for national sovereignty keeps the importance of indicating the national struggle’s aim and principles. From this congress onwards the resistance that was regional (Anatolian and Rumelian Defence of Rights Communities) became national and gathered under one committee. Sivas Congress accepted the decisions made in the previously convened Erzurum Congress in brief however, some points deserves highlighting because of the emphasis attained to them which were;

“the regions that fell under the borders of the Ottoman Country which were agreed under Mudros Armistice in which the majority of the population was Muslim was an inseparable and unified whole. Any part of this land that was intended to be invaded would be defended totally. New privileges would not be given to non-Muslims who have lived side by side with Muslims all along. If the Ottoman Government was to fail to hold a piece of land of the country because of an

¹¹⁶Ibid., pp.27-30.

¹¹⁷*Kurtuluş Savaşımız (1919-1922)*, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

external pressure all kinds of decisions were to be made and measures to be taken to protect the Sultanate, the Caliphate and the nation as well as its unity. The National Assembly was to be convened immediately to inspect the decisions made for the destiny of nation and the state.” From this congress onwards the Turkish National Resistance was to be represented by the Representative Committee and because the attempt of the Committee to contact the Sultan directly did not find response from the Istanbul Government the communication between the two, was decided to be cut down.¹¹⁸

However, the communication between the Sultan and the Representative Committee was re-established and Salih Pasha representing the Istanbul Government met with Mustafa Kemal in Amasya and signed five protocols laying out the future of a unified national movement including Istanbul. Mustafa Kemal was successful in putting across the decisions came out of the Congresses. After the deputy elections the National Assembly was convened in January 13, 1920 and prepared the National Pact in which the Acts were to constitute the core of the future Turkish Foreign Policy. Six Acts of the National Pact were that: 1) the Ottoman State’s land that is *sui generis* of an Arab majority and fell under the invasion of the encounterer armies according to the Mudros Armistice is a ...unified whole since the future of them to be decided on their own. 2) the three cities (Kars, Ardahan, Batum) to decide for their own future through referendum 3) the future of the Western Thrace to be decided by its residents 4) the safety of Istanbul and Marmara Sea have to be immune of any danger and if this is to be achieved the commerce and transportation through the Black Sea and Mediterranean Sea Straits to be decided in consensus with other concerned states 5) in the frame of the provisions decided under agreements between the Allied and their encounterers; the rights of the minorities will be confirmed and provided on the condition that the Muslim population in neighbouring countries would enjoy the same rights. 6) for the development of Turkish nation and economy and modernisation of them to be possible total sovereignty and freedom of contract (was) the main and vital aim. Therefore any clause that hindered political, judiciary and economic development was opposed. The realisation of debt remittances would be paid accordingly.¹¹⁹

Of course these acts were of great disturbance to especially British and Istanbul was occupied in March 16, 1920, after which the members of Deputy Assembly were exiled

¹¹⁸*Kurtuluş Savaşımız (1919-1922)*, op. cit., pp. 36-44.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 49-55.

to Malta. Subsequently, Mustafa Kemal led the deputy elections in Ankara because he was in the mind that the Ottoman State's parliament would be declared void and the Turkish Grand National Assembly was opened in April 23, 1920 in Ankara electing Mustafa Kemal as the parliamentary speaker the next day.¹²⁰

If a brief bracket is to be opened at this part of the study concerning the character of the transition process from the Empire to the Republic; even the member structure of the Turkish Grand National Assembly will be capable of presenting the fact that the establishment of the Turkish Republic did not happen like a coup but rather it should be read as; a group of Ottomans, including Mustafa Kemal himself, seeing that the future of the Empire is not promising in terms of unity and sovereignty and these people uniting for the best possible sort of transferring the remains of the Empire into another form. Most of the members of the First Turkish Grand National Assembly were previously Ottoman soldiers, Ottoman civil servants, Ottoman attaches, national resistance officers- or all of them at the same time like Ali Fuat Cebesoy – Ankara Deputy of First TGNA; Ottoman surgeons, Unionists, Ottoman journalists, Ottoman writers or all of them at the same time like Abdullah Hilmi Tunalı- Bolu Deputy of First TGNA.¹²¹ These examples can be extended as many as a total number of an assembly's members however, the point is that the previous policy makers, diplomats, civil servants of the Empire continued to serve their people in the Republic and since the process was a transition these people did not only transfer themselves but they brought their experiences and ideas herewith too which fastened the establishment of democratic mechanisms like constitutionisation and representation.

The following period witnessed the actions of the Turkish national resistance, which brought victories alongside legitimacy to its entity. For instance, the Inonu Victories of 1921¹²², Ankara Government did not only gain more internal credit but also drew the external attention and in a way started up the idea of the necessity to amend the Sevres

¹²⁰ *Kurtuluş Savaşımız (1919-1922)*, op. cit., pp. 57.

¹²¹ TBMM Albümü 1920-2010, Vol. 1, 1920-1950, Ankara, TBMM Basın ve Halkla İlişkiler Yayınları No. 1, 2010, p. 43. See also: http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/TBMM_Album/Cilt1/index.html (retrieved on 18.3.2015)

¹²² Two battles (First and Second Battles of İnönü) were fought between Turkish and Greek on the Western cities of today's Turkey and both battles were won by the Turkish side. <http://www.ismetinonu.org.tr/index.php/ismet-inonu-in-the-war-of-independence> (retrieved on 20.3.2015)

especially by France and Britain which led to the convention of London Conference. Both Istanbul and Ankara Governments were invited to the London Conference and Grand Vizier Tevfik Pasha was given the floor to speak¹²³ however he said “the floor belongs to the real deputies. Therefore, I ask and propose the floor to be given to the Anatolian Delegation.”¹²⁴ Tevfik Pasha’s behaviour was of crucial importance since it paved the way for the international recognition of the Ankara Government, which removed the duality in representation of the Turkish Nation before international arena that could be held against Turkish to be used as a trump by Allied. So the Victory was not only a military one but a diplomatic one as well and certainly the case was going to be the same for the following victories.

The II. Inonu Victory commanded by Ismet Pasha and Sakarya Victory fought personally by Mustafa Kemal, in which he was given the title of *Gazi*-victor in the holy war-, against Greeks; the Soviets signed an agreement with Ankara Government in March 1921 and in October the Ankara Agreement with the French, that laid far more favourable conditions for Turkish than the Sevres. After the Battle of Dumlupınar; the French and Italian withdrew and British were to give way to Mustafa Kemal’s demands on October 11, 1922 an armistice was signed in Mudanya by which the Allied agreed for the restoration of Turkish sovereignty in Istanbul, the Straits and eastern Thrace, the full Turkish occupation was pending till the signature of a peace treaty to be held in Lausanne. Lausanne Peace Treaty was signed in July 24, 1923 and it was mainly the recognition of the Turkish National Pact internationally and it succeeded Sevres.¹²⁵

It seems quite certain that, after all the struggle against the West, in specific by Mustafa Kemal, to understand the Westernisation Project of Mustafa Kemal as adoration of the West and by all means, would be unreasoning. As a realist himself he was aware of the fact that the Empire struggled to catch up with the Western development for survival and for the Republic he put forward the necessity of stark and quick action for such catching up otherwise the process could take up another two centuries if the Republic was as lucky to survive that long.

¹²³ *Kurtuluş Savaşımız (1919-1922)*, op. cit., p. 96.

¹²⁴ Sabahattin Selek, *Anadolu İhtilali*, İstanbul, İstanbul Matbaası, 1968, pp. 542-543.

¹²⁵ Bernard Lewis (b), op. cit., p. 253-255.

Surely, what is meant from necessity of stark and quick action for Westernisation is not rushing up and losing touch with realities of the community. Certainly, in the process of transitions of communities from one specific world-view and life-style to another there will be mistakes and these will be tolerable as long as they can be made up. The evaluation and critique of Mustafa Kemal's actions and reforms would constitute another study's subject however; a crucial point in both approval and criticism is that perfectionism is not a norm used in assessment of social and political events. In the meantime, for democracies there are taboos as human rights, elections etc. but there are not any taboos as incontestability or "dogmaticalness" of the actions and ideas of the leader as in theocracies. Therefore, neither approval of all ideas and actions of Mustafa Kemal is understandable nor the rejection of them in a total manner. For instance the deposition of the Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin in November 1, 1922 and deposition of the Caliph Abdulmecid in March 3, 1924, the deletion of the "the religion of the Turkish state is Islam" clause from the constitution in April 5, 1928 and the establishing the new Turkish script in Latin in November 1, 1928¹²⁶, were drastic changes for not only the time being but for under any circumstances even today and they have been under discussion in terms of their rightness and fallacy. As possible to observe from the dates given, such drastic changes are done in quite a short period of time and reaction to them seems normal. However, one thing should be got straight and it is that approving the abolishment of the Caliph would not drive someone into irreligiousness nor the critiques of Latin script are Mustafa Kemal's enemies. Sound understanding of historical events, -all social, political and economic decisions become part of history at the end- the necessity of retrospectively looking and having projection capability to the potential future should not be overlooked. Neither Abdulhamit II, Talat Pasha, Enver Pasha, Mehmed VI nor Mustafa Kemal were, never mind being "traitors" as described by various groups, men of under a certain level of intelligence and national consciousness. Certainly their actions were under the limits of their own capabilities and conjuncture and all aimed the Turkish state to be a capable and a strong one, which led them all to the method of development and modernisation that was present in the West.

¹²⁶ Bernard Lewis (b), op. cit., pp. 259, 264, 276, 278.

Aside from presenting the historical and political events that gave way to the proclamation of the Republic and the Foreign Policy indicators of the Republic, the purpose of this section was to clearly reveal and underline that “the land that the Republic is settled on is the motherland of the Ottoman State. For this reason the state continues with the republic; with the language, religion, land and people of course we are the successor of the Ottoman Empire.”¹²⁷ The reason for such highlighting of this point is because the consciousness of the roots of certain policies and decisions accordingly will make them easier to understand and evaluate. If the process of War of Independence and the events within are to be known in a more detailed manner the provisions of the National Pact and its leading character for the future Turkish Foreign Policy determinants will be understood per se.

3.3. THE DETERMINANTS OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE REPUBLICAN ERA

At the very beginning of this section it should be recorded that the presentation of policies concerning the international relations of a certain state is often done through exemplification of real events, which pave the way for deduction of these determinants over examples. However, even real events and the policies/reactions/reciprocations of the related parties of that event can be “read” differently by various people of various visions since written history is full of “norm life cycle” examples. But if the limit of scepticism is not exceeded, surely there is a certain roadmap for Turkish Foreign Policy in the Republican Era and it will be deducted that the constructor was Atatürk himself for exactly with the aim of internalisation of Westernisation idea in all fields. So, if a Turkish Foreign Policy determinants list was to be revealed back in the first years of the Republic, probably it would be much easier than today since the globalisation phenomenon leads to an ever-changing conjuncture and requires quicker manoeuvres for Foreign Policy makers to stay in the course of the sudden events. On the other hand this situation to cause an “undetermined” Foreign Policy is not likely. As all other states

¹²⁷ İlber Ortaylı (b), op. cit., p. 95.

have, Turkey has Foreign Policy determinants, which are as old and as stable although “updated” and “kept up with” accordingly with new circumstances as years pass.

Since the Republic was the result of a smooth transmission of the Empire, it would be appropriate to state that the Foreign Policy determinants of the Republic were not brand new and to be decided from scratch but rather taken over from that of the Empire’s and revised in accordance with the new internal and external social and political order. Although the Foreign Policy determinants of the Republic can be listed with few points the two main principles may be considered to rule the rest. The first determinant is the status quoism and the second one is Westernism.¹²⁸

3.3.1. Status quoism

Status quo’s lexical meaning is “the existing state of affairs”¹²⁹ and thus status quoism is supporting the status quo. If to be described through *argumentum a contrario* it is anti-revisionism, that opposes the existing system. However, the roots of those two terms lie in the inter-war period and “revisionist ... refers to types of foreign policies practised by certain states (Germany, Italy and Japan) in the inter-war period whereby they attempted to alter the existing international power and territorial distribution to their own advantage. Instead of accepting the inferior position accorded to them by the prevailing order (... Versailles system), revisionist states attempt, by means of diplomatic pressure, threats, force, disregard for international law and existing treaty obligations, to alter the situation in their favour.”¹³⁰ So as can be deduced from the descriptions, these two terms refer to “winners” status quoists and “losers” revisionists of the First World War. In case of the Foreign Policy of the Republic, these two terms apply accordingly however, with a dichotomy.

¹²⁸ Baskın Oran (b), “Türk Dış Politikası Temel İlkeleri ve Soğuk Savaş Ertesi Durumu Üzerine Notlar”, p. 368. <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/42/476/5529.pdf> (retrieved on 21.3.2015).

¹²⁹ Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newnham, op. cit., p. 517.

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 480-481.

The Lausanne Treaty of 1923 for Turkish Foreign Policy was a revisionist move because it did not only disregard the Sevres Treaty of 1920 but also altered the advantageous position of the “conservative” countries that supported status quo.¹³¹ Two other examples of revisionism in Turkish Foreign Policy are Montreux Convention of 1936 and Annexation of Hatay to Motherland in 1939 since they were to amend the Lausanne Treaty. However, these three revisionist movements in Turkish Foreign Policy should be read as follows: Lausanne was a result of reading revisionism in the sense of not accepting the inferiority and reacting through Anatolian Movement and War of Independence and in addition status quoism of Turkish Foreign Policy was to be started immediately after this; the Montreux Convention and the Annexation of Hatay to Turkey were to be realised without use of force and in accordance with international law in contrast to other revisionist countries of the time.¹³²

Then what is the definition of status quoism in Turkish Foreign Policy? There are two main meanings for status quoism in Turkish Foreign Policy. The first one is sustaining the existing borders, being satisfied with them, unwilling to change them and as a result not being irredentist. This understanding was to find itself in the famous saying of Atatürk, which was going to be the motto of Turkish Foreign Policy: “Peace at Home, Peace Abroad”¹³³ revealing the message that Turkish Foreign Policy by being status quoist expects and shows respect for territorial sovereignty and in the same time keeps away from adventurism as explained best in the speech of Atatürk himself;

“...we are not of the people who are after big dreams. (Such adventurism) caused the entire world’s animosity towards us. ...we are a nation that wants life and liberty and only for this we would sacrifice our lives.”¹³⁴

The second meaning of status quoism in Turkish Foreign Policy was to sustain the existing balances. Turkey had two different balances to watch over. Firstly, despite its Westernism Turkey had to establish a certain type of balance between the West and its

¹³¹ Edward Hallett Carr, *The Twenty Years’ Crisis 1919-1939*, London, Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1946, p. 216.

¹³² Baskın Oran (a), op. cit., p 48.

¹³³ Baskın Oran (a), op. cit., p. 47.

¹³⁴ *Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, Vol. I (Comp. Nimet Arsan), Second Edition, Ankara, Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, 1961, p. 201.

opposing. Secondly, it had to pursue a balance within the West. In the frame of this policy it is clear that since West is the dominant power status quoism of Turkish Foreign Policy and its Westernism went hand in hand. Also in the times that both balances were to be achieved Republic's implementation of status quoism became easier and its relative autonomy increased.¹³⁵

Before passing on to the section on Westernism it should be noted that the bigger share of internal debate belongs to the Westernist policies of Turkey in its foreign relations rather than on its status quoism. However, as presented and will be continued to be presented, Westernism is not a notion as its name implies that causes so much reaction and attention. Westernism represents modernisation, improvement and progress while status quoism requires more dependency and engagement to the West. Retrospectively looking, status quoism seems to be the only logical policy for Turkey after Lausanne since the internal circumstances both in demographic and economic terms would not allow and could not have afforded otherwise. However, as presented through examples of "revisionism" in Turkish Foreign Policy, Turkey's status quoism should not be understood as passiveness instead it is staying out of adventurism and in the same time being alert to both offenses and opportunities. So, it is quite clear that Turkey's dynamics in socio-economic terms and its geographical realities besides its past experiences, leads it to infinite and constant balances to be watched. While Turkey's status quoism prevents it from irredentism it does not and should not prevent it from being sensitive to events taking place around its borders in the same time; not only in the frame of concepts as peacefulness and human rights but as well as opportunities and future orders that are *a priori* to have effects on Turkey.

3.3.2. Westernism

The relation between the two determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy seems to be like chicken-egg dilemma in a sense, since for Turkish case they appear to be each other's *sine qua non*. Without Westernism, in a world where the West is the dominant power,

¹³⁵ Baskin Oran (a), op. cit., p. 49.

keeping the status quo is not likely. On the other hand, without being status quoist, acceptance from the West or sustaining good relations with it does not seem feasible. However, out of the two determinants, Westernism may be considered to have an older background in Turkish history because of Turkish progress facing west constantly even before they had any soil on the continent of Europe.

At the first place, Turkish, since their nomadic times and their migration from Central Asia to Anatolia, had directed west. The superstructural factor for such directing is stemming from Islam's "gaza" understanding that considers war with non-Muslims as holy. Secondly, contrary to the East Anatolia's mountainous nature and inefficient economy Western Anatolia was of lowland and easy to progress. Thirdly, the corrupt feudal structure of Byzantine made its people to welcome a more just Ottoman order.¹³⁶ Of course for the Ottomans to move further and further to the west till Istanbul had another reason, which is prophet Mohammed heralding the conquer of Istanbul and praising its conqueror:

"Verily you shall conquer Constantinople. What a wonderful leader will her leader be, and what a wonderful army will that army be!"¹³⁷

Briefly, aside from directing west since 11th century, Turkish were interrelated with the Western communities between 15th and 18th centuries in areas varying from military, including seafaring, to commerce and technology.¹³⁸ Of course the social interaction and therefore exchange of ideas meant more in terms of awakening of new ideals for Westernising Turkish society than material transaction. Although such ideals were not to go down to the rural level but "in the 19th century, the ruling elite, central bureaucracy, with the aim of preserving the unity of the state, (was claiming) the best policy for the "state" to be alliance with the West and Westernisation."¹³⁹

¹³⁶Baskın Oran (a), op. cit., p. 27.

¹³⁷<http://www.sunnah.org/msaec/articles/Constantinople.htm>(retrieved on 7.8.2014). (Bukhari, *The Great History*).

¹³⁸ Halil İnalçuk (c), *Rönesans Avrupası Türkiye'nin Batı ile Özdeşleşme Süreci*, İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014, pp. 316-318.

¹³⁹ Halil İnalçuk (c), op. cit., p. 318.

It would not be incorrect to state that since the Republic took over almost all dynamics of the Empire, Westernism was successfully taken over as well. Especially when the geography and the community that has been taken over are considered, both status quoism and Westernism were quite the only choices for the Republic's Foreign Policy determinants. Besides, the Union and Progress Party's Westernism was a valuable legacy to the Republic that was insisting on development, progress and modernisation in especially institutional capacities, since Unionists saw the rescue of the Empire through reaching the level that the West has reached in terms of development, paving the way for Western dominance in the world politics. Of course the share of the ideological leading and influence of the Unionists who are the establishers of the Republic is worth recording.¹⁴⁰

As a matter of fact, for a society that is not "Western" and Muslim in majority, the Westernisation process of the Republic could have been more difficult than it had been however, as presented through the entire study, because Westernisation was almost a two hundred years old policy within the Turkish state whether it is ruled by monarchy or republic Westernisation was not new and strange. But the point that made the serious difference in the two Westernisations was that the Empire's Westernisation was "material" while the Republic's was material and "spiritual". Even though their common point was that in both administrations Westernism was an evident tool for progress and unity within an ideology-like national consciousness *ipso facto* a Foreign Policy determinant; the Empire despite its Westernisation legally, institutionally and militarily was to preserve its "look down on" to the non-Muslim West whereas Atatürk's Westernisation was foreseeing the adoption of West's idea of life with all its symbols and values.¹⁴¹

The understanding of Westernism was to vary, as it still varies in today's Turkey, amongst the Turkish thinkers, writers and well educated since the beginning of the Westernisation phenomenon. While some were to see the West to present Christianity before anything else and thus to differentiate between Westernism and modernisation concepts from each other, some were to consider the West as the symbol of progress

¹⁴⁰ Baskın Oran (a), op. cit., p. 50.

¹⁴¹ Halil İnalcık (c), op. cit., p. 359.

and therefore to take Westernism and modernisation concurrently or sometimes as synonyms. This was the case during the period of Union and Progress Party¹⁴², it even continued in Atatürk's period of total Westernisation¹⁴³ and contemporarily continues to still be the case by Turkish people themselves. Atatürk was to identify modernisation with terms as being contemporaneous, coetaneous or Western and adding that the values that were being tried to be adopted from the West were not to belong to a certain civilisation but them to be universal and, deductively perceiving these values, as rationality bringing about development in science and technology, to be required for progress in all terms.¹⁴⁴

Although it might sound a bit absurd for the “beginners”, “*sui generis*” is a term of quite common usage in describing and explaining Turkish history and politics. For instance, democracy is a term symbolised by the word republic in Turkish policy, which is understandable when the struggle for the Republic's establishment for the sake of national will, aside from the Independence War, with the Sultan and Caliphate positions is considered. On the other hand, republic actually refers to a way of governance by a president and in accordance with law but the fact that the ruler is not a monarch and the supreme power resides in the hands of citizens who are entitled to vote¹⁴⁵ in the lexical meaning of the republic, cognition of republic became synonyms with democracy although not all the republics in the world are democracies in the same time as in the example of the People's Republic of China.

Republic is not only a word to imply democracy in Turkish case but to shelter all other terms such as secularism that have been achieved through the realisation of it.¹⁴⁶ Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural state that “The modernism that was to be achieved through the institutions developed out of Republicanism and Populism-for the objectives of Nationalism, and through the techniques of Revolutionism - was supplemented by two more Kemalist doctrines, which directed and defined the outlook

¹⁴² Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar, et. al., “Türkiye’de İslami ve Batılı Düşüncelerin Etkileşimi”, *Türkiye’de İslam ve Laiklik*, İstanbul, İnsan Yayınları, 1995, p. 19.

¹⁴³ Niyazi Berkes (b), *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, London, Hurst & Company, 1998, p. 463.

¹⁴⁴ Halil İnalcık (c), op. cit., p. 359-360.

¹⁴⁵ Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, Massachusetts, Merriam-WebsterInc., 1986, p. 1001.

¹⁴⁶ Kemal Gözler (c), “Cumhuriyet ve Monarşi”, *Türkiye Günlüğü*, Vol. 53, Ankara, November-December 1998, p.34.

and policies of the state: Secularism and Statism.”¹⁴⁷ So in sum, conceptualising and the reasons for it seems an intricate job with regard to Turkey but if the point that the Republic of Turkey was established in accordance with Atatürk’s worldview that lays out principles as republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism, statism, and revolutionism-reformism which had the aim of Westernisation through substituting reason for religion¹⁴⁸ is kept in mind the issue becomes easier.

Finally, if a schema was to be drawn for the determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, it would probably be a circular one and would include the principles of Kemalism since the Foreign Policy determinants and the Kemalist principles are in very close relationship and are in need of each other for their sound existence altogether. If Westernism is taken as the beginning point, status quoism would have a bidirectional arrow in between just as republicanism would have the same arrow with secularism. Therefore, both the Foreign Policy determinants and Kemalist principles should be considered together, in fact should not even be diversified as such, to read Turkey’s policies in general. Westernism can be regarded as the bollard of Turkish Foreign Policy and as long as it is tied up to that, the rest of the principles are to determine its course accordingly.

Before concluding, reiterating the fact that transition from the Empire to the Republic with all its belongings including the society and therefore the social dynamics, the Republicans’ most difficult job was the legitimisation of the new socio-political system before the people. Republicans followed a very similar way with the Unionists in terms of legitimising their new ideas about the state and their reforms concerning the system and thus the people as the next chapter will reveal. As given at the beginning of this chapter, legitimisation is crucial both domestically and internationally especially in terms of new ideas to be internalised however, legitimisation as a tool itself also needs tools which are often the actions and rhetoric of the leaders. As Özbudun and Kazancıgil puts it about the politics of the Empire and the Republic, “Continuity is obvious particularly at the level of value systems, cultural codes and symbols of

¹⁴⁷ Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Volume 2, UK, Cambridge University Press, p. 384.

¹⁴⁸ Metin Heper and Nur Bilge Criss, op. cit., p. 24-25

collective identity as the basis of the legitimacy and institutionalization of the state...One also observes a close resemblance between the social background characteristics of the Young Turk political elite, whose criteria of recruitment were Turkishness, education, youth and belonging to the 'official' class, and the political elite of the Kemalist era."¹⁴⁹ So, the leaders of the Republic being ex-Unionists and carrying their experiences about constructing norms and meanings for the society in times of reform and change, the first years of the Republic became evidential for the smooth transition from the Empire by itself.

Eventually, quite likely because of Mustafa Kemal's military background, in the transition period things went very systematically. There were targets for the Turkish society on the way of Westernisation and principles were just beside them for guidance while revolutions accelerated the process –although in a from top to down and obligatory manner- incredibly. Out of numerous ideas and principles the most explicit and certain one seems to be Westernism and as will be presented in the next chapter, Westernism is so precise that no domestic, foreign or conjunctural development is capable of changing that target even in the periods that Turkey looked like changing axis the most. Besides till his death Mustafa Kemal will not only stay in power but all his ideas and rules will also unquestionably stay and because of that the period which will be presented in the next chapter marking years with Mustafa Kemal is going to be called Atatürk period.

¹⁴⁹ Ergun Özbudun and Ali Kazancıgil, "Introduction", *Ataturk: Founder of a Modern State*, ed. Ali Kazancıgil and Ergun Özbudun. Hamden, Archon Books, 1981, p. 3.

CHAPTER 4

HOW LONG DOES IT TAKE FROM HERE TO THE WEST?

Management of foreign relations is already a difficult business but the internal and external circumstances that are being under by a state and the political conjuncture may make it even more difficult to handle. The determinants, which make foreign relations management relatively more difficult or easier to handle, are the relations with neighbouring countries, social and economic dynamics and alliances. Relations with neighbouring countries have direct influence on the security perception, concerns and policies of a state while effecting economy through foreign trade. When the impact of economic strength is considered over social and political order within the country, as well as its position and voice in the international community, the economy-effecting factors as neighbour relations become even more important for Foreign Policy. Eventually the alliances are shaped accordingly. Bad or critical relations with neighbours –especially when the economies are comparatively small-scaled- leads to the bandwagon of “great” powers that results in political dependency. All these factors being somehow related and connected with each other make the Foreign Policy planning and implementing process tight.

This chapter will be presenting this never-ending “tight” process of Turkish Foreign Policy making, not only because of the conjuncture and narrow circumstances that it is under but because of its *sine qua non* Foreign Policy determinants while having limited capabilities to implement them. Before reading this chapter, the idea behind the policies of the Republic should be underscored which was the construction of a Western Turkish society and policies were organised duly. Atatürk believed in the total modernisation of the Turkish society, which was possible through Westernisation of thought and institutions and constructing a new Turkish identity accordingly would be possible *ipso facto*. Identity construction may have various components but surely the vital one is the construction of notions, which brings construction of thoughts. In this direction, Atatürk

stated that “Our largest claim is to continue our nation as the most civilized and prosperous of nations. This is the dynamic ideal of the Turkish nation, which has performed a true revolution not only in its institutions, but also in its thought.”¹⁵⁰ In this frame, new Turkish state’s construction depended on both the ideals and the empirical outcomes that those ideals would bring along. As the forthcoming sections are going to touch upon both the principles of Atatürk (the six arrows) and his reforms in social life targeting at constructing the culture of the Turkish society to fit with the Westernised Turkey construction, a type of corporate identity construction can be spoken of. As Wendt states in his work “Corporate identity refers to the intrinsic, self-organizing qualities that constitute actor individuality. ...for organizations, it means their constituent individuals, physical resources, and the shared beliefs and institutions in virtue of which individuals function as “we”.”¹⁵¹ So, while Atatürk aimed at a Westernised Turkey with its society and institutions, he certainly wanted this society to construct a shared understanding of Turkish identity through their commonalities.

The following sections are going to be covering the period starting from the establishment of the Republic and Atatürk’s Foreign Policy till the coup in 1960 which is going to be the next chapter’s starting point. The years between 1923 and 1938 is named as Atatürk period since he leaded everything within the state because the type of Westernism that became the state policy was his project. After Atatürk’s death, the world witnessed the Second World War, casting Turkey one of the most difficult roles in its history as not fighting in the War but staying diplomatically and very much involved. The chapter is going to be finalised with the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War years, proving Turkey’s determined Westernism more than ever before and perhaps ever after.

¹⁵⁰Enver Z. Karal, “The Principles of Kemalism.” in *Ataturk: Founder of a Modern State*, ed. Ali Kazancigil and Ergun Ozbudun. Hamden, Archon Books, 1981, p. 32.

¹⁵¹Alexander Wendt (d), “Collective Identity Formation and the International State”, *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 88 No. 2, June 1994, 384–396, p. 385.

4.1. FOREIGN POLICY BETWEEN 1923 AND 1938

The period of 1923-1938 is often defined as Atatürk period in Turkish Foreign Policy since Atatürk was the absolute decision maker without doubt¹⁵² however; this state of dominance should not be interpreted as absolutism. Rather the conjuncture required swift decision and action for all states and especially for the Republic which was still having its establishment process and the before and after Lausanne Treaty time course was too crucial to be “democratically” discussed. Of course, there were and are opposing views about if Atatürk was an authoritarian leader although he dedicated himself for democracy in the Republic of Turkey. Erik Jan Zürcher notes that “Mustafa Kemal was accused of being authoritarian and posing an immoderate attitude; according to Kazım Karabekir¹⁵³ his (Mustafa Kemal’s) such attitude caused a distrustful atmosphere amongst the national actionists within the movement especially in the eastern provinces who are more conservative than the ones in the Western provinces.”¹⁵⁴ Contemporarily, the discussion continues and in an interview Taha Akyol as one of the leading intellectuals in Turkey states that “since Atatürk was used to solving problems through military methods, he was radical. Besides he has a statement as: people who rule to save the day cannot be real revolutionists.”¹⁵⁵ Seemingly, the debate will be a subject of discussion every now and then, but Atatürk’s military background and his policies and attitude being influenced by that is precisely a valuable note for this study.

Throughout this period the Foreign Policy attitude of Turkey presented an obligation of balancing. Neither social nor economic dynamics of the country was allowing an “aggressive” Foreign Policy anyhow. Turkey could not have followed a Foreign Policy

¹⁵² Roderic H. Davison, “Turkish Diplomacy from Mudros to Lausanne”, *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History 1774-1923*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1990, p. 232.

¹⁵³ Ottoman soldier, politician, İstanbul deputy in 1938. He was Atatürk’s close friend although had opposing views with him and finally got distant. For detailed information of his life see: Kazım Karabekir, op. cit., “Kazım Karabekir Paşa’nın Hayatı”, pp. 11-17.

¹⁵⁴ Erik Jan Zürcher (b), *Savaş, Devrim ve Uluslaşma*, İstanbul, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005, p. 23.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Taha Akyol by Neşe Düzel in Taraf Newspaper, November 16, 2009. See: <http://arsiv.taraf.com.tr/yazilar/nese-duzel/taha-akyol-ataturk-askeri-metotlara-aliskindi/8523/> (retrieved on 16.5.2015)

that risked another war in the short term meanwhile the “national defence spirit” was determined to preserve everything that a sovereign and dignified state would preserve. Therefore, Turkey’s Foreign Policy attitude was cooperative and unaggressive but stubborn and decisive in the same time. Certainly, although very short, this period of time is capable of presenting a concentrated national diplomacy lesson for future Turkish diplomats, aside from the discussion of its success, if politics is the art of realisation of the possible best.¹⁵⁶

Although the decision-making mechanisms have changed from the Empire to the Republic, certainly the Foreign Policy making legacy of the Empire has passed onto the Republic inevitably. The Foreign policy legacy can be listed as fine adjustment, realism and not standing alone or in other words avoiding isolation¹⁵⁷, making good use of international law, importance of national intelligence, avoiding adventurism and deliberateness.¹⁵⁸

The period that is described as Atatürk’s in the history of Turkish Foreign Policy corresponds with the interwar period which practically presented a period of preparation for the forthcoming war through alliances for all major powers although this is certainly not a retrospective statement and efforts for sustaining peace at the time cannot be underestimated. However, the Foreign Policy practices of the Republic revealed its efforts to sustain the status quo and, in line with Turkish Foreign Policy determinants, to be ready in case of a new war.¹⁵⁹

For a relatively short period of time quite a number of events took place concerning Turkish Foreign Policy. The empty side of the glass presents the limited variety of choices in both socio-economic and political terms of the Republic. Although the bright

¹⁵⁶ Original phrase is in German: “die Politik ist die Lehre vom Möglichen” in English: Politics is the art of the possible. In an interview with Otto von Bismarck (stated by), 1815–98 German statesman: in conversation with Meyer von Waldeck, 11 August 1867 in book: *Fürst Bismarck: neue Tischgespräche und Interviews*, Otto von Bismarck, Vol. 1, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1895, p. 248. See also <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191794230.001.0001/q-oro-ed2-00008442>

¹⁵⁷ Sami Kohen, “Türk Dış Politikası Temel İlkelerinden Vazgeçmiyor”, *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası*, ed. Habibe Özdal, et. al., Vol. 3, Ankara, USAK Yayınları, 2010, p. 225, 226, 240.

¹⁵⁸ Nur Bilge Criss, Bilkent University Turkish Foreign Policy II Lectures, Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, 2006-2007 Spring Semester, February 2007.

¹⁵⁹ Kamran İnan, op. cit., *Dış Politika*, 1994, see.

http://web.itu.edu.tr/~yildizh/Kitaplar/Sosyal_guncel/dis_politika.htm (retrieved on 3.4.2015)

side is a definite example of “staff intelligence”, as Turkish call it, which managed to turn the turmoil of the interwar period to its advantage. Of course the conjuncture somehow led such a quick time-pass full of agreements, alliances and setting-up and breaking-down of orders but the policy that was adopted by the administrators who were former Unionists¹⁶⁰ and new Republicanists surely managed this period of time smartly aside from the discussion over the success of these policies and avoiding sentences starting with “if”s.

The Republic’s Foreign Policy in this period avails its Westernism from the start through the alliances it made and the social, political and institutional reforms that it adopted. But it is almost possible to state that Turkey’s “Westernism despite the West itself” adventure started concurrently. The Empire fought the West to survive and at the end it did survive as a republic, which is a Western style of administration, and now the Republic needed the West both to erase its imperial past in order to survive again.

Before anything else, Turkey’s east was the West as well. Britain was Turkey’s neighbour through Iraq mandate and Cyprus, France through Syria, Italy through the Dodecanese and Meis Island.¹⁶¹ This was the situation back then however, even today the case is not very different and Turkey’s eastern neighbours are known with their strong alliances with the West or at least their reliance on them. So, back then and today, when Turkey was/is considered facing east, was/is it really east?

The interwar period of Turkish Foreign Policy can be divided into two as 1920s marking the finalisation of the issues that were left uncertain/unresolved in Lausanne Peace Treaty and keeping the status quo in the best possible terms and as 1930s balancing the influence of the West through alliances and making use of the conjuncture for Turkey’s advantage.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Feroz Ahmad (d), *Turkey The Quest for Identity*, London, Oneworld Publications, 2014, p. 87.

¹⁶¹ Mehmet Gönlübol and Cem Sar, “1919-1939 Dönemi”, *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası*, Vol. I, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları No. 47, p. 61.

¹⁶² Sait Dinç, “Atatürk Döneminde (1920-1938) Türk Dış Politikasında Gelişmelere Genel Bir Bakış; İkili ve Çokuluslu İlişkiler”, pp. 4-5. See http://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/ATATURK/arastirmalar/sait_dinc_ataturk_donemi_turk_dis_politikasi.pdf (retrieved on 7.4.2015)

The Mosul issue was an unresolved case between Turkey and Britain in Lausanne and thus to continue till 1926 of Turkey-Britain Agreement.¹⁶³ Although the issue became complicated in its process the basic explanation can be that Mosul was included in the National Pact of Turkey with historical, geographical and demographical reasons and Britain aimed to include Mosul in Iraq since Iraq was its mandate and was invaded by Britain in 1918 after Mudros Armistice. The role of the oil reserves of Mosul and Turkey's political loneliness were certainly factors affecting the structure of the agreement for both sides.¹⁶⁴

Turkish side proposed a plebiscite which Britain insisted on refusing and the issue was taken to the League of Nations that Turkey was not a member of and of no surprise the League favoured Mosul to be included in Iraq and Turkey accepted the decision receiving 10% of the province's oil for the next 25 years in return receiving £700.000 instead.¹⁶⁵ Mainly the result seemed as the loss of Mosul, off track from the National Pact and a diplomatic failure but certainly another war especially with Britain –and the rest- could not have been afforded.

It can be stated that one of the longest-established and multi-issued relations of the Turkish is the one with the French¹⁶⁶ and because the Republic came about smoothly through a transition from the Empire, the foreign relations legacy of it was on the shoulders of the Republic. The main problem to say with this legacy was that in some matters countries like Britain and France wanted to keep on going with the Empire's regulations that favoured their social and economic being on Turkish soil. However, the Republic was well aware of the fact that certain concessions that were given to other states became a burden on the state's economy and administration although it used to benefit the Empire during its strong times. Therefore, the Republic was determined not to repeat the same mistakes as capitulations that burdened national economy and prevented national production and foreign schools with too much sovereignty that

¹⁶³ Faruk Sönmezoğlu (a), *İki Savaş Sırası ve Arasında Türk Dış Politikası*, İstanbul, Der Yayınları, 2011, p. 269.

¹⁶⁴ Nevin Yazıcı, "1926-1956 Dönemi Türk Dış Politikasında Musul Sorunu". *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Year 7, Vol. 14, Fall 2011, pp. 141-142.

¹⁶⁵ Erik Jan Zürcher (a), op. cit., p. 201.

¹⁶⁶ "Türkiye-Fransa İlişkileri", see <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-fransa-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa> (retrieved on 7.4.2015)

caused mobilisation on ethnic base and becoming an internal issue effecting international relations of the state.¹⁶⁷ So both the capitulations and the foreign schools were issues that occupied the Turkish-French relations' agenda but the emphasis was rightfully put on the Syrian border issue.

According to the Turkish-French Treaty of October, 1921, the Turkey-Syria border was drawn (Article 8) and was confirmed in Lausanne Treaty (Article 3)¹⁶⁸ and a special administrative regime for İskenderun (Alexandretta-today a district of Hatay city) district was agreed upon. According to Article 8, a border commission was foreseen to be established to determine the border a month after the signing. However, the commission could only be established in September, 1925 and it failed to determine the border. So Turkish Government came together with French Syrian High Commissioner De Jouvenel in February, 1924 and agreed upon a contract, five protocols and a signature protocol.¹⁶⁹ The signing of the documents waited till the solution of the Mosul issue between Turkey and Britain since France was obliged to support Britain in the region according to the San Remo Agreement of 1920. Finally, the "Friendship and Good Neighbourliness Agreement" with France and Turkey-Britain Agreement were verified by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on the same day, on June 7, 1926.¹⁷⁰

Turkey's foreign relations other than the aforementioned states can be summarised as follows: Relations with Italy in the interwar period followed a rough road and Italy was definitely a threat perception for the Republic with its existence on the Aegean and its aggression in Balkans aside from its alliance with the Empire's enemies in the First World War. However, relations were established to some extent, which were mainly commercial just like relations with Germany. The main difference was that relations with Germany were cut down accordingly with the Mudros Agreement and the Empire and Germany were in a way sharing the same destiny because of the First World War.¹⁷¹ Until the extremism (fascism/Nazism) came to Italy and Germany consequently, Turkey's relations with them stayed balanced. In the meantime Turkey had no major

¹⁶⁷ Roderic H. Davison, op. cit., "Introduction" p. xiii, "Westernised Education", p. 168.

¹⁶⁸ *Türkiye Dış Politikası'nda 50 Yıl Lozan (1922-1923)*, Ankara, T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı, 1973, p. 176.

¹⁶⁹ Mehmet Gönlübol and Cem Sar, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

¹⁷⁰ Faruk Sönmezoğlu (a), op. cit., p. 277.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.283.

problems neither with its Muslim neighbours nor USSR.¹⁷² The abolishment of the Caliphate in the Republic did not cause a serious crush in Turkey's relations with the Muslim world, although not none, since even when the Caliphate was existent, Arabs did not hesitate to cooperate with a Christian country (Britain)¹⁷³ and Iran never adored Turks, and at the end of the day the Muslims were now under Christian mandate and thus Turkey had relations with the mandatories which were Western.¹⁷⁴

The Republic should have had more complicated relations with the Balkans because of historical reasons and especially after the dissipation of the European Empires leaving quite a number of new states behind. But because these new states were busy with their internal issues and Turkey was mainly busy with Greece, normal diplomatic relations were managed to be conserved.¹⁷⁵ Aside from this condition, Turkey's Westernism and its relations with the West often intersected with the socio-political developments in Balkans. This situation had many reasons but mainly because the region called Balkans are in the west and Turkey's main foreign relations partners as well as Turkey itself have borders with Balkan countries. Turkey had most of its relations with Greece in the Balkans since other Balkan states were under communism and stayed marginal for Turkey.¹⁷⁶

Westernist Turkey had to be cautious towards the West throughout its history and events present that Turkey always had multi-dimensional foreign relations, which was an imperative rather than romanticism. While having cooperation with the West Turkey was always in search for other partners to balance its relations with the West so that those "Western" relations do not become dependency of Turkey. Three main examples

¹⁷² Haydar Çakmak, "Dönemin Dış Politika Sorunları", *Türk Dış Politikası 1919-2012*, ed. Haydar Çakmak, Ankara, Barış Kitap, 2012, p. 165.

¹⁷³ Salahi R. Sonyel, "Albay T. E. Lawrence, Haşimi Araplarını, Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna Karşı Ayaklanmaları için Nasıl Aldattı", *Belleten*, 199, Vol.: LI - Issue 199, April 1987. See <http://www.ttk.gov.tr/index.php?Page=DergiIcerik&IcerikNo=739> (retrieved on 7.4.2015)

¹⁷⁴ David Murphy, *The Arab Revolt 1916-18 Lawrence Sets Arabia Ablaze*, Oxford, Osprey Publishing, 2008, pp. 6, 79, 83-84.

¹⁷⁵ Oral Sander (b), *Balkan Gelişmeleri ve Türkiye (1945-1965)*, Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası, 1969, s. 5.

¹⁷⁶ Baskın Oran (c), "Türkiye'nin Balkan ve Kafkas Politikası", See <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/42/468/5401.pdf> (retrieved on 11.4.2015)

for this balancing are the membership of League of Nations, Balkan Entente and Sadabad Pact.¹⁷⁷

Even though Turkey had a disappointing experience with the League of Nations as previously presented in the Mosul issue and Britain did not favour Turkey's membership in the League, when the year was 1932 Turkey was to become a member of the League with the alliance of 43 member states.¹⁷⁸ Although it is to state the obvious, Turkey's membership in the League in 1932 points at a reality, which is that, the West described Turkey as "Western" whenever they needed so.

The League of Nations was certainly under British dominance and before 1932 Turkey stayed suspicious about joining the League (especially because of the Mosul dispute) besides Turkish-Soviet treaty of 1925 foresaw approval of the other for a third party related undertakings for both Turkey and the Soviets but Turkey carefully handled the process both with the West and the Soviets (which also became a member in 1934).¹⁷⁹ On the other hand, it was time for getting ready for the next war since Mussolini's aggression was present already and Hitler seemed to seize power. A shared fear was existent between the West and Turkey over Italy and Germany since these two countries were threat to European peace constantly¹⁸⁰ before Western eyes and for Turkish side Italy's ambitions on eastern Mediterranean and both Italy and Germany being Turkey's trade partners were well enough for Turkey's discomfort. But Turkey did not have the same luxury of focusing on a small number of countries as West had and Turkey had to start balancing. A checklist was there: never cross swords with Britain and thus keep well with France too; need USSR not only for USSR itself but for almost the entire Eastern border countries that are being in relation with; Balkans should not be forgotten, including the *wave of cold air*, everything comes from there; surely the quick tempered eastern neighbours should always be watched over.

¹⁷⁷ İsmail Soysal, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989, p. 399,448-449, 582-583.

¹⁷⁸ Fahir Armaoğlu (a), *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi 1914-1980*, Ankara, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1984, p. 337.

¹⁷⁹ William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy 1774-2000*, London, Frank Cass, 2002, p. 60.

¹⁸⁰ Erik Jan Zürcher (a), op. cit., p. 202.

So, after Turkey's proof of its Westernism through the membership to the League, a friendship treaty was signed between Greece and Turkey in October 1930 which was basically against Bulgarian irredentism and a Balkan Pact was concluded in 1934 between Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey and three years later the Sadabad Pact did a similar job for Turkey concerning its eastern neighbours, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan.¹⁸¹

Before the Sadabad Pact was signed, Italy attacked Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935, which meant British Imperial roads passing through Red Sea to become under serious threat.¹⁸² Turkey used this opportunity to amend the Article 18 of Lausanne Treaty (in accordance with the Article 10 of League of Nations Charter), which foresaw demilitarisation of the Straits and thus limited Turkey's sovereignty and unity over its soil.¹⁸³ In addition, the guarantees given for the protection of the Straits according to the Lausanne Treaty were of no use any more. Finally the Montreux Convention of July 20, 1936 was signed between Turkey, Britain, France, USSR, Japan, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia.¹⁸⁴ The certain and most important gain from this Convention was Turkey's retrieve of its full sovereignty on its own piece of land. Of course closer Turkish-British relations through the Convention was a serious gain of Turkey as well but the administrators of the Republic were too experienced, with all their war memories still awake, to depend on the British so much and thus Turkey kept its relations well with USSR as well.

Towards the Second World War, Britain and France were aware of their need of cooperation with Turkey and before the "Triple Alliance" the long standing Hatay issue was resolved on Turkey's advantage through signing of an agreement between Turkey and France accepting Hatay's inclusion to Turkish soil.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Erik Jan Zürcher (a), op. cit., p. 202.

¹⁸² *Montreux ve Savaş Öncesi Yılları (1935-1939)*, Ankara, T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı, 1973, p. 11.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-24, 109.

¹⁸⁵ Fahir Armaoğlu (a), op. cit., pp.348-351.

4.2. FOREIGN POLICY WITHOUT ATATÜRK

4.2.1. Foreign Policy between 1939 and 1945

The events taking place in the international environment admitted the forthcoming war in every way in 1939. Agreements were being made, leaders of major states were openly declaring both their appreciation as well as threats to certain states and especially the rearmament that had been started –or may well have never ended– indicated the coming of the Second World War. The last war was 20 years ago and for states, concerning their socio-economic parameters, it was a short period of time to change the international balances as much. Germany, rising from its ashes as a world power, again became a threat for not only France and Britain but for the entire world. Turkey’s serious trade partner, ex-ally in World War I, treating Turkey in the best possible political way, Germany, was unfortunately not a choice of cooperation for Turkey anymore because of its clashing political determinants with Turkish Foreign Policy. Turkey was status quoist, Hitler was irredentist; Turkey was Westernist and Westernism mainly meant good relations with Britain and France for the time, Hitler aimed to break Germany’s chains from Versailles against France and Britain.¹⁸⁶ Of course Turkish conscience was in discomfort because of Hitler’s internal policies towards its Jewish citizens as well.

So after Germany and USSR signed a pact of non-aggression in August 1939, which contained the “sphere of influence” for both parties, Germany accordingly attacked Poland while USSR attacked Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland. When Britain and France declared war on Germany¹⁸⁷ *ipso facto* the war has started.

Turkey signed the Triple Alliance with Britain and France in 1939 and “according to the alliance, Britain and France undertook to lend Turkey all aid and assistance in their

¹⁸⁶ Mehmet Gönlübol et. al., “1945-1965 Dönemi”, *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası*, Vol. I, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları No. 47, p. 120-121.

¹⁸⁷ Faruk Sönmezoğlu (a), op. cit., pp. 395-396.

power (a) in the event of Turkey being involved in hostilities with a European Power in consequences of aggression by that power against Turkey (b) in the event of aggression by a European Power leading to war in the Mediterranean area in which Turkey was involved. Turkey undertook to assist Britain and France (a) in case of an aggression by a European Power leading to war in which these two powers were involved and (b) in case Britain and France were engaged in hostilities in virtue of their guarantees to Greece and Romania given by their respective declarations of April 13, 1939.”¹⁸⁸ The Triple Alliance actually presents a regional Westernism for Turkey’s Foreign Policy however, when the reasons for such alliance are thought of theoretically the answer of “why not Germany or Italy?” would be quite easy. At the time, Germany’s and Italy’s revisionism and their violations of international law, besides Italy’s aims in the Mediterranean since the time of the Empire were enough to understand Turkey’s approach and at the end Turkey contained its Westernism despite German and Russian pressure against such alliance.¹⁸⁹

Until the end of the Second World War Turkey was on pins and needles since events were to take such a form from time to time that made Turkey’s active entrance to the War probable. France was defeated too early which disappointed Turkey that thought Germany to lose time with France for longer and France to prevent Italy in the Mediterranean. When Italy entered the war in 1940, Turkey was about to enter into the War because of the Triple Alliance however, France was already defeated and Turkey had a good excuse. In addition, when Germany attacked USSR in 1941, Turkey seemed to have a relief since a combined attack from these two to Turkey was not possible anymore, in the same time Turkey wanted neither of them to gain too much¹⁹⁰ since either of them could be a threat.

Eventually, concerning the Turkish Foreign Policy during the Second World War period, Turkey was neither a neutral nor an inactive actor instead for the entire six years of war, Turkey participated in all discussions, strategies and conferences that took place;

¹⁸⁸ Türkkaya Ataöv, *Turkish Foreign Policy 1939-1945*, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları No. 197-179, 1965, pp. 61,65. (See also op. cit., İsmail Soysal, pp. 594-598.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., pp.51-65.

¹⁹⁰ Baskın Oran, (a), op. cit., pp. 387-388.

the only different thing that Turkey did from the other participating actors was not joining the active fight on field. Turkey was alarmed whole through and was so strategic that both sides were in fear of Turkey's getting into war for the other side. Turkey remained loyal to its alliance and even without fighting, the advantage Turkey provided for the Allies was priceless only by keeping the Turkish soil out of the War. Turkey by signing a long-term security pact with Britain and France already made its side for the time and for the future clear. Besides, neither Turkey could have afforded to fight both in terms of war equipment and the greatest risk of land/sovereignty loss nor the Allies could have provided Turkey with enough equipment and save Turkey in case of an attack from Germany. Therefore a discussion over Turkey's sincerity about declaring war on the Axis is of no use since Turkey by staying out of the war already was of the greatest use for the Allies. The declaration of war as İnönü states was because of the Allied insistence¹⁹¹ and one more reason: only the states that either fought with or declared war on the Axis till 1st of March 1945 were to attend the post-war peace conference.¹⁹²

It can be stated that the entrance of United States to the Second World War changed the destiny of the World and the following conferences period, might be called, mainly the Yalta Conference and the Potsdam Conference –and a secret Percentage Agreement¹⁹³ between Churchill and Stalin is worth mentioning-sculptured the future of all.¹⁹⁴ For Turkish side when the Post-war period is considered, everything that Turkish Foreign Policy will be busy with for decades were already there: the Atlantic Charter was published in 1941¹⁹⁵ and laid out the future skeleton of United Nations Charter to which Turkey was going to become a party through UN membership- the entrance of United States into the war in 1941¹⁹⁶ and its definite alliance with Britain was to change Turkey's "Westernism partner" and Turkey-US relations were going to effect the rest of Turkey's history; USSR's defeat of Germany in Stalingrad-the birth of the "second

¹⁹¹ Türkkaya Ataöv, op. cit., pp. 130-134.

¹⁹² James F. Byrnes, *Speaking Frankly*, New York and London, Harper, 1947, p.39.

¹⁹³ Albert Resis, "The Churchill-Stalin Secret Percentages Agreement on the Balkans", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 83, No. 2, Oxford, Oxford University Press, April, 1978, p. 368.

¹⁹⁴ Fahir Armaoğlu (a), op. cit., pp. 382, 399, 403-406.

¹⁹⁵ Atlantic Charter, August 14, 1941. See: <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atlantic.asp> (retrieved on 17.12.2014)

¹⁹⁶ *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Yılları 1939-1946*, Ankara, T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Araştırma ve Siyaset Planlama Genel Müdürlüğü, 1973, p. 126.

pole” for decades of a Cold War which was a neighbour stronger, closer, more threatening than the West for Turkey.

4.2.2. Foreign Policy between 1945 and 1960

Immediately after the end of its war with the West on the battlefield in 1919 of War of Independence, Turkey declared its Foreign Policy direction as west however, its Westernism was probably the most certain during the Cold War period and the chances of neutrality, which Turkey tried to use this option to bargain with the West, were not of very high.

After the Second World War, Turkey stood geographically in between the “spheres of influence” of the winning sides. In fact the issue of British and Russian sphere of influence was not a new thing as the “Percentages Agreement” presented in the previous section however, the new thing was that USSR came out from the war stronger and greedier than the West guessed so. USSR started to verbalise its ambitions towards Turkey concerning the Straits even before the end of the War however, this was not it and USSR was to answer Turkey’s bilateral friendship treaty proposal with asking a base on the Straits and concession of Kars and Ardahan.¹⁹⁷

USSR was a critical neighbour for Turkey both because of Atatürk’s Foreign Policy of never becoming enemies with it and because of “not being able to be Western” without becoming enemies with it. However, Turkey followed a determined Westernism in its Foreign Policy and was on the side of the British and French for the entire Second World War, it declared war on the Axis mainly to take its place amongst its Western allies in the Peace Conference, became one of the founder members of United Nations in 1945.¹⁹⁸ In a more and more polarised world Western strategies against USSR found its best practice on Turkish land as Truman Doctrine of 1947 and Marshall Plan through

¹⁹⁷ Feroz Ahmad (d), op. cit., p. 105.

¹⁹⁸ Birleşmiş Milletler Teşkilatı ve Türkiye, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/birlesmis-milletler-teskilati-ve-turkiye.tr.mfa> (retrieved on 18.12.2014)

an agreement signed in Ankara in 1948¹⁹⁹ indicates. The main policy here was the Containment Policy of the United States which was formulated by US Foreign Service Officer George F. Kennan that aimed at preventing the expansion of the Soviet influence and this policy was applied for the entire Cold War (1947-1989) while in the same time becoming the basis of Truman's Foreign Policy.²⁰⁰ While Truman Doctrine only aimed at Greece's and Turkey's economic and military development, Marshall Plan was for the development of (Western) Europe.

Turkey's Westernism was not a periodical policy and since its foreign and domestic policies had been always in quite organic relation –maybe alike with many other countries- Turkey's insistence on devoted Westernism even sometimes despite its domestic voice presents its determination. One thing may be considered to change in Turkey's Westernism in the period after the Second World War which is that Turkey's Westernism started to be described with United States instead of Britain and France but when the fact that Britain and France faced United States as well is considered the case will be clear.

Turkey had been in threat perception from USSR for very long but now that the world was a bipolar place politically and one of the parties was the West, Turkey had to keep on going with it. Although non-alignment was a choice on list in 1950s²⁰¹ it was not for Turkey. Besides, the Soviet threat was existent for the West as well and Turkey was not a sacrificeable ally²⁰² so even though quite a number of the founding members of NATO were to stand against Turkey's membership to NATO with the help of United States' nuclear threat perception from the Soviets, Yugoslavia becoming a Soviet target and Turkey's geographical position for the "oil road" and the performance of brave Turkish soldiers in Korean War legitimised Turkey's membership to NATO in 1952 on the same day with Greece.²⁰³ Aside from NATO being a security alliance, it meant the West for Turkey and today Turkey is part of Europe thanks to its membership to NATO. NATO

¹⁹⁹ Mehmet Gönlübol et. al., op. cit., pp. 222-230.

²⁰⁰ Milestones: 1945–1952, "Kennan and Containment, 1947", <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/kennan> (retrieved on 18.12.2014)

²⁰¹ Non-aligned Movement, Centre for South-South Technical Cooperation, http://csstc.org/v_ket1.asp?info=21&mn=2 (retrieved on 20.12.2014)

²⁰² William Hale, op. cit., p.120.

²⁰³ Baskın Oran (a), op. cit., p. 548-550.

did not only provide a security umbrella for Turkey but also gave an identity to it as Western.²⁰⁴

Further examples for Turkey's Westernist stance till 1960s briefly given by Baskin Oran are as;

“Turkey in 1948 voted yes for United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, appointed a US citizen as Fener Patriarch in 1948, did not attend to the Asian States Congress in 1949, supported Britain about Cyprus starting from 1950, voted no for Algerian Issue to be put on the UN agenda after 1954, established Baghdad Pact in 1955 despite the reaction of Arab countries, attended to the Bandung Conference of 1955 and defended US interest at the expense of offending the less-developed countries, took sides with Britain and France in the Suez Crisis in 1956, ...led US to use NATO bases for it to land forces in Beirut in 1958, risked Soviet reaction with the U-2 event and all the other military bases it accepted...”²⁰⁵

The post Second World War period of Turkish Foreign Policy especially with the establishment of the Cominform²⁰⁶ and thus start of the Cold War in 1947²⁰⁷, became Westernist more than ever as presented through the aforementioned examples. One more example which provides an extreme case for Turkey's determined Westernism was its relations with Israel. It can be stated that there were many reasons for good diplomatic relations between Israel and Turkey however; the main two can be considered being Israel's Western values as “secularism” and its close alliance with United States.²⁰⁸ So Turkey's Western orientation may be regarded to sacrifice a lot, like in Israel example, sacrificing its relations with the Middle Eastern Countries. In the meantime, Arab states being under non-Muslim and Western rules during this period - although they have chosen to be so and sacrificed its ties with the Ottoman Empire as given in the previous sections- yet having reaction against the Republic's Western values and Turkey being more Westernist than ever during this period, Middle Eastern

²⁰⁴ Ersel Aydınli, “Türkiye'nin NATO'nun Dönüşümüne Katkıda Bulunması Gerekir”, *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası*, ed. Habibe Özdal, et. al., Vol. 3, Ankara, USAK Yayınları, 2010, op. cit., Habibe Özdal, p.145.

²⁰⁵ Baskin Oran (a), op. cit., pp. 495-496.

²⁰⁶ Gerhard Wettig, *Stalin and the Cold War in Europe*, Plymouth, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2008, p. 197.

²⁰⁷ Faruk Sönmezoğlu (b), *Uluslararası İlişkiler Sözlüğü*, İstanbul, Der Yayınları, 2010, pp. 591-592. See also: Establishment of the Cominform: <http://soviethistory.macalester.edu/index.php?page=subject&SubjectID=1947cominform&Year=1947> (retrieved on 21.12.2014)

²⁰⁸ Baskin Oran (a), op. cit., pp. 641-642.

attitude towards Turkey worsened. Turkey got more and more close with the Western bloc against Soviets during the Cold War period and the Western bloc meant US, therefore Turkey's ignoring of the Middle East during 1950s and 1960s should be read in the frame of Soviet threat towards Turkey and Turkey's need of Western support.²⁰⁹ Also since the Arab states were mainly under British and French control, formally Turkish-Middle Eastern relations cannot be talked of, rather it was relations between Turkey and the West besides Turkey's domestic political developments as the 1960 coup (the Coup Government declaring at the very beginning of the coup that Turkey's West and CENTO loyalty would continue) did not allow Turkey for a reform in its approach towards the Middle East²¹⁰ even if it wanted to adopt so. But realistically thinking, Turks did not start this "Westernism at the expense of its Muslim brothers" policy first, Arabs were former to such behaviour through the McMahon Agreement of 1915 with the British against the Empire.²¹¹ Besides, although it would possess another study's subject, probably religionism is an easier thing to do when one is underground resource rich, while Turkey for its entire history had to stay as a strong state to conserve its religion.

So final words for the period that marked the beginning of the Cold War can be that; Turkey's side was certain from the very beginning, but this time it was formally and legally definite: it became institutionalised. What is meant by the word definite is that Turkey was always Western, as presented in the previous chapters of this study even the Ottoman Empire was not an Eastern empire, but this situation was not paid the deserved attention. The Western states always considered Turkey as a Western country when they fell in need to do so, meaning, not at all times, but during the Cold War period, Turkey's Westernism was not despite Western stance against Turkey, instead the West wanted Turkey on its side against USSR. Thus the above given examples for Turkey's determined Westernism during the Cold War period as the Truman Doctrine, NATO membership of Turkey and Turkey's welcome of US for military base establishment on

²⁰⁹ Fahir Armaoğlu (b), *Siyasi Tarih 1789-1960*, Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası, 1964, pp. 752-756.

²¹⁰ Ömer Kürkçüoğlu, *Türkiye'nin Arap Ortadoğu'suna Karşı Politikası 1945-1970*, Ankara, Barış Kitap, 2014, pp. 7-9.

²¹¹The McMahon Agreement. See: <http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/mcmahon.htm> (retrieved on 21.12.2014)

Turkish land²¹² are especially important from the vision of Western enthusiasm for Turkey's alliance and this alliance getting institutionalised.

By the time the Second World War ended, the Westernised identity construction idea that was aimed by Atatürk for the Turkish society was very much internalised amongst the society although a group of opposition always existed and was always so serious that caused coups in Turkish political life as will be presented in the next chapter. However, it may well be stated that during the Cold War period, the bipolar environment and the West starting to describe Turkey as Western through its institutions and alliances certainly strengthened Turkey's self-identification as Western.

The next chapter is going to present more examples of the identity construction issue since after the domestic and international political developments in Turkey as the coups, anti-Americanist movements, Cyprus issue, end of the Cold War and others; the self and other awareness of the Turkish society increased as well as the need for new policies for Turkey arose in the scope of Westernism, accordingly with the new conjunctures faced by the entire world.

²¹²Philip H. Gordon and Ömer Taşpınar, *Winning Turkey*, Washington D.C., Brookings Institution Press, 2008, p. 27.

CHAPTER 5

THE JUNTAS ARE AHEAD

In due course of the research on the Westernism journey of Turkey, this study already *ipso facto* revealed Turkey's *sui generis* circumstances in the sense that it always had to wear two hats at the same time. The Ottoman Empire was neither an Eastern nor a Western Empire since it was in any case geographically and demographically too "big" to be classified; rather the Ottomans were the "Lords of the Horizon".²¹³ The Republic on the other hand was both heir to this great Empire with remaining great problems and too "limited" in terms of political and economic capabilities to handle them. Westernist Turkey with its Westernist values always struggled to manage its Anatolian society however, the real difficulty stemmed and stems from insisting on constructing a terminology -which is imitated- for Turkish society that either stands contradictory or extrinsic in use.

This chapter is going to have more explicit examples of this imitation-contradiction-repudiation through the events that took place in Turkey than the previous chapters. The first and second section will present two coups in Turkey that will reveal how the Westernist rhetoric is used and cognised by the military and the politicians so differently that at the end –twice; in 1960 & 1980- the political kind of Westernism-Americanism caused military kind of Westernism to make coups, meaning; the use of Western values by the politicians as democracy and secularism was regarded as abuse of democracy and activities of anti-secularism by the military. The interesting point is that all the actors of these events considered themselves as Turkish-Muslim-Western-democrat while they all had their own construction and perception of these terms which turned them into "enemies" of each other. After the 1980 coup and the end of the Cold

²¹³ The phrase is the title of the book "The Lords of the Horizons" by Jason Goodwin, *Lords of the Horizons*, London, Vintage Books, 1999, Cover Page.

War period Turkey experienced “change” in domestic and Foreign Policy practice and rhetoric, although still stayed certainly Turkish-Muslim-Western-democrat (all in one) while trying to adopt these political changes. These changes will be remembered with Özal and this Özal period will take place in the second section of this chapter. The best example of this clash and terminology construction will be presented in the last section which will directly combine it with the examples given in the Conceptual Framework part of this study through Justice and Development Party period and its leader Erdoğan, him and his Party coming from a “nationalist vision” or in other words political Islam tradition and being pro-EU especially because of EU’s democracy insistence.

5.1. FOREIGN POLICY BETWEEN 1960 AND 1980

In order to understand the Foreign Policy of Turkey between the years 1960 and 1980, the domestic politics of Turkey in 1950’s should be analysed so that a better comprehension and realisation of the roots of the forthcoming Foreign Policy can be achieved. Therefore, although the developments in 1950’s are of the previous chapter’s subject, since the aforementioned period is a reflection of the 50’s, the domestic issues that had serious effect on the foreign issues of Turkey will be presented in this section to provide a smoother pass.

The *coup d’état* of 1960 was considered to take place because of the ruling Democrat Party’s “bad” management of the country in “all” terms. However, not “all” were of the same idea meaning that a certain “group” which was 57, 61% in 1954 general elections²¹⁴ seemed to approve Democrat Party’s policies in Turkey. Democrat Party was in power between the years 1950 and 1960 and till 1954 Turkish economy seemed to record fair developments with the help of intense foreign aid however, after that year the drought (vital for an agrarian economy), decrease in the foreign aid amount and “unplanned” fiscal policies led to various economic problems.²¹⁵ The leader of the Democrat Party, Adnan Menderes, sought the help of Washington in 1958 which he succeeded to find however, it did not help as much as expected and when Menderes

²¹⁴ Cengiz Sunay, “27 Mayıs Ne İdi?”, *Türkiye Günlüğü*, Ankara, Vol. 101, Spring, 2010, p. 6.

²¹⁵ Baskın Oran (a), op. cit., p. 560.

went to US again in 1959, the Eisenhower administration refused “to save” him. Thus, he turned to USSR in 1960 but he was too late since before he even visited Moscow he was overthrown.²¹⁶

Menderes was a deputy of the Republican People’s Party starting from 1931 till 1945 of his expel from RPP and the establishment of Democrat Party the same year.²¹⁷ The Foreign Policy of the Democrat Party era certainly kept up with the Westernism since as presented in the previous chapter the world was politically bipolar and Turkey was in cooperation with the West and during the Cold War period the West meant the United States. Therefore, Democrat Party’s Westernism was often interpreted as “Americanism” but not with the intention of using Americanism as synonym of Westernism rather to accuse Democrat Party or Menderes. At the end of the Menderes period, Menderes was accused because of various reasons however; one reason that was used as an excuse for his execution in 1961 was his violation of the constitution.²¹⁸

After the coup and the execution of Menderes and close down of the Democrat Party in 1960,²¹⁹ the 1961 Constitution was established. 1961 Constitution was a product of bureaucrats who were of civic or military origin and were of the “enlightened”²²⁰, *aydın*, class that aimed to realise its yearnings and values through its own institutions and rules. After the elections of 1950, meaning the Democrat Party’s coming to power, the military and civic bureaucrats who were to play the leading role in all renovation movements since *Tanzimat*, were to become of secondary importance. Therefore, in a way the May 27 *Coup d’état* can be considered as a reaction to this situation.²²¹

Before going on with the other examples of Westernist Foreign Policy, two issues should be cleared. One of them is the Democrat Party’s criticised policies that a great number of comments can be made over however, retrospectively looking, in a bipolar

²¹⁶ Feroz Ahmad (d), op. cit., pp. 114-115.

²¹⁷ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (b), *Menderes'in Dramı*, İstanbul, Remzi Kitabevi, 2000, p. 92, 127.

²¹⁸ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (b), op. cit., 495, 504.

²¹⁹ Democrat Party History, See: <http://www.dp.org.tr/Default.aspx?islem=icerik&modul=5&id=1645> (retrieved on 27.12.2014)

²²⁰ There is reference to the age of Enlightenment thus these “enlightened” people are the people who adopt Enlightenment’s values and the West. Baskın Oran (a), op. cit., p. 51.

²²¹ Mümtaz Soysal, *100 Soruda Anayasanın Anlamı*, Gerçek Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1977, pp. 9, 64-65.

world of democracy and communism Turkey never really had a choice when what happened to Czechoslovakia by USSR²²² is also considered. The famous “balancing” of Turkish Foreign Policy could have been implemented, if it was possible, like Menderes tried to do so at the end but nothing more than that. In addition, if Democrat Party’s fiscal policies were to be criticised for being unsuccessful but actually it was failure of the liberal economy system of the West in opposition to the strict collectivism of the Soviets aside from unplanned domestic policies of Menderes himself. Secondly, even though the 1961 Constitution was and is regarded as a “too democratic” constitution that the Turkish were not ready for aside from its systematic problems in legal terms,²²³ for a real democratic society neither a coup nor a constitution produced by the people who were chosen by the coup makers is acceptable. However, after 1960 coup of the Army took place, namely the March 12 Memorandum of 1971 occurred, which forced the Government for resignation and the new Prime Minister Nihat Erim saw the Memorandum not as a strike to the democracy of Turkey but as the last chain of Westernisation and progress process which started with the Westernisation of the Turkish Army and with the Army’s lead since 19th century.²²⁴ Probably the same mentality, which never thought of the Army to take control of the internal disorder without making a coup and through various kinds of constitutional rights that they have like state of martial law given after March 12, 1971, Act number 1402,²²⁵ repeated the same act in 1980 *coup d’état*. In addition, the “legal basis” for the *coup d’états* was the Turkish Armed Forces Internal Service Law Article 35 which stated that the Turkish Armed Forces is responsible from protecting the Turkish Land and the Turkish Republic however, this article indicated the constitutional establishment of the parliament and since the constitution indicated the sovereignty to rest unconditionally with the nation, the so-called “legal basis” can only be a misinterpretation.²²⁶

²²² Fahir Armaoğlu (a), op. cit., p. 564.

²²³ Mümtaz Soysal, op. cit., pp. 75-85.

²²⁴ İsmail Cem, *Tarih Açısından 12 Mart*, İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009, p. 511.

²²⁵ Terörle Mücadeleye İlişkin Ulusal Mevzuat,

<http://www.uhdigm.adalet.gov.tr/uhamer/Terörle%20Mücadeleye%20İlişkin%20Ulusal%20Mevzuat/1402%20Sayılı%20Sıkıyönetim%20Kanunu.pdf> (retrieved on 2.1.2015)

²²⁶ Law amendment proposal of the Republican People’s Party sent to the Turkish Grand National Assembly Presidency, Formal Proposal Document Number 38, Date 12.09.2011.

<http://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d24/2/2-0064.pdf>

After these events, a more “liberal” atmosphere was dominant in the country, especially the students and workers found a wider space for their political activities and in a more politicised social life the issues concerning Turkish Foreign Policy became part of the Turkish daily life more.

Turkish Foreign Policy between 1960 and 1980 managed to “balance” its relations with superpowers and in the meantime remained in the Western alliance since neutrality was not a matter of question and Western alliance was Turkey’s major defence against USSR and the military and economic aid that was received from the West was of crucial importance.²²⁷ There are various debates over how more sovereign Turkey became during the aforementioned period through its Foreign Policy decisions such as supporting Algeria’s sovereignty in UN General Assembly, standing against US policy towards Vietnam in 1965, refusing to join Multi-Lateral Force (MLF) despite US desire in 1965, supporting Arabs in 1967 War and having an edge with Israel, forbidding usage of bases off-site, fighting with Greece in the Aegean throughout 70’s despite US, starting foreign aid to Third World in 1971, releasing opium cultivation in 1974 which was forbidden with US pressure, making a successful military landing to Cyprus in 1974 and resisting US arms embargo by abolishing the Common Defence and Cooperation Agreement and retaining usage of the bases, unilaterally suspending relations with European Economic Committee (EEC) in 1976.²²⁸ But were these acts a preview of the axis change? Not really. Rather these were requirements of independent Foreign Policy decisions and none of them resulted with enmity or fraternity, relations mostly stayed the same. Turkey even in case of a possible nuclear attack from USSR took sides with Washington during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962²²⁹, how more can Turkey be Westernist? If an example is to be taken to explain more of what is meant by “no change anyhow” Cyprus military landing and Johnson’s Letter may present it the best.

Famously known as the “Cyprus Issue” subject deserves to be analysed all by its own in another academic study, though here a brief background will be presented for a better

²²⁷William Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

²²⁸ Baskın Oran (a), *op. cit.*, 674-675.

²²⁹ Feroz Ahmad (d), *op. cit.*, p. 128.

understanding of what really the “Johnson Letter” meant for Turkey and reasons for the anti-Americanism came afterwards amongst Turkish. The issue started as early as 1878 when the Ottoman Empire hired the administration of Cyprus to British with mainly Turkish (44%) and Greek Cypriot -*Rum*²³⁰- communities expecting British support against the Russians in return and since then Britain encouraged immigration of the Turkish population from the island systematically till it gained the possession of Cyprus with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 totally leaving the Turkish population under Orthodox and British oppression.²³¹ After the year 1931 Greek Cypriots on the island intensified their aim of annexation with Greece, the idea known as “ENOSIS”, but the British stood against it and Greek Cypriots decided taking the issue to UN, simultaneously starting act of violence against the Turkish community in 1954.²³² Concisely; the future of the island was decided upon between Cyprus, UK, Turkey and Greece via a couple of legal documents, them explaining in detail the administrative structure of it. Known as the Zurich and London Agreements of 1959 and the Treaty Concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 finalised the issue as the Republic of Cyprus to be established with guarantors Turkey, Greece and Britain²³³ and the administrative style was decided upon in detail accordingly with the treaties which declared Cyprus to be a presidency, the president being a Greek Cypriot and the vice-president a Turkish Cypriot, and in sum dividing the entire administration between the two communities.²³⁴ However, Greek Cypriot President Makarios decided not to share power with Turkish Cypriots and violence broke out. Prime Minister İnönü stated Turkey’s will to intervene unilaterally if there was no cease-fire and although Makarios did “not” pay attention to Turkish warning the siege was lifted from Turkish districts.²³⁵ The internal pressure for an action towards Cyprus to save Turkish Cypriot lives was serious and the job of the politicians in fact is to do what his/her people want him/her to do, so Turkish politicians acted accordingly. As often the domestic and foreign politics were mixed up but the blow came from US when President Johnson sent a letter briefly

²³⁰ The orthodox community left over to the Ottoman Empire from the Roman Empire after the conquer of Istanbul by Mehmet II.

²³¹ Erol Manisalı, *Dünden Bugüne Kıbrıs*, İstanbul, Yeni Gün Yayıncılık, 2000, p. 5.

²³² “Kıbrıs Tarihçe”, see <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/kibris-tarihce.tr.mfa> (retrieved on 20.4.2015).

²³³ “Kıbrıs”, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/kibris.tr.mfa> (retrieved on 22.4.2015)

²³⁴ “Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti’nin Temel Yapısı (Zurih, 11 Şubat 1959)”, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/kibris-cumhuriyetinin-temel-yapisi-zurih-11-subat-1959.tr.mfa> (retrieved on 22.4.2015)

²³⁵ Feroz Ahmad (d), op. cit., p. 129.

stating that Turkey was not allowed to use US weapons without US permission and NATO would not take a decision to help Turkey in case of a Soviet intervention²³⁶ if Turkey was to land its forces on Cyprus. The reality is that US was happy with a triple control over Cyprus since three of them (Turkey, Greece, Britain) were all on the Western block and Soviet tended Makarios was tolerable but when the incidents started to create security crisis between NATO allies which are Greece and Turkey, US got involved to sort it out and when Turkey realised the military landing on Cyprus in 1974, US was happy to eradicate Makarios's influence on the island²³⁷. Sooner or later Turkey kept on with its Westernist policy and US-West kept on being Turkey's ally. The rest of the incidents presented above do not really reveal a sovereign Foreign Policy but the Cyprus issue presents Turkey's limit of determined Westernism; Western forever but till Turkish dignity is of concern. At the end of the day Westernist Turkey was an Empire's successor and the identity that was described to be constructed during the establishment years of the Turkish Republic had no less honour and pride than its predecessor Ottoman identity since whatever was constructed, it was constructed on the same community. Thus when national interest of Turkey was combined with the socio-political legacy from the Ottoman Empire of conserving the weak the West witnessed Turkey's limits of alliance and dedicated Westernism.

A brief bracket for the reaction towards the US during the Cold War period which concurrently took place with the Cyprus incident in Turkey should be opened to underline the fact that the domestic reaction of the Turkish against the US at the time of the Cyprus Issue was neither a unique movement nor the only example since there was anti-Americanism all over the world in those years. There has been anti-Americanism since the 18th century but the anti-Americanism that is the closest to what is perceived as it is today came about during the Vietnam War as an anti-war movement especially in Europe, Asia and Latin America.²³⁸ There is a variety of anti-Americanisms but the main types of them appear to be as; rejection of universalistic values that are related with Enlightenment, Marxism-based anti-Americanism which embodies itself with anti-capitalism, cultural anti-Americanism that stands against American mass cultural

²³⁶ Nasuh Uslu, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinde Kıbrıs*, Ankara, 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, 2000, pp. 99-100.

²³⁷ Ramazan Gözen (a), *Türk Dış Politikası Barış Vizyonu*, Ankara, Palme Yayıncılık, 2006, p. 236.

²³⁸ Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert Owen Keohane, *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2006, p. 9.

elements.²³⁹ However, the anti-Americanism that is commonly discussed, especially academically, takes the Foreign Policy activities of US to its core such as the Vietnam War and arms race during Reagan administration, namely the New World Order after the collapse of the USSR and the “war on terror” after September 11 attacks.²⁴⁰ Certainly it is possible to find followers of almost all types of anti-Americanism in Turkey during the Cold War period, but surely especially after the aforementioned Johnson Letter, the main anti-Americanism type in Turkey was understandably the one that criticised US Foreign Policy.

5.2. FOREIGN POLICY BETWEEN 1980 AND 2000

When the year was 1980 in Turkey another coup took place and in 1982 new political parties were on Turkish political scene. One of them being the Motherland Party with Turgut Özal being its leader, won both of the elections in 1983 and 1987 and Özal was fond of economic liberalisation and wanted to use Turkey’s strategic place in the Middle East for more reliance on the IMF and WTO.²⁴¹ So, Turkey again went through a military coup and “too much” democracy for Turkish again failed and military came to the rule. One of the questions that arise in mind after three coups is that did they take place to save the Westernist and Kemalist Turkey or to settle down the domestic disorder or do soldiers have more to say for Turkey when the democracy is less so that they want the control? Which one ever the answer is, the certain result especially after the 1980 coup is that no country can be more Westernist under a military regime if Westernism’s vital principle is democracy and military staff often is not very capable of managing Foreign Policy, since military formation basically foresees “fighting” not negotiating.

The “architects” of the 1980 coup kept on with the Westernist policies in foreign relations of Turkey (as Kenan Evren declared in his speech on the September 12, 1980

²³⁹ Paul Hollander, *The Only Superpower*, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2009, p. 42.

²⁴⁰ Alexander Stephan, *The Americanization of Europe*, New York & Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2007, p. 7.

²⁴¹ Norman Stone, *Turkey*, New York, Thames & Hudson, 2014, pp.161-162.

“Coup Declaration” that the Republic of Turkey will stay loyal to all its alliances including NATO²⁴²) and surely they had very little chance of manoeuvre although they still “managed to” make great mistakes like supporting the entrance of Greece to NATO’s military wing.²⁴³ However, Westernism during the three years of military dominance was limited with US since Europe never appreciated less democracy and EC-Turkey relations worsened quickly. European Parliament cut financial aid to Turkey in 1982, Joint-Turkish European Parliamentary Committee was closed followed by freezing the Fourth Protocol and no matter how Westernist the coup makers stayed neither relations with the Western Europe improved nor could the US do anything for it.²⁴⁴ Probably it would reflect the truth in stating that Turkey’s worst fear of becoming isolated came true. Thus, when these circumstances are considered Özal’s policies were not of a Foreign Policy revolution but rather the best choice in hand.

Status quoism during 1980s was already existent in Turkish DNA and the creativity in any area ranging from politics to technical issues was within the boundaries of “Turkey is a medium-scaled country and cannot invent, innovate or grow without the West” discourse very famously known by the 80s-90s generation in Turkey. As a politician coming into political scene during a junta order but in the same time having a private sector and bureaucracy experience, Özal was *sui generis*. He was the Deputy Prime Minister responsible from economic affairs in the Government that was established after the 1980 coup; he resigned in 1982 and established his political party called the Motherland Party (ANAP) in 1983 and his party was to become the ruling party and him to become the 19th Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey and the 8th President in 1989.²⁴⁵ What is *sui generis* here is his liberal attitude at the expense of everything for his ideal of Turkey’s development and through such a path: from a military government to his own civil government and then to Presidency.

²⁴² “Kenan Evren’in Radyo ve Televizyon Konuşması”, http://tr.wikisource.org/wiki/Kenan_Evren'in_radyo_ve_televizyon_konu%C5%9Fmas%C4%B1 (retrieved on 24.4.2015)

²⁴³ Mehmet Emin Çağırın, “12 Eylül Askeri Darbesi ve Dış Politika Anlayışı”, *Türk Dış Politikası 1919-2012*, ed. Haydar Çakmak, Ankara, Barış Kitap, 2012, p. 737-739.

²⁴⁴ Sedat Laçiner (b), *From Kemalism to Özalism, Ideological Evolution of Turkish Foreign Policy*, PhD Thesis, King’s College, University of London, London, 2001, p. 286.

²⁴⁵ Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı, (TCCB), Turgut Özal, Biography, http://www.tccb.gov.tr/sayfa/cumhurbaskanlarimiz/turgut_ozal/ (retrieved on 10.1.2015)

Özal's Foreign Policy decisions had a number of supporters while on the other hand a lot of critiques. The Foreign Affairs school²⁴⁶ in Turkey resisted his Foreign Policy activities because he was not status quoist and he saw liberation from Turkey's economic, social and cultural problems through liberal economy. Özal's Party looked like a mergence of Turkish ingredients; nationalists, conservatives, social egalitarianists and believers of competitive free market economy were working all together within ANAP.²⁴⁷ After a radicalised political period in which all the ideological groups, that were to come together in ANAP, were actually represented by different political parties at the time. Therefore, Özal may well be considered to present his dominant attitude in politics, whether domestic or foreign, he aimed to unite anybody and everybody no matter of what ideological background they are of and wanted to record progress concerning Turkey immediately.

Özal's Foreign Policy emphasised economic development more than his predecessors since his Westernism logic said that better economic relations with neighbours other than the West will improve Turkey's economy through commercial activities and a stronger economy will make Turkey a stronger nominee to the Western family. Özal tried to break down the isolation of Turkey created by the coup; used Iran-Iraq War to Turkey's advantage concerning Turkish exports to both countries; his opening up to Caucasus, Middle East and Balkans was definitely with economic and political concerns although after the end of the Cold War a serious crowd was pessimist about Turkey's decreased strategic importance.²⁴⁸

The collapse of the Soviet Union surely brought in the question of if Turkey's strategic importance would decrease for US with the disappearance of Soviet threat. However, Turkey's importance for US was not limited with the Soviet threat and as Ayşe Ömür Atmaca stated "Turkey was a pro-Western state in a region of instability, supporter of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, key element of the US's Iraq policy, base for

²⁴⁶ There is reference for the traditional Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs staff and the order and customs that this staff is used to/trained within.

²⁴⁷ M. Naci Bostancı, "Özal'ın Anlamı", *Türkiye Günlüğü*, Ankara, Vol. 59, January-February, 2000-02, p. 94.

²⁴⁸ Sedat Laçiner (a), op. cit., See <http://egitimcihaber.net/sizdengelenler/gundem/turgut-ozal-donemi-turk-dis-politikasi.html> (retrieved on 12.01.2015)

Operation Northern Watch, model for the Central Asian republics, bridge of communication between the region and the West, buffer against possible Russian aggression in the region, an ideological counterweight against fundamentalist Iran, an alternative to Russia and Iran, gateway for Caspian energy resources, supporter and participant in Balkan peacekeeping.”²⁴⁹ Therefore, Turkey’s importance only transformed but not decreased for US.

Özal’s Gulf War policy was criticised because of its activeness since Turkey “traditionally” stood “neutral” as its Foreign Policy principles “implied” in world’s political issues. However, Özal was not of the same opinion “again” with the Turkish Foreign Affairs bureaucracy and other domestic political opposition and he saw the Gulf War as an opportunity to highlight Turkey’s strategic importance for the West in the region through joining the Western alliance against Iraq. There were various reasons for the active policy of Özal in the Gulf War: to prevent the change of map in the region and save the status quo meaning the national sovereignty and territorial integrity, to prevent economic burdens that Turkey will face during or after the war, to prevent instability which might arise from Iraq’s division that will fuel up the Kurdish question of Turkey²⁵⁰ and to take its place within and during the case to be able to have a say after.

Unfortunately at the end of the Gulf War all that Turkey tried to prevent came to happen. The results of the Gulf War concerning Turkey were that Turkey paid a high price because of the Western embargo on Iraq since Turkey stopped all commerce in between and the pipeline revenues; weaker Iraq created a power gap in the Northern Iraq which strengthened PKK; the bitterest and in the meantime surprising was the deterioration of Turkey’s prestige in the West especially because of Turkey’s military operations against PKK.²⁵¹ At the end, Özal was a Westernist politician and even the

²⁴⁹ Ayşe Ömür Atmaca (a), *Old Game in A New World: Turkey and the United States from Critical Perspective*, PhD Thesis Submitted to the Middle Eastern Technical University, Ankara, March 2011, p. 104. ; Alan Makovsky, “US Policy toward Turkey: Progress and Problems”, ed. Morton Abramowitz, *Turkey’s Transformation and American Policy*, New York, The Century Foundation Press, 2000, pp. 221-222.

²⁵⁰ Ramazan Gözen (b), *Amerikan Kışkıracısında Dış Politika: Körfez Savaşı*, Turgut Özal ve Sonrası, Ankara, Liberte, 2000, pp. 253-254.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 383-384.

reason for Turkey's concentration towards Middle East, Caucasus and Balkans was for a stronger stance in the West. In the meantime he was not in a sea of choices about his policies. When his choices during the Gulf War are thought of, he was only a bit more active than someone else would be, other than that he stood by the West (US, UN, etc.) as the only choice since Iraq was an aggressor attacking another sovereign state.²⁵²

Özal's policies were often considered as ambitious, irregular and even too brave for Turkey's circumstances in the world politics however, when ideological engagements and analysis of his foreign policies' successfulness are to be put aside, Özal symbolised change in Turkish mind which was set for inferiority before the West. Probably Özal's best achievement was him enabling Turkish people to regain national self-esteem for themselves and to believe that Turkey and Turkish can succeed various things, one of them being international commerce.

Özal became the 8th President of the Republic of Turkey in October 1989 and died during his service in Office in 1993.²⁵³ After Özal's death and till 2002, the main issues to occupy Turkey's Foreign Policy agenda were membership to the European Union, PKK and Armenian Question. Other than that Turkey became seriously busy with its social, political and especially economic domestic problems in the new conjuncture meaning the end of the Cold War. Fear of loneliness and Westernist Foreign Policy kept Turkey concentrated on full membership to EU. "Turkey applied for partnership to EU in 1959 and was accepted as a partner till membership in 1963... the Additional Protocol was signed in 1970 which marked the end of preparation process and the principles of transition process was decided which foresaw finalisation of free movement of goods, people and at the end the Customs Union... Turkey applied for full membership in 1987 and was refused... in 1995 the last period of partnership was to be passed... Turkey's candidacy for full membership was verified in Helsinki in 1999."²⁵⁴ So, Turkey-EU relations did not show a bright progress for years and Turkey's Western relations were mainly limited with United States.

²⁵² Persian Gulf War, 2009, <http://www.history.com/topics/persian-gulf-war> (retrieved on 12.4.2015)

²⁵³ Turgut Özal, Biography, op. cit., http://www.tccb.gov.tr/sayfa/cumhurbaskanlarimiz/turgut_ozal/ (retrieved on 12.4.2015)

²⁵⁴ Chronology for Turkey-EU Relations, <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=111> (retrieved on 16.01.2015)

Turkey-US relations after Özal stayed close and positive developments can be listed as US support of Turkey in Western European Union, European Union and European Security and Defence Identity and Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; US did not pressurise Turkey on issues as human rights, cooperated with Turkey in PKK issue and helped for seizure of PKK leader while on the other hand Turkey took sides with US in issues as NATO practices, Eurasia and Balkan policies.²⁵⁵

One way or the other, despite all its efforts, Turkey was always there when needed by the West and was described as Western by the West but when Turkey was to knock Western doors millions of excuses were to stand against Turkey's demands. In the process Turkey did not change axis in its Foreign Policy and it did not really had the ability to do so and stayed Westernist. But 90's marked many occasions as presented above that caused doubt about Turkey's own identity description especially during Özal's period and Turkey is often considered as in search for an identity. However, even Turkey's policies that seemed to aim other directions sometimes, other than the West, generally proved Turkey's aim to behave as such to have a stronger position before the West. Therefore, Turkey cannot really be considered to search for its identity during 90's. Rather Turkey became more aware of its different but integrated sociological peculiarities and tried to have a modest control over them through democratisation just as the West asked from it. Thus, Turkey can be considered to describe itself with more certain terms and choices rather than searching for a new identity.

5.3. IS IT A BRAND NEW FOREIGN POLICY OR FOREIGN POLICY BECOMING A BRAND? FOREIGN POLICY BETWEEN 2000 AND 2014

The new millennium was to start with a catastrophe which was going to affect the rest of the world politics, both domestic and foreign, from then onwards. The attack on World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 by al-Qaeda members²⁵⁶ created a new conjuncture and changed Foreign Policy agendas of many states including Turkey. It is debatable whether the issue presents an irony or if it was a natural outcome but the US

²⁵⁵Baskin Oran (a), op. cit., pp. 230-231, 240.

²⁵⁶ David Holloway, *9/11 and the War on Terror*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008, p. 1.

supported Islamic groups in Afghanistan against communism in 1980's and now it seemed to kick back US itself with a stronger pose.²⁵⁷ In such a conjuncture Turkey was going through a serious process both domestically and in its foreign relations because of the aforementioned developments.

Before going into detail with the Turkish Foreign Policy in the new millennium, since the Justice and Development Party (henceforth JDP) has been in charge of it till then, the ideological background of the JDP should be slightly touched upon here for a better reading of its policies and actions. JDP is known with its Islamic roots in terms of its ideology because of the political Islamic tradition that it is heir to in Turkey. The first representative of its kind in the Republic was the National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi-MNP) which was established in 1970 under Necmettin Erbakan's leadership, having various kinds of Islamic views within. MNP was closed down for its anti-secular activities and was replaced by other political parties as soon as the former is again closed down till the Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi) was established witnessing the conflict between the traditionalists and modernists within the Party, the modernists to become JDP at the end.²⁵⁸ The Islamic parties in Turkey called themselves as supporters of "national visionists" which was known for its stance against the EU mainly and other social-economic-political unions, norms, values of the West in general²⁵⁹ while JDP being heir to this "national visionists" supported accession to EU. One of the reasons behind JDP's disengagement from the national visionists is probably as İhsan Dağı puts it: "In the face of pressures originating from the military's adamant opposition to the Islamists, which influences attitudes of the judges, high state bureaucracy as well as mainstream secular media, they realized the legitimizing power and the virtue of democracy which turned out to be a means to highlight "people power" vis-à-vis the state power. They knew that they could survive only in a country that was democratically oriented, respecting civil and political rights, and moreover integrated

²⁵⁷ Joel Beinin and Joe Stork, "On the Modernity, Historical Specificity, and International Context of Political Islam", ed. Joel Beinin and Joe Stork, *Political Islam*, London, I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 1997, p. 11.

²⁵⁸ William Hale and Ergun Özbudun, *Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey: The Case of JDP*, Oxon, Routledge, 2010, pp. 3-5.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

further into the Western world, particularly the EU.”²⁶⁰ So, JDP came out being heir to all types of political Islam in Turkey while constructing almost all of political Islamic ideological cornerstones in accordance with the conjuncture in order to gain general support and more importantly to survive.

The situation before the 2002 elections in Turkey was as following: the army and clergy seemed to have a compact, the reality of PKK was still apparent, Islam was powerful and secular wing in Turkey was to look down on the religious education institutions while secular governments became known with their corruption and wrong policies and Turkey’s economy was to struggle with terrible inflation which opened up the gap between the rich and the poor enormously.²⁶¹ Therefore when Justice and Development Party came to power, it did not only have the 9/11 phenomenon to deal with in Turkish Foreign Policy but also with the domestic issues that had great impact on Foreign Policy decisions. However, it can be stated that JDP did not struggle to manage domestic and international politics at the same time because JDP believed that Foreign Policy was a result and support of its domestic policies.²⁶²

Although JDP Foreign Policy is often defined with theories of Ahmet Davutoğlu, the Prime Minister of Turkey as of August 2014 and was Turkey’s Foreign Minister between the years 2009 and 2014,²⁶³ he was not the first representative of such strategies and policies for Turkey’s Foreign Policy. Before JDP won the election it presented itself with its pro-EU stance though its ideology was rooted in political Islam however, this seemingly “dual citizenship” brought about a legitimisation before the eyes of masses in Turkey from secular traditionalists to liberal intellectuals, middle class, business community.²⁶⁴ JDP Foreign Policy (by Davutoğlu) emphasised Turkey’s historical and cultural relations with Ottoman Empire’s ex-communities namely with the Balkans,

²⁶⁰ İhsan Dağı, “Transformation of Islamic Political Identity in Turkey: Rethinking the West and Westernization”, *Turkish Studies*, Vol 6, No 1, 2005, p. 13. See also <http://www.policy.hu/dagi/leftmenu/files/Transformation%2520of%2520Islamic%2520Political%2520Identity.pdf> (retrieved on 26.4.2015)

²⁶¹ Norman Stone, op. cit., pp. 163-164.

²⁶² Kemal H. Karpat (b), *Kısa Türkiye Tarihi*, İstanbul, Timaş, 2013, p. 285.

²⁶³ Ahmet Davutoğlu, Biography, http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/Global/PrimeMinister/pg_PrimeMinister.aspx (retrieved on 28.1.2015)

²⁶⁴ Philip H. Gordon and Ömer Taşpınar, op. cit., p. 43.

Transcaucasia, Middle East and others either with Muslim or Turkish identities all over the world²⁶⁵ and this policy caused a lot of debate over if Turkey was to change axis.²⁶⁶ In the meantime, according to Davutoğlu, in his book “Strategic Depth”, Ottoman legacy is a given for Turkey and this legacy brought about the necessity of adopting a more active Foreign Policy in both Balkans and Caucasus in the aftermath of the Cold War. He claims that the political issues that Turkey is involved in these regions in the last decade are the result of this legacy and this legacy brought about geopolitical and jeocultural responsibilities to Turkey which will gain new visions and opportunities for it besides the responsibilities.²⁶⁷ However, as stated, Davutoğlu’s theories and policies were not new for Turkey; Özal followed a very similar policy during his entire career as presented in the previous sections and Özal was also accused of being adventurist, changing Turkey’s axis and damaging status quoism of Turkey.²⁶⁸ Although many lessons are still to be taken from both Özal’s and JDP’s eras, the brief period after Özal and before JDP, with all its economic, social and political crises besides corruption and weak policies towards these problems, is enough to present at least that Turkish Foreign Policy determinants need an update. Therefore, Özal can be considered to start up something rather new for Turkish Foreign Policy however, as William Hale and Ergun Özbudun stated “the ideas that Davutoğlu and like-minded thinkers now advanced were more comprehensive and had influence over the practice of Foreign Policy under the JDP.”²⁶⁹

Davutoğlu’s new Foreign Policy principles were as follows; to have vision and thus be active in international and regional issues that are possible source of crisis in order to prevent them beforehand instead of trying to solve them afterwards, following a consistent and systematic policy dedicated to the same main principles in all regions

²⁶⁵ Tarık Oğuzlu, “Türk Dış Politikası’nda Davutoğlu Dönemi”, *Ortadoğu Analiz*, Vol. 1, No. 9, September 2009, p. 44. See also http://www.orsam.org.tr/trUploads/Yazilar/Dosyalar/2009912_tar%C4%B1k.makints.pdf (retrieved on 15.4.2015)

²⁶⁶ CNN Türk News, Eksek Kayması: Bir Yorum da Davutoğlu’ndan, 15.6.2010. <http://www.cnnurk.com/2010/dunya/06/15/eksen.kaymasi.bir.yorum.da.davutoglundan/580179.0/> (retrieved on 15.4.2015)

²⁶⁷ Ahmet Davutoğlu (a), *Stratejik Derinlik*, İstanbul, Küre Yayınları, 2001, pp. 22-23.

²⁶⁸ Sedat Laçiner (a), “Turgut Özal Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası” <http://egitimcihaber.net/sizdengelenler/gundem/turgut-ozal-donemi-turk-dis-politikasi.html> (retrieved on 12.4.2015)

²⁶⁹ William Hale and Ergun Özbudun, op. cit., p. 120.

abroad, to adopt new diplomacy and rhetoric that will extend Turkey's soft power in the region,²⁷⁰ to balance democracy and security and improve democracy even in the aftermath of 9/11,²⁷¹ zero problem policy with the neighbours through visa exemptions and high level strategic councils, multi-dimensional Foreign Policy to be followed through establishing good relations with everyone possible without these relations being an alternative to the other, to be more active in the international fora in terms of organisations and issues.²⁷² Through these principles the aim was to become an EU member by 2023, to achieve regional integration in terms of security and cooperation, to play an active role in the resolution of the problems in the region, to become one of the top ten economies in the world.²⁷³

Even the vision, principles and targets of JDP Foreign Policy seems Westernist though often policies are not evaluated in accordance with the declaration and the practice of the politicians but rather evaluation is done based on their supposed intention because of the ideas constructed about them on people's minds. JDP leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his team having a past of political Islam and Necmettin Erbakan in Turkey being the representative of political Islam in Turkey as well as Erbakan's sharp opposition to EU²⁷⁴ mixed up the minds from the very beginning about JDP and it was expected to gain the trust of neither the secularists and Westernists nor the national visionists (pro-national outlook or national outlookists) never mind the nationalists though the results of the elections prove some of these people wrong for the last 12 years.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁰ Baskın Oran (d), *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, 2001-2012, Vol 3, İstanbul, İletişim, 2013, p. 139.

²⁷¹ Ahmet Davutoğlu (b), "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", Insight Turkey, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2008, pp. 79-80. See also http://file.insightturkey.com/Files/Pdf/insight_turkey_vol_10_no_1_2008_davutoglu.pdf (retrieved on 13.4.2015).

²⁷² Ahmet Davutoğlu (c), "Zero Problems in a New Era", Foreign Policy magazine (USA), March 21, 2013. See http://www.mfa.gov.tr/article-by-h_e_-mr_-ahmet-davutoglu_-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-the-republic-of-turkey-published-in-foreign-policy-magazin-2.en.mfa (retrieved on 13.4.2015)

²⁷³ Baskın Oran (d), op. cit., pp. 139-140.

²⁷⁴ Ümit Cizre, op. cit., p. 121.

²⁷⁵ Statistical data available for last three general elections of 2002, 2007, 2011: See <http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/docs/2002MilletvekiliSecimi/turkiye/cevremilletvekilisayisi.pdf> <http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/docs/2007MilletvekiliSecimi/turkiye/cevremilletvekilisayisi.pdf> <http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/docs/2011MilletvekiliSecimi/turkiye/milletvekilisayisi.pdf> (retrieved on 13.4.2015)

JDP's EU policy was enthusiastic and promising. A package of reforms were passed in the Parliament to meet the Copenhagen Criteria²⁷⁶ of accession to EU in political, economic and legislative alignment criteria in 2002 and JDP continued to realise similar packages for the EU membership process for the next two years at the end of which Turkey expected to meet the criteria. However, especially the opposition by Austria and Germany and proposal of Germany for Turkey's "privileged membership" to EU met with disappointment and rejection by Turkey.²⁷⁷ Besides Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus became an EU member in 2004 with the other 9 new members which made the approval of Turkey's accession even harder.²⁷⁸ Turkey's efforts for the "resolution" of the Cyprus issue through Annan Plan made no difference before the EU community which caused serious resentment among Turkish.²⁷⁹ Turkey-EU negotiations started in 2005 for Turkey's accession²⁸⁰ and till 2014 Turkey did its homework about the criteria that EU asked for in almost all cases as democratisation and economic stability²⁸¹ however, it seems like EU and US – the West- became more occupied with their economic problems starting from 2008 economic crisis²⁸² and Turkey busy with development.

The following years with serious political issues marked EU-US disagreements and Turkey often supported US policies however, Turkey also witnessed EU's positive approach, although not as a whole, during the occasions where Turkey's strategic importance for US and EU security got comparatively high. Baskın Oran summarises this period as:

“Turkey supported Afghanistan policy of US and led US use its bases, gave logistical support as well as offering training for opponents in Afghanistan ...but when it was time for Iraq Turkey had reservations and Turkish Grand National

²⁷⁶ Kopenhag Kriterleri, <http://www.ombudsman.gov.tr/contents/files/752d1--Kopenhag-Kriterleri.pdf> (retrieved on 2.2.2015)

²⁷⁷ Ümit Cizre, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

²⁷⁸ Baskın Oran (d), op. cit., p. 150.

²⁷⁹ http://dosyalar.hurriyet.com.tr/almanak2004/almanak_details.asp?sid=4&nid=90 (retrieved on 3.2.2015)

²⁸⁰ Türkiye-AB İlişkileri Kronolojisi, <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=111&l=1> (retrieved on 3.2.2015)

²⁸¹ AB İlişkilerine Genel Bakış, see: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-ab-iliskilerine-genel-bakis.tr.mfa> (retrieved on 3.2.2015)

²⁸² Roger C. Altman, “2008 Krizi ve Batıya Jeopolitik Darbe”, *Türkiye Günlüğü*, Ankara, Vol. 96, Winter, 2009, p. 5.

Assembly first gave permission dated February 3, 2003 to modernise Turkish airports and harbours for US troops and equipment...second permission was not given in March 2003 and US reaction was major, ...when US started attacking Iraq in March, 2004 Northern Iraqi Kurds did not want Turks to enter and a group of Kurds burned Turkish flag, ...US did not give codes for enemy-friend differentiation of the planes to Turkish troop of 1000 which entered for safety zone, ...finally JDP's Iraq policy drew zigzags but it gave the optimum result of staying friendly with the neighbouring countries, saved itself from Iraq and earned appreciation of EU countries.²⁸³

The period after 2004, Turkey –US relations did not present a smooth line and in the course of the occasions, when the relations between the two are analysed, sudden and unrestrained comments from both sides were made however, the certainty about Turkish Foreign Policy was not often thought of since its “Westernism forever” remained. Neither Turkey with its obligatory Westernism nor the US with its plans in the Middle East can afford to disregard the other or worsen their relations with the other. Therefore, it was not a coincidence that US declared Turkey as the “model” country for the rest of the Middle East²⁸⁴ and Turkey's relations in the Middle East always having direct relation with its US relations like Turkey's relations with Israel²⁸⁵ and others and in the meantime most of the Muslim countries are in closer relations with the Western countries than they are in with Turkey because of their variety of interests.²⁸⁶ As previously stated, Turkey never really had Middle East on its east but rather the West and therefore Turkey's relations with the Middle East have been shaped in accordance with the Middle East policies of US. For instance, Turkey searched for support and intelligence from Israel for its PKK issue and Israel searched Turkey's support to balance its position against Iran and Syria meanwhile US always supported Israel in the region.²⁸⁷ So, directly or indirectly and although for different purposes, Turkey cooperated with US in the Middle East almost always and for example, when US

²⁸³ Baskın Oran (d), op. cit., p. 144-148.

²⁸⁴ Ayşe Ömür Atmaca (b), “Yeni Dünyada Eski Oyun: Eleştirel Perspektiften Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri”, *Ortadoğu Etütleri*, July 2011, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 157-191, p. 179. See also: http://www.orsam.org.tr/trUploads/Yazilar/Dosyalar/2011713_ayseomuratmaca.pdf (retrieved on 6.2.2015)

²⁸⁵ Richard Folk, “Geopolitical Turmoil and Civilizational Pluralism”, in *Civilizations and World Order*, ed. Fred Dallmayr et. al., Plymouth, Lexington Books, 2014, p. 15.

²⁸⁶ İlter Türkmen, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Ortadoğu Politikası”, Ankara, Bilgesam, 2010, p. 25. See <http://www.bilgesam.org/Images/Dokumanlar/0-22-20140717111.pdf> (retrieved on 15.4.2015)

²⁸⁷ Ramazan Gözen (b), op. cit., pp.139-140.

decided to proceed with its Greater Middle East Project²⁸⁸ in the new millennium Turkey was there for it.

The Turkish Prime Minister (back that year) and JDP leader Erdoğan declared that Israel committed terror towards Palestinians in 2004²⁸⁹ and accepted Hamas leader Halid Meşal in Ankara in 2006,²⁹⁰ Turkey prevented NATO exercise in the Black Sea and seemed to get closer with Russia in 2008;²⁹¹ Erdoğan left Davos meeting in 2009 greatly reacting Israel²⁹² and attracting the appreciation of the entire Muslim world; Erdoğan gave permission to Blue Marmara ship to get to Gaza for aid in 2010 which ended up with Israeli soldiers attacking the unarmed ship and the people who were there to deliver the aid;²⁹³ Turkey followed close relations with both Syria and Iran supporting Iran's uranium enrichment in the UN Security Council voting in 2010.²⁹⁴ On the other hand Turkey led US use Incirlik base always; visited Israel in 2005 and attended to meetings of Jewish lobbies in US in 2009 after Davos;²⁹⁵ signed "Common Vision and Structured Dialogue Document" with US in 2006,²⁹⁶ accepted Missile Shield project against Iran in 2010;²⁹⁷ toughened its policy towards Syria since 2011,²⁹⁸ led the Predators of US to deploy in Turkey and thus US to watch Iraq even after its withdrawal.²⁹⁹

²⁸⁸ Safa Haeri, "Concocting a 'Greater Middle East' brew", Asia Times Online, Middle East, March 4, 2004. See: http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/FC04Ak06.html (retrieved on 10.2.2015)

²⁸⁹ Hürriyet News, Politics, "İsrail Filistinlilere Engizisyon Uyguluyor", 4.6.2004.

<http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=230963> (retrieved on 12.2.2015)

²⁹⁰ Osman Bahadır Dinçer and Burç Köstem, "Türkiye-İsrail İlişkileri: Farklı Bir Bakış", Analist, April, 2013. See: <http://www.usakanalist.com/detail.php?id=569> (retrieved on 12.2.2015)

²⁹¹ Baskın Oran (d), op. cit., p. 147.

²⁹² Radikal News, "Dünya Basını Davos Şokunu Böyle Duyurdu", 30.1.2009.

http://www.radikal.com.tr/dunya/dunya_basini_davos_sokunu_boyle_duyurdu-919321 (retrieved on 12.2.2015)

²⁹³ BBC Türkçe, "Mavi Marmara Saldırısının Dördüncü Yıldönümü",

http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2014/05/140531_mavi_marmara (retrieved on 12.2.2015)

²⁹⁴ "No: 125, 9 Haziran 2010, BM Güvenlik Konseyinde İsrail'e İlaveli Yaptırımlar Konusunda Yapılan Oylama Hk."

http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-125_-9-haziran-2010_-bm-guvenlik-konseyinde-iran_a-ilave-yaptirimlar-konusunda-yapilan-oylamay-hk_.tr.mfa (retrieved on 12.2.2015)

²⁹⁵ Baskın Oran (d), op. cit., p. 148.

²⁹⁶ "Türkiye-ABD Ekonomik Ortaklık Komisyonu III. Toplantısı Eylem Planı",

25.5.2007, http://turkish.turkey.usembassy.gov/turkiye_abd_ekonomik_ortaklik2.html (retrieved on 12.2.2015)

²⁹⁷ Selin M. Bölme, "NATO Zirvesi ve Füze Kalkanı Projesi", *SETA Analiz*, Issue 30, Ankara, SETA, December 2010, p. 16.

²⁹⁸ Nebi Miş, "Türkiye'nin Suriye ve Lübnan Politikası 2012: Bölgesel Sahiplenme", *Türk Dış Politikası Yıllığı*, ed. Burhanettin Duran et. al., Ankara, SETA, 2013, pp. 231-232.

²⁹⁹ Baskın Oran (d), op. cit., p. 148.

Certainly, Turkey-US relations had and will have ups and downs till eternity but one thing that never changes is Turkey's Westernism in its Foreign Policy and US being the dominant representative of the West. Therefore, neither Turkey's degraded relations with Israel nor Turkey's "lash outs" in its Foreign Policy discourse are enough to change the route of the relations and time has always proved that even the policies of both Turkey and US are to present zigzags,³⁰⁰ reciprocally both sides through official visits, declarations and sometimes actions put everything back into track when it is time for "real politik".³⁰¹ ³⁰² Turkey-EU relations do not seem promising obviously until the already "resolved" Cyprus issue is "resolved" but the term negotiation is probably the best word to describe Turkey-EU relations and may last forever. However, Turkey has gained a lot with this negotiation process in terms of trying to meet the Copenhagen Criteria and will earn a lot more if it manages to handle the relations more professionally. Aside from Turkey's "real" West, Turkey's West in the Middle East will surely continue to have serious effects on Turkey's Middle East policies, but, deductively projecting, Turkey will have more certain, active and difference-making policies in the Middle East than its Western allies in the near future.

Finally, if Foreign Policy analysers are to ask "where is Turkish Foreign Policy off to?" one certain answer can be that all roads lead Turkey to the West and Turkey's Foreign Policy determinants were designated so logically in accordance with its history, geography and culture that although Turkey has been ruled by a variety of different ideological governments there are sine qua non of Turkish Foreign Policy that change was either not needed or could not have been possible/achieved so these determinants may be updated and the need for such change sometimes becomes striking but a changeover may well cause an earthquake.

³⁰⁰ İlhan Tanır, "ABD-Türkiye İlişkileri: Gerilim Hangi Boyutta?", Washington, 3 Kasım 2014, BBC Türkçe. See http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2014/11/141103_ilhantanir_iliskiler (retrieved on 15.4.2015)

³⁰¹ Murat Yetkin, "Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinde Yeni Riskler ve Fırsatlar", Radikal, 9.9.2014, See http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/murat_yetkin/turk_amerikan_iliskilerinde_yeni_riskler_ve_firsatlar-1211666 (retrieved on 15.4.2015)

³⁰² "Türkiye-Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Siyasi İlişkileri", <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-amerika-birlesik-devletleri-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa> (retrieved on 15.4.2015)

CONCLUSION

Having a large variety of cultural and ideological identities within Turkey; grouping, polarisation and conflict becomes expected phenomena. It also enables witnessing a continuous construction of political terms both by the politicians and, because of their influence and manipulation, by the society. However, definitely there are groups in Turkey, which have ideological commonalities within, and quite interestingly those groups existed in Turkey with similar ideologies a century before too, as the Islamists, Turkists and Westernists especially during the Union and Progress Party period. Contemporarily Turkey is still ideologically divided in between such ideological groups and this condition clues an obligation for multidimensionality and continuous balancing in Turkish politics.

This study summarised a period of over two centuries, tracing the Westernisation journey of Turkey. In that trace there were quite a few conclusions that could be reached in the frame of this study but the most outstanding one was that, the change of the path never led to a change in the direction. In other words, neither the leaders with different ideologies nor the radically changing conjuncture led Turkish Foreign Policy to change its axis other than the West.

As a matter of fact, Westernism notion, starting from the Ottoman period, went through quite a few modifications but always stayed. However, the varying perceptions of Westernism by the leaders from time to time and accordingly with the conjuncture, made the Westernisation path of Turkey differ and caused doubt about a possible axis change of Turkey. The Empire was on the side of taking the development of the West and leaving the rest but as the time past, the ruling elite and the Sultan, whether voluntarily or not, realised the necessity of social and thus political reform to march with the time, meaning to adopt its social and political system to the conjuncture. Understandably, the aim from this adaptation initiative was to prevent domestic turbulences and silent the external powers with interest groups within the Empire. So,

Westernism here was for standing against the West. The Union and Progress Party, despite various criticisms about its policies and actions institutionalised the Empire's Westernism policy through which it targeted the main national interest of ensuring the unity of the land and the people of the Empire. Even though they did not succeed in doing so, they gave a road map to the Republican Period, and Atatürk as an ex-Unionist in specific, in terms of Westernism.

Atatürk wanted total Westernisation, mentally and materially, in all terms but insisted on a multidimensional and balancing Foreign Policy which rightfully became the cornerstones of the future Turkish Foreign Policy, since this multidimensionality and balancing elements were soundly deduced from the experiences gained through the observations of the Empire's ruling, the Western attitude towards Turks and the Turkish society's social and cultural dynamics.

During the Cold War period, especially in 1950s and 60s, the Foreign Policy revealed almost a "take the West and leave the rest" attitude, which also did not succeed as seen through the events in 1970s. The Cold War Period definitely obliged Turkey to choose either one of the sides in a bipolar world and Turkey neither had a socio-political base to become another Yugoslavia nor could it think of getting under Soviet influence. Turkey was a Westernist country from the start and the West was represented by the United States for the entire Cold War Period, therefore Turkey became "Americanist" and kept its relations with the USA fair ever since, not really as a result of choice but obligation.

The *coup d'état* periods in Turkey ironically witnessed the coup makers to present their compliments to the West as the first job after they came into power while razing the most emphasised values of the West as democracy and human rights to the ground in Turkey. Their compliments definitely did not paralyse especially the Western Europe in terms of the democratic violations they made however, as a strategic ally of the United States, Turkey kept on with its determined Westernism as an unsacrificable ally in its region.

Özal's very much debated policies in 1990s, especially his open up to other geographies as the Middle East and Caucasus caused "axis change" worries both within Turkey and in the West. However, in the aftermath of the Cold War, Turkey was concerned about its strategic importance for the West and got the idea that its importance decreased because of the disappearance of the Soviet threat. Therefore, the underlying reason for Özal's initiative policies was through developing social, political and economic relations with the geographies other than the West, to have a stronger position before the West and balance its influence.

Finally, the Justice and Development Party, despite its political Islamist ideology and its national visionist political membership background, especially in the first years of its rule stayed Westernist and supported active involvement in International Organisations which were mainly Western. Although the Justice and Development Party's Foreign Policy ideologue Ahmet Davutoğlu's multidimensional Foreign Policy attitude, as Özal's policies in the past, caused an axis change debate, JDP kept emphasising Turkey's relations with the United States in specific and the Europe in general in the meantime insisting on the full-membership of Turkey to the European Union. So despite the activeness that Turkey presents concerning the Middle Eastern issues, understandably it constitutes more of an obligation because of the closeness of geography and societies as well as the historical ties. In other words, the conjuncture is too of a globalised one in any case that aside from being involved in politics of far geographies, Turkey cannot afford to isolate its East anymore as before. Consequently, despite its multidimensionality, Turkey still follows a Westernist Foreign Policy under the Justice and Development Party rule. Therefore, it would not be odd to state that, although a precise perception of Westernism was not and is not apparent in Turkey, two centuries later Turkey's Westernism ideal is still awake and certain.

Besides all the other conclusions that can be reached, the fact that Turkey is a Muslim country, makes the entire "confusion and struggle about Westernism" understandable. Turkey always had the historical and cultural realities on one hand clashing with the targets, aims and vision on the other. Turkey's religious, historical and cultural identity always clashed with the Western identity; however, it did not match with other

identities in other directions either. Therefore, via accepting this “Anatolian” identity and having the awareness of the reality that Turkey has more to give to its East and more to take from its West almost in all terms, the political atmosphere of the country will probably be milder. In addition, Turkish Foreign Policy always needed balancing to save its total sovereignty especially in political terms. Turkey needed the West to prevent it from the influence that “other directions” have on its community and needed those “other directions” to have a stronger stance in its relations with the West. Surely, a never-ending discussion of the Turkish Foreign Policy axis will always be witnessed, but the last twenty decades demonstrates that the determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy can be updated though the axis never changes.

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Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey


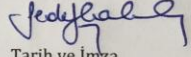
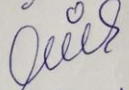
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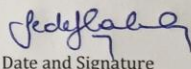
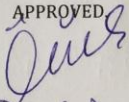
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APPENDIX 1: ORIGINALITY REPORT

 <p>HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ YÜKSEK LİSANS/DOKTORA TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ORJİNALLİK RAPORU</p>
<p>HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Tarih: 25/06/2015</p> <p>Tez Başlığı / Konusu: İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türk Dış Politikası'nda Batıcılık</p> <p>Yukarıda başlığı/konusu gösterilen tez çalışmamın a) Kapak sayfası, b) Giriş, c) Ana bölümler ve d) Sonuç kısımlarından oluşan toplam 132 sayfalık kısmına ilişkin, 25/06/2015 tarihinde şahsım/tez danışmanım tarafından Turnitin adlı intihal tespit programından aşağıda belirtilen filtrelemeler uygulanarak alınmış olan orijinallik raporuna göre, tezin benzerlik oranı % 13' tür.</p> <p>Uygulanan filtrelemeler:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Kabul/Onay ve Bildirim sayfaları hariç, 2- Kaynakça hariç 3- Alıntılar hariç/dâhil 4- 5 kelimedenden daha az örtüşme içeren metin kısımları hariç <p>Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Çalışması Orijinallik Raporu Alınması ve Kullanılması Uygulama Esasları'nı inceledim ve bu Uygulama Esasları'nda belirtilen azami benzerlik oranlarına göre tez çalışmamın herhangi bir intihal içermediğini; aksinin tespit edileceği muhtemel durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim.</p> <p>Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">25.06.2015  Tarih ve İmza</p> <p>Adı Soyadı: Sedef Bulut Öğrenci No: N11127155 Anabilim Dalı: Uluslararası İlişkiler Programı: Uluslararası İlişkiler Statüsü: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Y.Lisans <input type="checkbox"/> Doktora <input type="checkbox"/> Bütünleşik Dr.</p>
<p>DANIŞMAN ONAYI</p> <p style="text-align: center;">UYGUNDUR.  Yrd. Doç. Dr. Ayşe Ömür Atmaca (Unvan, Ad Soyad, İmza)</p>


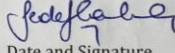
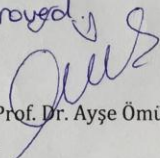
APPENDIX 1: ORIGINALITY REPORT

	<p>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES THESIS/DISSERTATION ORIGINALITY REPORT</p>
<p>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES TO THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS</p>	
<p>Date: 25/06/2015</p>	
<p>Thesis Title / Topic: Westernism in Turkish Foreign Policy: From Empire to Republic</p>	
<p>According to the originality report obtained by myself/my thesis advisor by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options stated below on 25/06/2015 for the total of 132 pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 13 %.</p>	
<p>Filtering options applied:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Approval and Declaration sections excluded 2. Bibliography/Works Cited excluded 3. Quotes excluded 4. Match size up to 5 words excluded 	
<p>I declare that I have carefully read Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Guidelines for Obtaining and Using Thesis Originality Reports; that according to the maximum similarity index values specified in the Guidelines, my thesis does not include any form of plagiarism; that in any future detection of possible infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility; and that all the information I have provided is correct to the best of my knowledge.</p>	
<p>I respectfully submit this for approval.</p>	
<p>25.06.2015  Date and Signature</p>	
<p>Name Surname:</p>	<p>Sedef Bulut</p>
<p>Student No:</p>	<p>N11127155</p>
<p>Department:</p>	<p>Uluslararası İlişkiler</p>
<p>Program:</p>	<p>Uluslararası İlişkiler</p>
<p>Status:</p>	<p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Masters <input type="checkbox"/> Ph.D. <input type="checkbox"/> Integrated Ph.D.</p>
<p><u>ADVISOR APPROVAL</u></p>	
<p>APPROVED  Assist. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Ömür Atmaca (Title, Name Surname, Signature)</p>	

APPENDIX 2: ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM

 <p>HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ETİK KURUL İZİN MUAFİYETİ FORMU</p>
<p>HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Tarih: 25/06/2015</p>
<p>Tez Başlığı / Konusu: İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türk Dış Politikası'nda Batıcılık</p> <p>Yukarıda başlığı/konusu gösterilen tez çalışmam:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. İnsan ve hayvan üzerinde deney niteliği taşımamaktadır, 2. Biyolojik materyal (kan, idrar vb. biyolojik sıvılar ve numuneler) kullanılmasını gerektirmemektedir. 3. Beden bütünlüğüne müdahale içermemektedir. 4. Gözlemsel ve betimsel araştırma (anket, ölçek/skala çalışmaları, dosya taramaları, veri kaynakları taraması, sistem-model geliştirme çalışmaları) niteliğinde değildir. <p>Hacettepe Üniversitesi Etik Kurullar ve Komisyonlarının Yönergelerini inceledim ve bunlara göre tez çalışmamın yürütülebilmesi için herhangi bir Etik Kuruldan izin alınmasına gerek olmadığını; aksi durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim.</p> <p>Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">25.06.2015 <i>Sedef Bulut</i> Tarih ve İmza</p>
<p>Adı Soyadı: Sedef Bulut</p> <p>Öğrenci No: N11127155</p> <p>Anabilim Dalı: Uluslararası İlişkiler</p> <p>Programı: Uluslararası İlişkiler</p> <p>Statüsü: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Y.Lisans <input type="checkbox"/> Doktora <input type="checkbox"/> Bütünleşik Dr.</p>
<p><u>DANIŞMAN GÖRÜŞÜ VE ONAYI</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Uygun buldum</i> <i>Ayşe Ömür Atmaca</i> Yrd. Doç. Dr. Ayşe Ömür Atmaca (Unvan, Ad Soyad, İmza)</p>
<p>Detaylı Bilgi: http://www.sosyalbilimler.hacettepe.edu.tr Telefon: 0-312-2976860 Faks: 0-3122992147 E-posta: sosyalbilimler@hacettepe.edu.tr</p>

APPENDIX 2: ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM

	<p>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORK</p>
<p>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS TO THE DEPARTMENT PRESIDENCY</p>	
<p>Date: 25/06/2015</p>	
<p>Thesis Title / Topic: Westernism in Turkish Foreign Policy: From Empire to Republic</p>	
<p>My thesis work related to the title/topic above:</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people. 2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.). 3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity. 4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development). 	
<p>I declare, I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board for anything; in any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.</p>	
<p>I respectfully submit this for approval.</p>	
<p>25.06.2015  Date and Signature</p>	
<p>Name Surname: Sedef BULUT</p>	_____
<p>Student No: N11127155</p>	_____
<p>Department: International Relations</p>	_____
<p>Program: International Relations</p>	_____
<p>Status: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Masters <input type="checkbox"/> Ph.D. <input type="checkbox"/> Integrated Ph.D.</p>	_____
<p><u>ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL</u></p>	
<p>Approved  Assist. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Ömür Atmaca _____ (Title, Name Surname, Signature)</p>	

ÖZGEÇMİŞ

Kişisel Bilgiler

Adı Soyadı : Sedef BULUT
Doğum Yeri ve Tarihi : Denver/ A.B.D. 20.4.1986

Eğitim Durumu

Lisans Öğrenimi : Bilkent Üniversitesi – Uluslararası İlişkiler
Yüksek Lisans Öğrenimi : Hacettepe Üniversitesi – Uluslararası İlişkiler
Bildiği Yabancı Diller : İngilizce, Almanca
Bilimsel Faaliyetleri : -

İş Deneyimi

Stajlar : Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı
Projeler : AB Sınırötesi İşbirliği Programları (Karadeniz ve Bulgaristan-Türkiye Sınırötesi İşbirliği Programları)
Çalıştığı Kurumlar : T.C. Başbakanlık Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı (TİKA)

İletişim

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Tarih : 10 Haziran 2015