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INSTRUMENTAL USE OF FOREIGN POLICY IN PRE- NATIONAL ELECTION PERIODS: TURKISH CASE (2003 – 2013)

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*Gratitudes to all friends in my life,
But the most for very precious Mama, Daddy and Auntie Zeynep...*

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1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.
2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:
 - i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
 - ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

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ABSTRACT

INSTRUMENTAL USE OF FOREIGN POLICY IN PRE-NATIONAL ELECTION PERIODS: TURKISH CASE (2003 – 2013)

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May 2013

In this study, the examination of incumbent's foreign policy use during pre-election periods is done, on the example of Turkey's last decade. The research question is whether foreign policy is used as an instrument in pre-election periods (of Turkey.) Several parallel research questions are tested on the US example, and the instrumental use of foreign policy in pre-election periods is verified, within a *conditionality* of *foreign policy*, *economy*, and *presidential popularity* determinants. Testing Turkey with this research question is never studied before.

This study pursues the *instrumentality* of *foreign policy* through the discourse of incumbent. Whole decade of 2003 – 2013 is investigated with the assessment for pre-election periods' "foreign policy use". For this aim, 88 *Address to Nation* speeches are investigated in terms of (the rates of) their foreign policy mentions.

The research question is tested and found that there is the increasing "foreign policy use" of incumbent Justice and Development Party (JDP) in pre-election periods, which appoints the instrumental use of foreign policy during 2007 & 2011 pre-election periods of Turkey. However, while the improving economy and high presidential popularity take place within the *conditionality*, the increase of "foreign policy use" rates of incumbent JDP in pre-election periods is not a very vote-promoting instrument; it is more like an ordinary increase in terms of the *conditionality* (for 2003 – 2013 decade.)

Beyond the answer of the research question, the findings about the whole decade's "foreign policy use" trends and attitudes of incumbent are very valuable. The balanced use of foreign policy in *Address to Nation* speeches and the crystallization of foreign relations of JDP governments are precisely observed.

Key Words: instrumental foreign policy, foreign policy in pre-election period, JDP foreign policy, Turkish foreign policy in pre-election period.

ÖZET

ULUSAL SEÇİM-ÖNCESİ DÖNEMLERDE DIŞ POLİTİKANIN ARAÇSAL KULLANIMI: TÜRKİYE ÖRNEĞİ (2003 – 2013)

Halime S. ATALAY

Mayıs 2013

Bu çalışmada, seçim öncesi dönemde iktidarın dış politika kullanımı, Türkiye'nin son on yılı örneği üzerinde incelenmiştir. Araştırma sorusu, (Türkiye'nin) seçim öncesi dönemler(in)de dış politikanın araç olarak kullanılıp kullanılmayıp değildir. Çeşitli benzer araştırma soruları ABD örneği için test edilmiştir ve seçim öncesi dönemlerde dış politikanın araçsal kullanımı, *dış politika*, *ekonomi* ve *aday popülaritesi* değişkenlerinin oluşturduğu bir *koşulluluk* içinde, tespit edilmiştir. Bu araştırma sorusu Türkiye üzerinde daha önce test edilmemiştir.

Bu çalışma, *dış politikanın araçsallığını* iktidarın söylemi üzerinden incelemektedir. 2003 – 2013 onyılı, seçim öncesi dönemlerin “dış politika kullanımı” tespiti ile araştırılmaktadır. Bu amaç için, 88 *Uluslararası Sesleniş* konuşması, dış politika atıfları (nın oranları) açısından incelenmiştir.

Araştırma sorusu test edilmiştir ve iktidardaki Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AK PARTİ)'nin seçim öncesi dönemlerde artan dış politika kullanımı bulunmuştur, ki bu, 2007 ve 2011 seçim öncesi dönemlerde araçsal dış politika kullanımını işaret eder. Bununla birlikte, gelişen ekonomi ve adayın yüksek popülaritesi *koşulluluk* içinde yer alırken; iktidardaki AK PARTİ'nin seçim öncesi dönemlerde “dış politika kullanımı” oranlarındaki artış, çok oy-artırıcı bir araç değildir; *koşulluluk* bağlamında daha çok olağan bir artıştır (2003 – 2013 onyılı için.)

Araştırma sorusunun cevabının ötesinde, iktidarın tüm on-yıldaki “dış politika kullanımı” trendleri ve tutumları hakkındaki bulgular oldukça kıymetlidir. *Uluslararası Sesleniş* konuşmalarındaki dengeli dış politika kullanımı ve AK PARTİ hükümetlerinin kristalleşen dış ilişkileri, açıkça gözlemlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: araçsal dış politika, seçim öncesi dönemlerde dış politika, AK PARTİ dış politikası, seçim öncesi dönemde Türk dış politikası.

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Appendix 3 to Chapter 2 Section 3: The Detailed Version of *Address to Nation*
Speeches of June 2010 – January 2013

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AoC:	The United Nations Alliance of Civilizations Project
BSEC:	Black Sea Economic Cooperation
CC:	The Constitutional Court
COMCEC:	Organization for Islamic Cooperation, Standing Committee for Economic & Commercial Cooperation
GNAT:	Grand National Assembly of Turkey
HCJP:	The High Council of Judges and Prosecutors
HLSCC:	High Level Strategic Cooperation Council
NIO:	National Intelligence Organization
OIC:	Organization for Islamic Cooperation
PM:	Prime Minister
PTARC:	Presidency of Turks Abroad and Related Communities
RPP:	Republican People's Party
SBE:	Supreme Board of Elections
TAF:	The Turkish Armed Forces
TANGP:	Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline
TICCA:	Turkish International Cooperation and Coordination Agency
TRNC:	Turkish Republic of North Cyprus

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PREFACE

What is expected from this study is nothing more than observing the pre-election “foreign policy use” trends and attitudes in Turkey, in which specific subject there were similar studies and hypotheses asked, tested and determined on different example countries.

As it has already done, “foreign policy use” of Turkish incumbents through their formal and regular discourse - the *Address to the Nation* speeches- between the years of 2003 – 2013 is examined in detail, for the reason of determining the pre-election periods’ trends and attitudes. At the end of the study, the findings are precious, beyond the research question –meanly, departure point- of the study.

Because of experiencing too many new and/or interesting point contrariwise the known, the study is word-dominant in contents, which might seem boring at first sight. However, the boldness of reading the text could light many new questions on this area.

INSTRUMENTAL USE OF FOREIGN POLICY IN PRE-NATIONAL ELECTION PERIODS: TURKISH CASE (2003-2013)

INTRODUCTION

In studies on the relation of foreign policy use and election periods, it is clearly seen that there is an irrefutable link between foreign policy activities and re-election worry.¹

In the literature of the specific relation of foreign policy and national elections, there is limited number of studies. These studies intensify on late 1980's and early 1990's, and the instance study area is the US. These studies investigate 1970's and 1980's of the US in general. Due to be a mixed area, specifying this specific literature's resources is quite sensitive. There are politico-economical or public opinion focused studies, which are generated quite a broad literature. All in all, it is reached the remarkable studies and theoretical part to work on.

The tested hypotheses and their evidences of Nincic and Gaubatz (which will be mentioned in *Literature Review* part) give the basement of the hypothesis in this study. It essentially is asserted that if an incumbent evaluates and uses his/her country's foreign policy as a vote promoter of his/her incumbency in a democratic country, in any case, then it should be similar for the case country (of this study) Turkey. So, it is proposed in this study that there should be some changing trend (seeing/hearing more or less about foreign policy) in Turkish foreign policy during pre-election periods comparing with the whole governing years of an incumbent.

The determination of pre-election "foreign policy use" trends of general foreign policy atmosphere is done via the incumbents' foreign policy discourse in this study. Checking the foreign policy-subjected minutes & the word numbers

¹ Smith, Alastair, "Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems", *International Studies Quarterly* 40 (1996), pp. 133-153.

which is about with foreign issues within whole speech (video or text format) of that month are the evaluation point in this study. It is chosen to study on last ten years of Turkey. This makes the current incumbent *Justice and Development Party*'s two pre-election periods the issue of my study. The main analysis chapter of the study has 3 sections in which subject the

- a) February 2003 – June 2006
- b) July 2006 – May 2010
- c) June 2010 – January 2013

time spans within the whole period of the study. The rationale behind this periodization is to see the changing trends in “foreign policy use” of the incumbent, which begins with pre-election periods’ starts. Due to provide a significant periodization in the analysis chapter, beginning with pre-election analysis to the sections is preferred in this study.

The Methodology Via The Literature Review

First chapter includes the literature review and the methodology sections. The main sources of the research question of this study are examined in *the literature review* section. Then, the research question, the methodology, the periodization, and the special features of Turkish example are posited in second section of first chapter.

Data Analysis Chapter

Starting with the introduction of data analysis chapter, there are three analysis sections of three periodization parts in data analysis chapter. Each section starts with a *general view of the country and world politics* episode. This episode gives the general economic, internal and external views, in terms of including –any- special conjuncture, which could help to filter the instrumentality of changing “foreign policy use” trends throughout the discourse of the incumbent.

Then, second episode within each section includes the entire view of the *Address to the Nation* speeches. For each incumbency term (4 years for every

government, in Turkey),² the general view is given around the remarkable usage rate of and/or notable events within the foreign policy discourse of the incumbent. Though, here, the precious evaluation is on the “pre-election period” focus within the incumbency period of the incumbent. The *Address to the Nation* speeches are not going to be given individually in analysis episodes. The technical, general, regional topics’ use and the use trends are going to be mentioned in this episode. Individual details of speeches are given in the appendices to the data analysis chapter.

The Conclusion

In the last chapter, the pure results of data analysis are given. Here, the pre-election periods’ commentary, the general findings placement, beyond of research question’s answer and future provisions are posited, after the modest preview/remind of methodology of the study.

² “Madde 77, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi’nin Seçim Dönemi [Article 77, The Election Period of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey]”, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası [The Constitution of Republic of Turkey]*, <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2709.pdf> , accessed on April 2, 2013.

CHAPTER 1

THE METHODOLOGY VIA THE LITERATURE REVIEW

In studies on the relation of foreign policy use and election periods, it is clearly revealed that there is an irrefutable link between foreign policy activities and re-election worry.³ Alastair Smith, for example, demonstrates that the light of re-election makes incumbents willing to take challenging steps on foreign policy actions.⁴ Israel's *Operation Pillar of Cloud* in Gaza is a recent example, as seen in news media.⁵

There are a modest number of studies regarding the relationship between foreign policy and internal elections which claim that their relationship intensifies before and after elections. The nature of this relationship is studied as the weight of foreign policy in influencing the pre- and post- election policies of rivals (pledges, discourses, war scenarios and so on). These studies focus especially on the US presidential elections and US' foreign policy making & implementation during that process. Miroslav Nincic, one of the first composer theorists of this relationship, concludes that *"in any case, it is hard to escape the conclusion that US stances toward the Soviet Union have been significantly shaped by the requirements of domestic political competition"*.⁶ With the aid of the specific example of the Soviet Union and US foreign policy, Nincic asserts that at the very minimum, whatever

³ Smith, Alastair, "Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems", *International Studies Quarterly* 40 (1996), pp. 133-153.

⁴ Ibid., p. 133.

⁵ "Netanyahu'nun İkilemi-İsrail-Maariv [Netanyahu's Dilemma-Israel-Maariv]", Trt Türk Haberdar, <http://www.trtturkhaberdar.com/haber/netanyahunun-ikilemi-7812.html> , accessed on November 20, 2012.

"Halkın Üçte Birinden Azı Gazze'ye Yapılması Beklenen Kara Operasyonu'nu Destekliyor-İsrail-Haaretz [Less Than 1/3 of Public Contributes the Expected Ground Operation to Gaza-Israel-Haaretz]", Trt Türk Haberdar, <http://www.trtturkhaberdar.com/haber/halkin-ucte-birinden-azi-gazze-ye-yapilmasi-beklenen-kara-operasyonunu-destekliyor-7770.html> , accessed on November 29, 2012.

"İsrailli Araştırmacı Bile İsrail'e İnanmıyor-Güncel [Even Israeli Analyst Does Not Believe In Israel-Live]", Haber7.com, <http://www.haber7.com/guncel/haber/954440-israilli-arastirmaci-bile-israile-inanmiyor> , accessed on November 20, 2012.

⁶ Nincic, Miroslav, "US Soviet Policy and the Electoral Connection", *World Politics* 42:3 (1990), p. 389.

their direction or intensity (which are examined in detail in his studies), foreign policy and domestic politics influence each other in terms of election cycles.⁷

Nincic's test and theory on the US example is roughly checked in various European examples,⁸ but Turkish example has so far never been tested. In this study, for Turkey, firstly, foreign policy instrumentality in pre-election periods calls attention to the prime minister's shift to a critical tone of discourse regarding EU relations with Turkey. Secondly, Turkish participation in the international peace mission in Lebanon, and later, the timing of the *Mavi Marmara Attack* (by Israel)⁹ are two controversial incidents in Turkish foreign policy of great import, for one intending to carry out an investigation on Turkey. The *Mavi Marmara Attack* occurred at the very beginning of a parliamentary pre-election period in Turkey. The critical tone of EU relations (which differs from the prior tone) and the willingness to participate in a foreign peace mission also diverge from the policies during previous periods of the incumbent. From here, this study intends to conduct an investigation on Turkey in terms of Nincic's theory. To begin this investigation, the modest amount of literature available on this subject is reviewed below.

1.1. Literature Review

Not many studies on the relation between foreign policy and national elections exist. The number of studies in this area increases in the late 1980's and early 1990's, and the case study area is the US. The studies generally investigate the 1970's and 1980's period of the US. As it is a mixed area, specifying relevant resources is quite a delicate matter. There are politico-economical or public opinion focused studies, which generate a broad range of literature. Nevertheless, it is obtained quite remarkable studies and theoretical models to work with.

⁷ Ibid., pp 370-396.

⁸ Risse-Kappen, Thomas, "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies", *World Politics* 43:4 (1991), pp. 479-512.

⁹ In the text, the *Mavi Marmara Attack/Incident* notion are preferred while mentioning this issue. Apart from this text, this incident also is known as *Gaza Flotilla Crisis/Incident*, as referred in various media.

The seminal work in this specific area of study was done by Kenneth N. Waltz, in his book, *Foreign Policy and Democratic Politics: The American and British Experience* (1967).¹⁰ Waltz' distinction is his recognition of the importance of public opinion in foreign policy making. (Waltz was preceded by G. Almond,¹¹ W. Lippmann¹² and J. Rosenau¹³ who wrote studies related with public opinion and elections; however, none of them paid any considerable attention to the effect of public opinion on elections, or election cycles.) Waltz' (academic) stance was "iconoclastic",¹⁴ and his investigation on the US and Britain brought him to his position as one of the foremost researchers whose work shed light on the impact of public opinion on elections and "foreign policy effectiveness".¹⁵

After Waltz, the critique of Tufte's 1978 book by Brown & Stein (1982) is another work which paved the way for Nincic's work and thus also for this (my) study.¹⁶ Basically, Tufte (1978) discusses the effects of conversion on economic policy before elections. According to him, the conversion on transfer payments done by politicians are "rewarded"¹⁷ by voters and this process forms a cycle which is repeated during every national election of the US - that is, the presidential and congressional elections cycles -. Brown & Stein (1982) re-examine Tufte's argument and they have reached pointed results within their research. They find that the economic cycle that Tufte postulates only exists if there is the chance of reelection in that period's presidential elections.¹⁸ The work of Tufte and his review by Brown & Stein appear to have been conducted from a political economic perspective, and in fact they have. Notably, this approach constitutes one of the variables of Nincic &

¹⁰ Jervis, Robert, "The Contributions of President Kenneth N. Waltz", *PS* 20:4 (1987), p. 856.

¹¹ Almond, Gabriel A., "Public Opinion and National Security Policy", *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 20:2 (1956), pp. 371-378.

Almond, Gabriel A., "Public Opinion and the Development of Space Technology", *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 24:4 (1960), pp. 553-572.

¹² Feaver, Peter D., "The Domestication of Foreign Policy", *American Foreign Policy Interests: The Journal of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy* 20: 1 (1998), p. 4.

¹³ Gaubatz, Kurt, Taylor, "Election Cycles and War", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35:2 (1991), p. 213.

¹⁴ Jervis, Robert, "The Contributions of President Kenneth N. Waltz", *PS* 20:4 (1987), p. 856.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Brown, Thad A., and Arthur A. Stein, "The Political Economy of National Elections – Political Control of the Economy By Edward R. Tufte", *Comparative Politics* 14:4 (1982), pp. 479-497.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 479.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 480-481.

Hinckley (1991) study.¹⁹ [This is discussed in more depth in literature section below.]

One other study that supports the relation of foreign policy and elections comes from Shapiro and Page (1988).²⁰ They investigate the impact of foreign issues on public opinion, which could be posited as an investigation of this relation from the reverse. After a review of their antecedents, they found that whatever the information they were presented with, “[the] American public formed and changed their policy preferences in a reasonable manner.”²¹ This is evidence that public opinion reflects foreign issues. It is another way of saying that foreign policy elicits responses from the public – that is, the voters -, and the responses are evident at the point of elections. This context is the context it is wished to refer to in respect of the relationship between elections and foreign policy.

In 1984, Richard J. Stoll writes *The Guns of November*, which is one of the fundamental studies of elections and foreign policy making literature (as the most frequently cited).²² He investigates the November/presidential elections of the US in the context of a component of foreign policy - *the visible use of military force*, in war and non-war times, between 1947 and 1982. Stoll builds his hypothesis that: a) if the US are at war prior to a reelection, then “*the visible use of military force will be high*”, and b) if the US are not engaged in a war at the time of a reelection bid, the visible use of armed forces will be low.²³ He reaches the results he predicted, however he states that *the direction* seems desirable on hypothesis, and the results are *not desirable but reasonable*.²⁴ This study is a cornerstone in linking the foreign policy component to early-reelection analysis, and with its finding of a result harmonious with its hypothesis is relevant on another level.

¹⁹ Nincic, Miroslav, Hinckley, Barbara, “Foreign Policy and the Evaluation of Presidential Candidates”, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35: 2 (1991), pp. 333-355.

²⁰ Shapiro, Robert Y., Benjamin I. Page, “Foreign Policy and the Rational Public”, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 32:2 (1988), pp. 211-247.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

²² Stoll, Richard, J, “The Guns of November: Presidential Reelections and the Use of Force, 1947-1982”, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 28:2 (1984), pp. 231-246.

²³ *Ibid.*, p 234.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

Two years later, the study of William B. Quandt (1986) is another which specifically investigates the conduct of foreign policy in the US, within the election cycle.²⁵ Quandt posits the influence of four-year-presidential elections on foreign policy making. According to him, the first year of presidency (and the election cycle) is the inexperienced year of the presidency.²⁶ The second year and the first half of the third year is the most efficient period of presidency in terms of having the authority and the ability and skill to direct that power in the conduct of foreign policy.²⁷ Then, the last half of the third year and the fourth year are the period of reelection anxiety, which causes the incumbent to make beneficial foreign policy decisions with an aim to achieving reelection.²⁸ Then, the second term of presidency – in the event of reelection - is very much like the reverse of the first term of presidency.²⁹ The most crucial point in Quandt's study reveals the echo/response of reelection concern in presidential elections, which creates the *electoral cycle*. This evidence contributes to the Brown and Stein hypothesis that reelection terms of presidential elections affect the conduct of policies prior to elections³⁰ (Brown & Stein tested this on economic policies in 1982, while Quandt tests and reaches the same conclusions on foreign policy making.)

In their notable study, Ostrom & Job (1986) work on a *cybernetic* model, that investigates the US president's international/foreign policies – that is, the use of force - within the context of the president's *functionalities*.³¹ As a chief executive, a commander-in-chief and a political leader,³² on final analysis, “*the propensity to use force will increase in election periods.*”³³ Inside their cybernetic model, there are surely some other variables in making the decision to use force outside of the US. However, at the very end, the authors come to the point of the changing effect of

²⁵ Quandt, William, B, “The Electoral Cycle and the Conduct of Foreign Policy”, *Political Science Quarterly* 101:5 (1986), pp. 825-837.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 828.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 833.

³⁰ Brown, Thad A., and Arthur A. Stein, “The Political Economy of National Elections – Political Control of the Economy By Edward R. Tufte”, *Comparative Politics* 14:4 (1982), pp. 479-497.

³¹ Ostrom, Charles W., Brian L. Job, “The President and the Political Use of Force”, *The American Political Science Review* 80:2 (1986), pp. 541-566.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 545.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 554.

using force abroad on electoral calculations of the president, prior to presidential elections, between 1949 and 1976 (the authors noted that there are some presidents who did not include this variable in their electoral calculations.)³⁴

James and O'Neal (1991) investigate the use of force - as a foreign policy activity - and in domestic & international politics, in more depth than Ostrom & Job, in their later study.³⁵ They go further than Ostrom & Job (1986) after the evidence of Zelikow, which evaluates the use of force (by the US) as "*the mix of the US interests and the US capabilities.*"³⁶ Their valuable contribution is to attach the misery index to the premise of Ostrom & Job (1986).³⁷ So, James & O'Neal's study (1991) determines four significant variables of the issue: *the misery index, the president's popularity, the president's overall success and electoral cycle indicator.*³⁸ The last point of the study is pretty explanatory, with Waltz's commentary: "*Theories of perfect competition tell us about the market and not about the competitors. Theories of oligopolistic competition tell us quite a bit about both.*"³⁹ This approach is quite relevant to the relation that I will explore.

James Morrow (1991) has another angle on elections and foreign policy issue.⁴⁰ He basically studies the impact of domestic incentives' on foreign policy, through the "arms control" data. The related point for my study is the position of elections as an element of domestic incentives on foreign policy determination. Apart from the specifically related evidence he found in the context of his study, he concludes that "*the institution of regular elections provides the electorate with a tool to discipline the executive.*"⁴¹ This *discipline* is more noticeable during economically declining reelection periods, according to a formal model.⁴² What is more, Morrow draws the conclusion that "*domestic politics is not an impediment to foreign policy,*

³⁴ Ibid., p. 545.

³⁵ James, Patrick, John R. O'Neal, "The Influence of Domestic and International Politics on the President's Use of Force", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35:2 (1991), pp. 307-332.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 310.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 325.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Morrow, James D., "Electoral and Congressional Incentives and Arms Control", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35:2 (1991), pp. 245-265.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 246.

⁴² Ibid., p. 264.

but rather an essential part of it”,⁴³ which is quite illuminating for the investigations of this (my) study.

One other notable study is that of Alastair Smith (1996).⁴⁴ He investigates the impact of reelection stimulations on foreign policy decisions in democratic countries. While reviewing the literature of his focus, he notably touches on the differentiation of voter beliefs on foreign policy and foreign policy outcomes, as *Bayes rule*.⁴⁵ Smith additionally asks the question of how incumbents use foreign policy as a goal to reelection, when other parameters are *equal*.⁴⁶ His question brings a point of *conditionality* (which is close to Nincic & Hinckley’s definition) through the domestic economic situation and external crises. It is necessary to have a successful economy for the reelection of an incumbent, which generates the large part of the *conditionality* Smith concludes.⁴⁷ The lesser portion of *conditionality* occurs in bad economic situations with an exact and successful foreign intervention (as a kind of foreign policy outcome).⁴⁸ Evaluating his points on democratic systems gives the *proportional representation* (that is, coalition situations in practice), which needs consensus on foreign policy outcomes and which therefore prevents foreign policy’s use instrumentally on *electoral purposes*.⁴⁹ He concludes that “*the democracies are more interventionist in the latter half of their electoral term*”, - which corresponds with the *assertiveness* in the Nincic’s studies -.⁵⁰

The 1991 study of Kurt T. Gaubatz has a delicate and diverse take on *election cycles and war*.⁵¹ The study basically focuses on the “*large relationship between election cycles and war (entries)*”,⁵² not only in the US but globally over the last 200

⁴³ Ibid., p. 264.

⁴⁴ Smith, Alastair, “Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems”, *International Studies Quarterly* 40 (1996), pp. 133-153.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 141.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 136-137.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 144-147.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 144-147.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 148-150.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 150.

⁵¹ Gaubatz, Kurt, Taylor, “Election Cycles and War”, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35:2 (1991), pp. 212-244.

⁵² Ibid., p. 238.

years. He defines “election cycles” as the “*relative power of state and society*”.⁵³ Referring to “society”, he groups societies as “*pacific, passionate, [and] protean*” publics before evaluating their tendencies at the commencement of war (which is a *foreign policy* action of a state.) He divides the governing terms in democratic states into four quintiles - which correspond to 1 or 1,5 year on average -. Statistically, over the past 200 years the concentration of war entries of democratic states posterior to national elections.⁵⁴ Prior to elections, there are lesser war entries in democratic states.⁵⁵ Finally, with this data revealed, he demonstrates the “*visible*” link of election cycles and the external policy behaviors of democratic states.⁵⁶ While he reveals the *correlation* between war entries - as a foreign policy outcome - and election cycles, he is aware of the necessity to display the *causality* behind this link - or *correlation*, namely -.⁵⁷ His aspect of reviewing the relation of foreign policy outcome and election cycle is quite different to its statistical transcription which intensifies following the elections period; while *electoral cycle* issues are reviewed, in general, prior to elections.

In his later study, Gaubatz (2001) examines the impact of domestic politics and the political charisma of candidates in the context of international events, prior to elections, using the example of the US.⁵⁸ Beyond working on and proving the effectiveness of foreign policy as a vote motivator prior to elections, Gaubatz unites the incumbents’ and *challengers*’ positions in his *structural model*,⁵⁹ while determining the significance of international crisis situations’ effect on the *nomination acceptance* speeches⁶⁰ of rivals.⁶¹ He uses four determinants of the policies of rival candidates prior to elections, which are referred to as *candidate*

⁵³ Ibid., p. 212.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 224.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 230.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 212.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 232.

⁵⁸ Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor, “Elections and Foreign Policy: Strategic Politicians and the Domestic Salience of the International Issues”, *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association* (2001), pp. 1-25.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

⁶⁰ “*Nomination Acceptance Speech*” is the last speech of the presidential candidates (of their parties), before the presidential elections, within the US political system.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 6.

characteristic, international politics, domestic politics and diversionary^{62, 63} His investigations of the 1948-2000 period brings Gaubatz to a position affirming the instrumentality of foreign policy issues on presidential elections of the US, whose impact changes to the conditionality between the president's popularity, domestic economy, international actions of the US, diversionary situations of the incumbents and challengers, and Democratic & Republican party traditions.⁶⁴

Almost at the same time as Nincic, Dean Franklin Duncan (1989) wrote a remarkable doctoral dissertation which specifically investigates the quantity of foreign policy activities throughout electoral cycles in the US, during the 1948-1978 period.⁶⁵ Duncan *links* presidential popularity, domestic and foreign conflict and political economy branches - which were studied in electoral cycle context -, with an extensive literature review.⁶⁶ In his own words, his study tests "*the idea that incumbent presidents manipulate foreign policy activity in order to increase their chances of reelection.*"⁶⁷ He counts⁶⁸ the foreign policy actions (which are defined as "*a statement or an act toward an external entity*")⁶⁹ of the US presidential election cycles (with special focus on reelection), while he also checks the presidential popularity, political economy and domestic & foreign strife determinants. Interestingly – as he noted with this quote -, while he was expecting an increase, he actually finds a decrease in the number of foreign policy actions over the whole term of his focus.⁷⁰ Still, this result is coherent with his hypothesis - there is a kind of shift in the direction of foreign policy activity (meaning the "whole trend of actions") prior to elections, with the aim of securing the presidency once again.⁷¹ He continues to test his hypothesis in detail on whole countries with which the US has relations on

⁶² Meaning here the diversionary stances of incumbent and challenger on putting forward their arguments on the misery index, international crises and party traditions/politics of US system.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 6.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 18-24.

⁶⁵ Duncan, Dean, Franklin III, "The Election Cycle in Foreign Policy Activity" Doctoral Dissertation Thesis submitted by the Faculty of the Graduate School of Emory University and Political Science Department (1989), pp. 1-290.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. "ABSTRACT".

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 18.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 79.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 138.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 157.

the Soviet Union - as a special threat -, and on Great Britain and Israel - to test two kinds of its allies -.⁷² He touches on the empirically significant and statistically small size of his study which takes foreign policy activity through election cycles as its subject.⁷³ Duncan concludes his study with the verification of his opening point from a different angle.⁷⁴ The point here is the evident demonstration of the shift in foreign policy activity trends prior to the US presidential reelection periods, in relation with domestic, economic and personal popularity determinants, which leads to a working hypothesis that could be “*implemented to any nation*”, which has “*periodic competitive elections*.”⁷⁵

Here will follow a review of the related (four) studies by Miroslav Nincic. The first step in his study series is his 1979 study with Thomas Cusack.⁷⁶ In their study, the starting point is to determine the defense expenditure’s proportions in the national economy in the US and to see whether military spending is an instrument of macro-economic policies.⁷⁷ The investigation on the data which the authors used brings the instrumentality of defense expenditure inside the boundaries of the national economy, *at least, in the US context*, for electoral benefits of incumbents; while the authors attribute this idea to E. Tufte (1975).⁷⁸ Due to being easily explicable to *taxpayers*⁷⁹ in terms of its legitimacy and its requirements, military spending is an instrument of reelection motivation, relating to the economic policies of the incumbent.⁸⁰ The context of this study within my study is the cycle that is dependent on the elections. The cycle of military expenditure moves with elections, and some kind of spending in the national economy is increased or decreased as a manipulator of voters. Also, military spending is done against a foreign collocutor - so, military expenditure, at the same time, is inextricably related to the foreign policy

⁷² Ibid., pp. 173-263.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 287.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 284-287.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 16.

⁷⁶ Nincic, Miroslav, Cusack, Thomas, J., “The Political Economy of US Military Spending”, *Journal of Peace Research* 16: 2 (1979), pp. 101-115.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 101.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 104.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 112.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

actions of the state. This is a starting point of the Nincic study series, and this is the first step which goes to his *conditionality* hypothesis at the end.

In his 1988 study, Nincic focuses on the US - Soviet Union relations under the light of a softness/toughness scale of different policies of Democrat and Republican presidents.⁸¹ He opens to his investigation of this issue with a discussion of “*interplay*” of foreign and domestic “*circumstances*”, which forms the policies of the US and the Soviet Union.⁸² Here, he discusses the dominancy and subjectivity/objectivity of public opinion in policy making.⁸³ Whatever dominancy and objectivity on policy-making comes from the public, from the 1950s to 1980s, he comes to the opinion that the US public expects from the president a “*military preparedness without a furious belligerence*”.⁸⁴ This angle composes the main hypothesis of Nincic’s 1988 study. The author evaluates the policies towards the Soviet Union of Ford, Carter, and Reagan from this angle. The different political traditions which these presidents represent and the softness/toughness of their policies work according to his hypothesis.⁸⁵ A policy of appeasement from Reagan or a pushy foreign policy to the Soviet Union from Carter makes sense according to his *policy of opposites* proposition.⁸⁶ Later in the study, Nincic tests his hypothesis with the propositions that 1) rather than the public’s views, the policies source from president’s dovishness/hawkishness,⁸⁷ and, 2) the president’s attitude stems from his aim of “*maximizing*” his “*domestic support*” rather than by realizing the public’s expectations.⁸⁸ He finds his hypothesis stable after these tests. Nincic, again, tests the weight of the presidents’ adherence to their ideological backgrounds regarding actions toward the Soviets, and his thesis still maintains its stability.⁸⁹ In short, Nincic finds that the US public wants the president to stay between “*peace and*

⁸¹ Nincic, Miroslav, “The US, the Soviet Union, and the Politics of Opposites”, *World Politics* 40:4 (1988), pp. 452-475.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 452.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 453-456.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 459.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 464-466.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 468.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 469.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 472-474.

power”,⁹⁰ on the policies toward the Soviets (which means foreign acts of the US), which surely affects the reelection policies of the presidents⁹¹ - the Ford, Carter and Reagan periods are the subject of this study -. The link between Nincic’s 1988 study and this (my) study is his hypothesis that US presidents behave according to public expectations at one point, whatever their political tradition is, and which embodies the reelection concerns of the US presidents in foreign policy making. It could be illustrative to attach Nincic’s illustration⁹² here:

Figure 1

Overall Perception of the President

		HAWK	DOVE
Specific Presidential Policy Toward U.S.S.R.	TOUGH	Disapproval	Approval
	SOFT	Approval	Disapproval

Presidential Policy & Overall Perception of the US Presidents

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 458.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 454.

⁹² Ibid.

The next Nincic study is entitled “*US Soviet Policy and the Electoral Connection*” (1990).⁹³ Nincic begins this study with the declaration that no presidential candidate in the US could risk ignoring foreign policy issues during their electoral campaigns.⁹⁴ He has a general view on the years of 1952 to 1988 (the end of the Reagan term), while he especially focuses on the Carter and Reagan periods.⁹⁵ He introduces his study by stating that “[the] electoral period is a time when the political system’s rewards and punishments are meted out.”⁹⁶ In his US example, this combination makes presidential candidates and also incumbents *assertive* against the rival of the US - the Soviet Union. Still, the hypothesis he used in his preceding study – that the majority of US voters’ preferred foreign policy vision for their country is one neither belligerent nor defenseless - feels its presence here: the US policy towards the Soviet Union reflects this unsteadiness during the period immediately after the elections⁹⁷ (which corresponds to the 1991 Gaubatz study.) In this context, he brings to mind one of the basic hypotheses of this study: there is a connection between electoral cycles and incumbents’ policies, and first election policies of an incumbent are definitely different from the same candidate’s re election policies.⁹⁸ He demonstrates that his evidence shows the presence of the link between electoral cycle and policies (changing) towards the Soviets.⁹⁹ Later in the study, he clarifies his point with the crisis of the Carter term: *the Iranian Hostages Crisis* was a good point for President Carter, but the “*possibility existed that insufficient toughness against Soviets*” took greater importance than in prior elections.¹⁰⁰ Then, Nincic investigates the summit meetings, arms control agreements with Soviets and strategic spending against Soviets; he has reached the conclusion that incumbents’ toughness on election years increased strategic spending against Soviets during election years was implemented as a show of strength, while the number of arms control agreements’ and summit meetings decreases in the election

⁹³ Nincic, Miroslav, “US Soviet Policy and the Electoral Connection”, *World Politics* 42:3 (1990), pp. 370-396.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 371, p. 373.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

year. (This inversely proportionate shift in the attitude of the US towards the Soviets sees a decrease in US strategic spending over the first three years of a new presidency, while in the fourth year - which is, of course, the *exact* election year - this kind of spending increases again.)¹⁰¹ He also researches the second-term presidency examples, and by examining this data Nincic reveals the changing attitudes of reelected presidents against the Soviets. Due to two-term limit for presidency, reelected presidents' attitudes in their second term toward Soviets are more peaceful and freer from election worries, an attitude which stems from the *desire* to be remembered as a *world statesman*.¹⁰² At this point, presidents do not need to maintain the uneven tempo of election worries, so they try to leave their mark in history as a world statesman. In conclusion, he, once more, underlines that the hypothesis he tested exists but not a law, it is a propensity which may shift according to the candidate's character.¹⁰³

It is time to mention the last and main study of both this literature review and Nincic's studies take place. Nincic's collaboration with Hinckley (1991) provides the *conditionality* basis of this literature.¹⁰⁴ Nincic & Hinckley start from the point of foreign policy activities' significance in shaping the public's electoral opinions.¹⁰⁵ They create *the conditionality* of economic, foreign politic and presidential charismatic factors on presidential elections of the US.¹⁰⁶ They specifically base their work on the 1980 and 1984 presidential elections. They also include the *rally point* variable in the foreign policy factor; and, *the misery index* variable in economic factor of the conditionality. Their figuration of *conditionality* is given here:

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 385-388.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 376-377.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 392.

¹⁰⁴ Nincic, Miroslav, Hinckley, Barbara, "Foreign Policy and the Evaluation of Presidential Candidates", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35: 2 (1991), pp. 333-355.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 333.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 341.

Figure 2

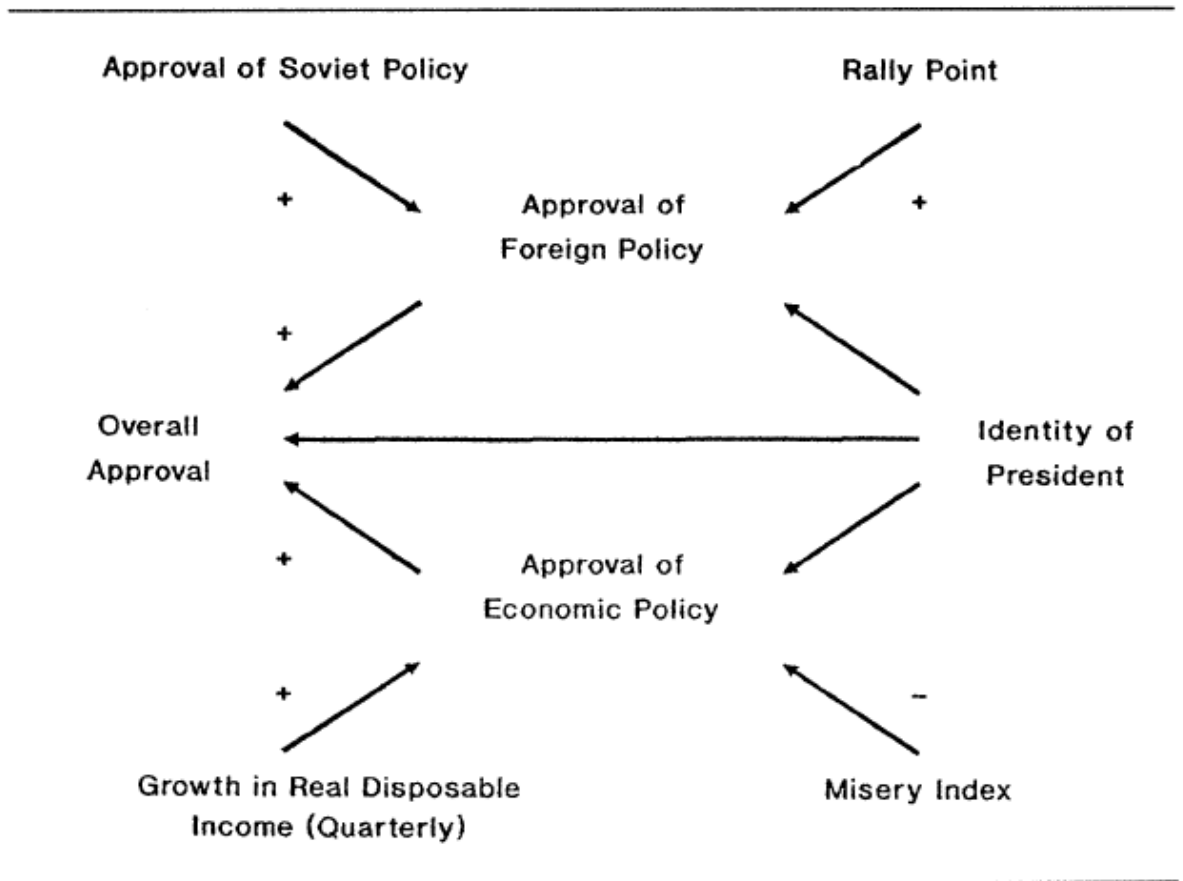


Table of *Conditionality* of Nincic & Hinckley

This illustration reveals the weight of variables which affect voter opinion, and visibly the election results.¹⁰⁷ The determinants in the **Figure 2** are all the effectors of an election. Case by case, there is a changing *conditionality* of these determinants. *Conditionality* combinations can start with the following factors: 1) if the economic part schematized in the **Figure 2** is not conducive for vote promotion/motivation, then foreign policy and presidential/candidate charisma might fill the total capacity of influencing the elections. Or, 2) if the economy has positive figures and is already a spectacular vote promoter of presidential elections, then an *assertive* (but not belligerent) stance in foreign policy from a popular incumbent is expected by voters

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 341.

(during reelection bids.) Another *condition* is 3) if neither the economic situation nor presidential charisma are acceptable to voters, the potential of an assertive foreign policy to change voters' mind increases. Other *conditionality* combination are 4) a bright economy and foreign policy balance with a passive leadership, which seems to bring a low possibility of reelection. 5) In the case of having perfect economic data and disapproval of foreign policy attitudes and presidential character, a reelection bid could be successful, but not for sure. The authors use this figuration case by case, and they implement this principle case by case.¹⁰⁸ One notable point is the "approval" rating that is seen on tableau, which brings the vote to candidates. An increase of 1.5% of economic approvals brings a return of a 1% increase in real votes,¹⁰⁹ while a 2% increase in president's approval brings a 1% real increase.¹¹⁰ The most striking is the rating of the variables in the illustration: according to the authors, *candidates' evaluation* is formed by *foreign policy*, which is comparable case by case with *economic circumstances*.¹¹¹ Lastly, they assert that *rally points* have no meaningful impact on elections.¹¹² It could be noted that *misery index* and *rally points* are sub-determinants of Nincic & Hinckley's *conditionality*.

Essentially, all the literature referred to above generates a line which is the inspiration for this (my) study. There is, at first, a tradition of examining the foreign policy and electoral cycle link that starts with Waltz and reaches its peak with the Gaubatz and Nincic studies, a tradition that also includes the study of the relationship of these with public opinion, political economy and domestic political views. This tradition takes as its main example the US and its Cold War years, while there are several other examples as well.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 353.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 342.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 337.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 350.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 351.

1.2. The Hypothesis and The Methodology

This chapter states the hypothesis and methodology of the thesis. After the modest review literature on foreign policy in pre-election periods of the world's democratic states, it is here necessary to draw a clear framework.

My research question is whether foreign policy has become applied as a vote promoter/an instrument in Turkey during pre-election periods of national elections over the last decade. The motivation behind my question is the (multi-directional) changes found in world examples. The question is answered as “yes” (foreign policy becomes a vote promoter to a degree prior to elections) in the special US example,¹¹³ while additional examples of Japanese, French and German democracies can be found.¹¹⁴ With the research question, it is intended to look for any changing trend/s in the use of Turkish foreign policy in incumbents' discourses in the pre-election periods over the entire period of governments. Any divergence from the general trend during a pre-election time would signal a vote promoter effect of foreign policy in a pre-election period. Therefore, examining this facet of foreign policy within the last decade of Turkish political history is once productive and attractive, factors which have led me to the starting point of this study.

For clarity, the tested hypotheses and their evidence from Nincic and Gaubatz (mentioned in *Literature Review* part) form the basis of the hypothesis of this study. According to Nincic (with Hinckley, 1991), there is the *conditionality* of pre-election policies of incumbents, which is formed by economic, foreign politic and president-characteristic determinants of any democratic political aura.¹¹⁵ In every pre-election period, the referred determinants create a certain and variable effect on election results.¹¹⁶ Economy is the main driver of this *conditionality*; still, foreign policy

¹¹³ Smith, Alastair, “Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems”, *International Studies Quarterly* 40 (1996), pp. 133-153.

Also see, Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor, “Elections and Foreign Policy: Strategic Politicians and the Domestic Salience of the International Issues”, *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association* (2001), pp. 1-25.

¹¹⁴ Risse-Kappen, Thomas, “Public Opinion, Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies”, *World Politics* 43:4 (1991), pp. 479-512.

¹¹⁵ Nincic, Miroslav, Hinckley, Barbara, “Foreign Policy and the Evaluation of Presidential Candidates”, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35: 2 (1991), pp. 333-355.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

bears undeniable weight during the pre-election period.¹¹⁷ If the “economy” is weak, “foreign policy” becomes the vote-winner of the election strategy of the incumbent along with “presidential charisma”. If the “economy” is bright, “foreign policy” then becomes the main source of promotion of votes in the re-election bid, together with the effect of “presidential charisma”.¹¹⁸ All in all, foreign policy is an instrument for gaining more votes for an incumbent, in the pre-election period. This is the *conditionality* of Nincic, which was suggested, tested, and determined on the US’ Soviet policies. At the same time, Nincic (and some other authors who are mentioned in *literature* part) evaluates the *conditionality* as implementable for all countries which have democratic elections within any cycle.

Checking Gaubatz gives a closer theory, from another direction of effect on elections/election results, with his *structural model*.¹¹⁹ While the author states the *causal* relation of election cycles and entries to war (as a foreign policy act) in his earlier study,¹²⁰ he terms this relation as a *structural model*, and this model includes the determinants of *domestic politics* (here evaluating the economy), *international politics* (foreign policy), *candidate’s personality/image* and *diversionary war* (the strategy of usage of the previous three).¹²¹ The determinants of this model emerge during all the pre-election periods that the author tested, and these determinants direct the pre-election strategies and make up the election results.¹²²

Apart from theories, there are examples of remarkable changes and/or striking foreign policy activities of democratic states in their pre-election periods. The Falkland War of Britain and Argentina just before Britain’s 1983 election,¹²³

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor, “Elections and Foreign Policy: Strategic Politicians and the Domestic Salience of the International Issues”, *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association* (2001), pp. 1-25.

¹²⁰ Gaubatz, Kurt, Taylor, “Election Cycles and War”, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35:2 (1991), pp. 212-244.

¹²¹ Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor, “Elections and Foreign Policy: Strategic Politicians and the Domestic Salience of the International Issues”, *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association* (2001), p. 6.

¹²² Ibid., pp. 18-24.

¹²³ “TRT Dünya Gündemi – Falkland Adası’nda Referandum – 11.03.2012, 18.00 Yayını [World Agenda of TRT – Referendum In Falkland Island – 11.03.2012, 18.00 Edition]”, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YrEn8DQIrSc&feature=youtu.be> , accessed on 13.03.2013.

Operation Cast Lead of 2008¹²⁴ and *Operation Pillar of Defense* of 2012 of Israel¹²⁵ prior to the 2009 and 2013 Israeli parliamentary elections are mentioned as the breaking points of their countries' foreign policy prior to pre-election periods of those countries.

Starting from here, it is essentially asserted in this study that if an incumbent evaluates and uses his/her country's foreign policy as a vote promoter in a democratic country, in any case, then this should be similar for the situation in this study's case country Turkey. So, it is proposed that there should be some changing trends in usage of Turkish foreign policy during pre-election periods when compared with the entire governing years of an incumbent. The changing trends refer to higher or lower usage of foreign issues (in speeches). It is actually wanted to find and identify the shifts in foreign policy use within the general foreign policy trend of the incumbent, in Turkey. In order to accommodate a healthy analysis here, other factors that are potentially affective on the foreign policy discourse, such as the crisis situations (as *rally points*), the economic situation in whole political context, the political charisma of the main political actors and the consequences, will also be taken into account. Hence, through a general overview of political and economic conditions of the selected period, the general trend will be determined, and the pre-election trend will be compared to the whole foreign policy atmosphere of the decade. With the "overview" part (of politics and economy of Turkey and of the world,) the vote promoter/instrumentality effect of the foreign policy is distilled, for the pre-election periods.

The determination of pre-election "foreign policy use" trends of the more general foreign policy atmosphere is done via analysis of the incumbents' foreign policy discourse in this study. Choosing to analyze through foreign policy discourse, firstly, is approximate with the scope of this interdisciplinary study. Taking the *Mavi Marmara Crisis* of Turkey and Israel as the example shows the mutually

¹²⁴ "The Invasion of Gaza: Operation Cast Lead", Global Research, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-invasion-of-gaza-operation-cast-lead-part-of-a-broader-israeli-military-intelligence-agenda/11606> , accessed on 13.03.2013.

¹²⁵ "Operation Pillar of Defense is Ehud Barak's Test", Haaretz Daily Newspaper, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/operation-pillar-of-defense-is-ehud-barak-s-test.premium-1.478629> , accessed on 13.03.2013.

antagonistic¹²⁶ dialogues between these countries and the pre-election timing of the issue, which directs to ask the research question of this study. By its nature, any election plays to the voter. For this basic reason, public speeches are of great importance in any election. In this sense, analyzing the discourse has its place in this study. Another reason to choose discourse analysis is that it fits well and is quite implementable with both the practices tested, in the Turkey example. The theoretical part of Gaubatz's work (*structural model*) was tested on the last candidacy speeches of (incumbent) candidates, and gave meaningful results.¹²⁷ This is implementable, and it is an interesting method of analysis in a study of Turkey. Another notable point is the quite frequent usage of speeches by the incumbent leader of this study's time span, who is famous for his style of speechmaking.

To clarify, the analysis dimension, the discourse analysis, is done through the *Address to the Nation* speeches of the prime minister of Turkey. This speech has been a regular and formal version of direct public communication in Turkey - since 1983.¹²⁸ It is recorded by the prime ministry of the Republic of Turkey and sent to the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation-*TRT*, for telecasting.¹²⁹ The length of this speech may reach thirty minutes per month as a maximum, and could be broadcast at once or in parts.¹³⁰ Various public speeches of the chief executive could be found in newspapers, and media events. The singularity of the *Address to the Nation* speech lies in its formality, its directness to the public, its way of *non-political-beneficiary and non-answer-needed*, its *informative and not-advertising*

¹²⁶ "Antagonistic" means here the sharpening tone.

¹²⁷ Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor, "Elections and Foreign Policy: Strategic Politicians and the Domestic Salience of the International Issues", *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association* (2001), pp. 1-25.

¹²⁸ T.C. Resmi Gazete [The Official Gazette Of Republic of Turkey], "Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kanunu [The Code of Turkish Radio and Television Broadcasting]", 14 Kasım 1983 [November 14, 1983], Sayı 18221 2. Mükerrer [Number 18221 2nd Repeated], http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/main.aspx?home=http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/18221_2.pdf&main=http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/18221_2.pdf, accessed on 29 March, 2013.

¹²⁹ "Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kanunu-Üçüncü Kısım, Üçüncü Bölüm- Madde 19 [The Code of Turkish Radio and Television Broadcasting – Third Part, Chapter III, Article 19]", *T.C. Resmi Gazete 14 Kasım 1983 Sayı 18221 2. Mükerrer* [The Official Gazette of Republic of Turkey, November 14, 1983, Number 18221 2nd Repeated],

http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/main.aspx?home=http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/18221_2.pdf&main=http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/18221_2.pdf, accessed on 29 March, 2013.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

style and the legal necessity that is telecast on the official TV channel of Turkey.¹³¹ In these speeches, the chief executive talks about all of the issues in the country's politics since the previous month, the economy, crises in a general context, services delivered to the public, and, of course, foreign policy .¹³²

To continue, the *Address to the Nation* speeches do not have a specific start day for a government. The main point is to establish the government – attaining a vote of confidence from parliament, practically. Then, the government can use this speech, 30 minutes per month (in installments or at once), to inform the public. These speeches have breaks whenever there is any kind of general public election (no matter whether parliamentary, local elections or referendum), by law.¹³³ This is because of the possibility of affecting voters with the use of a formal instrument. The break starts at *the formally-announced election term*¹³⁴ by the Supreme Board of Elections of Turkey, and ends one day after the elections.¹³⁵ This transforms into practice (changing) two to five months before elections within the whole *Address to the Nation* speeches, in this study's time span.

It is worked by investigating the use of this instrument (the *Address to the Nation* speeches) in this study. The method of this study is the use of the evaluation of these speeches by checking the number of minutes and words dedicated to foreign policy related topics within the whole speech (video or text format) of each month. Specifying the exact minutes and the number of the words related with foreign policy in every speech of the decade between 2003 and 2013, and observing the possible shifts in pre-election years, gives a wealth of stable data about the incumbent chief

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ “Başbakan ve Bakanlara İlişkin Yasaklar, Madde 65 [Prohibits of Prime Minister and Ministers, Article 65]”, 298 Numaralı Seçimlerin Temel Hükümleri ve Seçmen Kütükleri Hakkında Kanun [The Code of the Fundamental Provision of Elections and the Voter Registries], 26/04/1961.

¹³⁴ “Formally-announced election term” refers to the period which includes the declaration of election promises from political parties. This period is not a specific time span in Turkey, it changes for every election, according to the declaration of SBE of Turkey. Also, political parties could start their own election terms –their meetings with the public–, free from the SBE of Turkey, differently from other political parties. Because of this difference of the pre-election period in Turkish political system practices, I take the election term as one year before the actual election date, which is in accordance with the literature's general trend.

¹³⁵ “Başbakan ve Bakanlara İlişkin Yasaklar, Madde 65 [Prohibits of Prime Minister and Ministers, Article 65]”, 298 Numaralı Seçimlerin Temel Hükümleri ve Seçmen Kütükleri Hakkında Kanun [The Code of the Fundamental Provision of Elections and the Voter Registries, No. 298], 26/04/1961.

executive. The more, it should be noted that this kind of investigation has not been done in recent political history in Turkey.¹³⁶

The period that is worked on is also rather attractive. It was chosen to focus on last ten years of Turkey's political history. This means that the current incumbent *Justice and Development Party's* two pre-election periods make up the duration of this (my) study. There are several reasons for choosing this decade. The first is the consistency of it. Uncharacteristically in Turkish political history, there is an unbroken decade of governance by a single democratically elected political party. This stability definitely allows for the continuity in foreign policy of the incumbent. Also, this continuity creates a different trend within Turkish foreign policy history.¹³⁷ Furthermore, the referred period has the most accessible documentary to research – despite this documentary sometimes being more difficult to access. Lastly, quite regular elections within the political history of Turkey occurred throughout this decade.

Here, there should be a clarification about the elections in the referred period that is worked on. It is taken the parliamentary elections between 2003 and 2013. Choosing parliamentary election is due to its importance in directing the foreign policies of Turkey. The executives are elected in parliamentary elections. There are also local and presidential elections in Turkey; however, while local election does not precisely affect the foreign policy of Turkey, presidential election is done in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey – in other words, in the parliament of Turkey.¹³⁸ Parliamentary elections in Turkey have also - until now - corresponded to the US presidential elections, the aforementioned research of which are instrumental to and a

¹³⁶ A last detail would be useful here. Nor is it easy to reach the records of these speeches; neither libraries of the internet transcripts nor the video formats contain complete archives of every speech. So, video and written formats had to be investigated together in support of each other – which makes this study all the more valuable in terms of its investigation.

¹³⁷ Oran, Baskın, “Dış Politika: Genel Değerlendirme [Foreign Policy: General Evaluation]”, Baskın Oran (ed.), *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy, Facts and Analyses with Documents from The War Of Independence Till Today]*, Vol. III (2001 – 2012), Ed.1, İstanbul, İletişim Press (2013), p. 200.

¹³⁸ The president of Turkey will be elected by the public starting from the 2014 Presidency Election, with a newly written constitutional regulation in the National Assembly of Turkey. The details of this regulation and the presidential elections of Turkey fall outside the bounds of this study. Besides, the time span of this study is not concerned with the new presidential election of Turkey.

main source of material for this investigation. So, in this study, the 2007 and 2011 parliamentary elections' pre-election periods are the main working area of this thesis.

Following, the periodization of this study is defined here. The entire 10-year period is cut into the 3 pieces, each piece/period begins with the start of a pre-election period, and each pre-election period's "foreign policy use" trends are in the continuity with the following governing period. In this context, the main analysis chapter of the study has 3 sections in which the following periodizations are dealt with:

- d) February 2003 – June 2006
- e) July 2006 – May 2010
- f) June 2010 – January 2013

Clearly, the starting points of pre-election periods (i.e. July 2006 and June 2010) are the critical factor in working with this periodization. With this periodization, the pre-election analysis is posited at the start of the analysis sections. The analysis periods starts with pre-election analysis continue until the next pre-election period's beginning. With this, an analysis period in this study takes four¹³⁹ years in it for investigating. The reason behind this periodization is the unity of "foreign policy use" trends of the four-year cycles. With this periodization, it is meaningful to compare two periods' of incumbent.

However, the first section of the analysis chapter starts with no pre-election period analysis, because the JDP has no incumbency history before the 2002 parliamentary election. So, the first analysis section reveals only the general "foreign policy use" trend of the 1st JDP government. Then, the second analysis section starts with the pre-election analysis of the 2007 elections, and the 3rd analysis section begins with the 2011 pre-election analysis. Although the research question takes the pre-election periods in this decade as its subject, the beginning of the 1st analysis section with the general "foreign policy use" trend of JDP is at variance with the other two analysis sections - as is clearly explained above. Yet, starting with a

¹³⁹ One year of pre-election period and three years following the elections.

general “foreign policy use” trend is quite necessary, in order to have data on hand to compare the general trend with the following pre-election periods.

Also, it should be noted that the quite irregular “foreign policy use” trends of the JDP in pre-election and in general periods, in the crisis situations and pre-election strategies are a reason for the use this kind of periodization. The JDP’s “foreign policy use” rates in pre-election periods are roughly parallel with the “foreign policy use” trends starting with the pre-election periods. In other words, a pre-election “foreign policy use” trend of the JDP fits with its post-election (general) “foreign policy use” trend. Looking at a pre-election period from its past “foreign policy use” is not significant for this study, in the analysis through JDP’s discourse (the *Address to the Nation* speeches.) In order to provide a consistent periodization in the analysis chapter, beginning each section with pre-election analysis is preferred in this study.

During the period of this study, it is additionally checked the general situation of Turkish politics -internally and externally- at the start of each section. This is necessary because the *Address to the Nation* speeches – crucially their subjects and/or basis - are not free from the effect of internal and external politics. As refined, within the framework that is shifting internal and external politics dimensions, it is focused on the chief executive’s foreign policy speech sections (within the *Address to the Nation* speeches) in pre-election periods, for the referred period of my study. This gives the changing trends –if there are any- of foreign policy within the whole period. All of this data aims to find any effect (changing trend in any direction) of parliamentary elections on foreign policy of the chief executive. This will be enlightening study in this focus, and the first of its kind examining.

Before moving on to the data survey, the parameters of Turkish political system will be placed here. In the studies of Nincic and (partly) Gaubatz, the US was the subject, which has a truly regular and well-recorded presidential system. In comparison to the US system, Turkey has a - quite irregularly applied - parliamentary system. Firstly, in the US presidency system, there are four years of

incumbency for each president.¹⁴⁰ Every November of the four-year electoral cycle is the election time, and the new president starts to work the following January.¹⁴¹ In the Turkish parliamentary system, the elections take place every fourth¹⁴² year¹⁴³ - irregularly in practice. There is no set periodic month of election. Then, in the US system, two-terms-of-incumbency is the rule - a president can be elected just once more after being elected a first time.¹⁴⁴ In Turkey, there is no limit for any candidate to take part in parliamentary elections again. Furthermore, the US has two powerful political parties in the presidential contest - which is something that lets the two rivals compete in an election.¹⁴⁵ In Turkey, there is, again, no limit on the number of rivals competing in the parliamentary election. Also, the US example has all records of its electoral history, while Turkish records are quite inobtainable. Lastly, conducting a test on the US system is quite easy comparable to working in a political laboratory. Turkey is a fairly constrained example to work on in comparison to the US, due to its limited and difficult to access records.

After the clarification of the hypothesis and methodology of this study, the focus then moves on to the data analysis chapter.

¹⁴⁰ Erođul, Cem, “Çağdaş Devlet Düzenleri-İngiltere, Amerika, Fransa, Almanya [Systems of The Modern State – The United Kingdom, The United States of America, France, Germany]”, *II. Amerika, 4. Yürütme [II. The USA, 4. The Execution]*”, İmaj Press (Ankara) : 2008, p. 105, p. 137.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² The electoral cycle actually used to start at every fifth year, but with a newly-amended constitutional regulation, the cycle starts every fourth year.

¹⁴³ “Yasama - Madde 77 [The Legislation – Article 77]”, *T.C. Anayasası Üçüncü Kısım Cumhuriyet'in Temel Organları [The Constitution of Republic of Turkey – Third Part The Main Organs of the Republic]*,

<http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/Metin.Aspx?MevzuatKod=1.5.2709&MevzuatIliski=0&sourceXmlSearch=>, accessed on 30 March, 2013.

¹⁴⁴ Erođul, Cem, “Çağdaş Devlet Düzenleri-İngiltere, Amerika, Fransa, Almanya [Systems of The Modern State – The United Kingdom, The United States of America, France, Germany]”, *II. Amerika, 4. Yürütme [II. The USA, 4. The Execution]*”, İmaj Press (Ankara) : 2008, p. 105, p. 137.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 137.

CHAPTER 2

“FOREIGN POLICY USE” ANALYSIS THROUGH THE *ADDRESS TO THE NATION SPEECHES*

This chapter is the part of this study for the main data analysis. Apart from the contents explained in the *Methodology* section of this study, the chapter will take the following format. Starting with this introduction, there are three sections of analyses in this chapter. Each section starts with a part detailing the *general view of the country and world politics* subsection. This sub-section gives the general economic, internal and external views, with the purpose of distilling any special conjunctures which might impact on the “foreign policy use” throughout the discourse of the incumbent.

Then, the second subsection within each section includes the entire view of the *Address to the Nation* speeches. For every incumbency term (4 years for every government, in Turkey),¹⁴⁶ the main findings within the foreign policy discourse of the incumbent is given around the rate of remarkable usage and notable events. However, here, the focus of evaluation is on the “pre-election period” of each incumbency period. Analysis of the *Address to the Nation* speeches will not be given individually in analysis subsection. Rather, the technical, general, regional topics’ use and the use trends will be discussed. Individual analyses of the speeches are given in the appendices of each section.

So with this organization, the analysis chapter will contain discussion of the following topics :

- ✓ the crisis situations in Turkey and in the world,
- ✓ the focuses within the (internal, external, economic) politics of Turkey,
- ✓ how those issues are posited in the *Address to the Nation* speeches,

¹⁴⁶ “Madde 77, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi’nin Seçim Dönemi [Article 77, The Election Period of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey],” *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası [The Constitution of Republic of Turkey]*, <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2709.pdf> , accessed on April 2, 2013.

- ✓ how the incumbent used the foreign policy issues within the *Address to the Nation* speeches.

The results, which come from the above points, will form the body of the final chapter of this study.

So, each section will follow this structure, starting with the data evaluation and analysis, in accordance with the periodization of this study.

2.1.The Foreign Policy Use of the JDP In February 2003 – June 2006 Period

In this section, it is investigated the “*Address to the Nation*” speeches from February 2003 – June 2006 in order to assess what the “foreign policy use” of JDP is during the regular governing period. Due to the need to introduce the initial foreign policy practices of the JDP, this section only reveals the general “foreign policy use” trend of JDP. In terms of significant analysis and periodization within the study (as referred to in *The Hypothesis and Methodology* section), this section only subjects the February 2003 – June 2006 time span to analysis. While presenting the JDP’s general “foreign policy use” trend analysis, it is also presented an overview of the economic and political context of the period along with an assessment of the government’s popularity so as to understand under which conditions the use of foreign policy for electoral purposes came into play. These conditionalities are based on Nincic’s and Gaubatz’s hypotheses mentioned in the previous chapter.

In this section, it is analyzed the first term of the JDP government, in terms of its “foreign policy use” trend. This term starts with an economic and political overview of pre- & post- 2002 parliamentary election of Turkey; in the first subsection of the section. Then, the analysis of the *Address to the Nation* speeches of February 2003 – June 2006 takes place in the second subsection of this section. The appendix, which includes a detailed sum of the *Address to the Nation* speeches in the referred time span, will be placed at the end of the study.

2.1.1. An Economic and Political Overview of the 2003 – 2006 Period

2.1.1.1. A General Overview of Turkey and the World until the Turkish Parliamentary Election in November 2002

The November 2002 election corresponds to a notable change in Turkish politics. (Because of this significance, this subsection's milestone is the November 2002 elections.) It was just following the 2001 economic crisis in Turkey. The crises were there in Turkey throughout the '90's, however, the 2001 one was the lowest point of economic data and the most damaging one for the wider groups of society.¹⁴⁷ Inflation, unemployment and public debt had reached high points (some of them were the highest points in state's history); the income was very low in comparison with extremely unstable price indexes.¹⁴⁸ This caused the atmosphere of distrust to politics and actual political parties during that period. The JDP's entry to the political stage happened under these circumstances.¹⁴⁹

Socio-politically, Turkey had a hard decade before 2002. There were coalition governments (that is, precarious politics) and stressed civil – military – government relations. The *February 28 Postmodern Coup* was the last and best known event of sociological strain in Turkey, during pre-JDP years.¹⁵⁰ The tension

¹⁴⁷ Gürsel, Seyfettin, "Dönemin Bilançosu, İç ortam ve Dinamikler [The Financial Statement of the Period, The Domestic Environment and Dynamics]", Baskın Oran (ed.), *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy, Facts and Analyses with Documents from The War Of Independence Till Today]*, Vol. III (2001 – 2012), Ed.1, İstanbul, İletişim Press (2013), pp 52 – 70.

¹⁴⁸ Gürsel, Seyfettin, "Tablo 1: Başlıca Ekonomik Göstergeler 2000-2011 [Table 1: The Main Economic Indicators 2000-2011]", Baskın Oran (ed.), *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy, Facts and Analyses with Documents from The War Of Independence Till Today]*, Vol. III (2001 – 2012), Ed.1, İstanbul, İletişim Press (2013), p 54.

See also, "Hızlı Erişim – Enflasyon Raporu - Fiyat endeksi [Quick Access – Inflation Report – Price Index]", *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Merkez Bankası [Republic of Turkey Central Bank]*, <http://www.tcmb.gov.tr/>, accessed on April 5, 2013.

¹⁴⁹ Oran, Baskın, "(B) Siyaset – Anayasa Fırlatma Krizi ve AKP'nin İktidara Gelişi [B) Politics – The Crisis of Constitution-Throwing and the JDP's Coming to Power]", Baskın Oran (ed.), *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy, Facts and Analyses with Documents from The War Of Independence Till Today]*, Vol. III (2001 – 2012), Ed.1, İstanbul, İletişim Press (2013), p 80.

¹⁵⁰ Oran, Baskın, "2012'den Bakınca 28 Şubat 1997 Muhtırası [The February 28, 1997 Memorandum Looking From 2012]", Baskın Oran (ed.), *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy, Facts and Analyses with Documents from The War Of Independence Till Today]*, Vol. III (2001 – 2012), Ed.1, İstanbul, İletişim Press (2013), pp 96 - 97.

was between the Erbakan (RefahYol) government and the military.¹⁵¹ This tension was a result of Erbakan's way of presentation of his spiritual position as a state official and the Turkish Armed Forces' (TAF) reaction against the presentation of religious beliefs in public life in Turkey. The tension affected the usage of democratic and social rights by citizens (like the *State Security Courts* and the *Headscarf Prohibition* in "public space"), and this certainly reverberated equally within the economy of country.

In the foreign policy arena of Turkey, there were the Cyprus and Armenian issues. The PKK and the regional (also internal) Kurdish issue were on the agenda in Turkish foreign policy, too. Turkey was a close supporter of the US policies in NATO. The EU membership "story" was not a hopeful one for the Turkish public, after the 1997 Luxembourg Summit.¹⁵² The Middle East was not within the closer perspective of Turkish foreign policy, traditionally.

On the world stage, the beginning of this period was shortly after the September 11 Attack on the US, a decade after the end of bipolar world politics. The September 11 Attacks triggered the Afghanistan Occupation of the US, and the Iraq War on March 2003.¹⁵³ Twelve EU countries started to use the Euro as their new currency,¹⁵⁴ the Israel & Palestine problem of the Middle East went on with some new violent activities,¹⁵⁵ there were also newly established states in the Balkan

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Barchard, David, "Giriş: Kapıların Türkiye'ye Açılması", *Güçlü Bir Ortaklığa Doğru: Türkiye ve AB [Building A Partnership: Turkey and the EU]*, Yalçınan, Murat Cemal, Orhan, Bilgin (çev.), TESEV Publications (2000), p. 7.

"Giriş: Kapıların Türkiye'ye Açılması [Introduction: The Doors Opening to Turkey]", *Güçlü Bir Ortaklığa Doğru: Türkiye ve AB*, TESEV, http://www.tesev.org.tr/Upload/Publication/42122623-2147-4710-adcb-7cfe725ac859/G%C3%BC%C3%A7l%C3%BC%20bir%20Ortakl%C4%B1%C4%9Fa%20Do%C4%9Fru.%20T%C3%BCrkiye%20ve%20Avrupa%20Birli%C4%9Fi_01.2000.pdf , accessed on April 5, 2013.

¹⁵³ Oran, Baskın, "Uluslararası Ortam ve Dinamikler [The International Environment and Dynamics]", Baskın Oran (ed.), *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy, Facts and Analyses with Documents from The War Of Independence Till Today]*, Vol. III (2001 – 2012), Ed.1, İstanbul, İletişim Press (2013), pp 14 - 20.

¹⁵⁴ "2002 Nasıl Geçti? Dünya/Şubat [How Was 2002? World/February]", *Milliyet İnternet – Almanak 2002 [Milliyet İnternet – Almanac 2002]*, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/content/dosya/almanak2002/index.asp?kategori=dunya&Ay=2> , accessed on April 5, 2013.

¹⁵⁵ "2002 Nasıl Geçti? Dünya/Mart [How Was 2002? World/March]", *Milliyet İnternet – Almanak 2002 [Milliyet İnternet – Almanac 2002]*,

geography,¹⁵⁶ and the Kyoto Protocol signings started with Japan during this year.¹⁵⁷ Russia and China were the muted actors from the other end of the world.¹⁵⁸

The 2002 parliamentary election happened in this environment. Here, Erdoğan's personal popularity (coming from his Istanbul mayoralty days) and his political charisma should be mentioned. This factor was touched on even in recent US diplomatic documentary,¹⁵⁹ which gives an idea about the 10-years of Erdoğan's prime ministry. He is self-confident and charismatic, a feature which is loved by the public, and helps to gain votes.

2.1.1.2. A General View of Turkey and the World after the November 2002 Parliamentary Election

Here an examination of the general environment after the November 2002 parliamentary elections of Turkey will take place. For Turkey, the March 1 Permit of 2003 was the first (foreign policy) test of the JDP government. This was an agreement allowing the usage of Turkish airbases to the US for the forthcoming Iraq War, and the Turkish Parliament did not accept this permit, which was the offer of young government.¹⁶⁰ April 2004 was the referendum date for Cyprus, and another

<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/content/dosya/almanak2002/index.asp?kategori=dunya&Ay=3> , accessed on April 5, 2013.

See also, "2002 Nasıl Geçti? Dünya/Şubat [How Was 2002? World/February]", *Milliyet İnternet – Almanak 2002* [Milliyet İnternet – Almanac 2002],

<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/content/dosya/almanak2002/index.asp?kategori=dunya&Ay=9> , accessed on April 5, 2013.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ "2002 Nasıl Geçti? Dünya/Haziran [How Was 2002? World/June]", *Milliyet İnternet – Almanak 2002* [Milliyet İnternet – Almanac 2002],

<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/content/dosya/almanak2002/index.asp?kategori=dunya&Ay=6> , accessed on April 5, 2013.

¹⁵⁸ Oran, Baskın, "Uluslar arası Ortam ve Dinamikler [The International Environment and Dynamics]", Baskın Oran (ed.), *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar* [Turkish Foreign Policy, Facts and Analyses with Documents from The War Of Independence Till Today], Vol. III (2001 – 2012), Ed.1, İstanbul, İletişim Press (2013), p. 14.

¹⁵⁹ "Wikileaks Belgelerinde Erdoğan'ın Kişiliği [Erdoğan's Personality in Wikileaks Documents]", *T24 Haber* [T24 News], <http://t24.com.tr/haber/wikileaks-belgelerinde-erdoganin-kisiligi/134041> , accessed on April 5, 2013.

¹⁶⁰ "1 Mart Tezkeresi Sırları – Ömer Şahin [Secrets of March 1 Missive – Ömer Şahin]", *Radikal* (Newspaper), September 24, 2012,

test for the Turkish government. December 2004 brought the starting date of the EU full membership accession talks/negotiations.¹⁶¹ Economically, there was a consolidation of Turkey, with the hand of governmental reforms and the EU membership process. This is surely visible in the *Address to the Nation* speeches, as will be seen in the following subsection.¹⁶²

2003 saw the beginning of a major international event with the beginning of the US operation in Iraq.¹⁶³ In April 2004 came the scandal of the Abu Ghraib Prison in Iraq, which brought to light the naked torture of Iraqi prisoners by the US soldiers.¹⁶⁴ May 2004 brought 10 new members (of CEECs – Central and East European Countries) to the EU.¹⁶⁵ In November of the same year, one of the most popular political figures of Palestine, Yasser Arafat passed away in France under suspicious circumstances.¹⁶⁶ In February 2005, Lebanese prime minister Rafiq Hariri was murdered, and the Kyoto Protocol entered into force.¹⁶⁷ Jalal Talabani was elected as the president of Iraq, in April 2005, which was quite a significant event both for Iraq’s political stability and for the whole region.¹⁶⁸ May 2005 brought the election of *conservative* Ahmadinejad as Iran president.¹⁶⁹ Pakistan had a serious

<http://www.radikal.com.tr/radikal.aspx?atype=radikalyazar&articleid=1101397&categoryid=98> , accessed on April 9, 2013.

¹⁶¹ Both the “accession talks” and “negotiations” coincide the same thin in EU full membership process, in legal texts, and in this text.

¹⁶² “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın ‘Ulusa Sesleniş’ Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, October 30, 2003, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/5297> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

See also, “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, August 28, 2004, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2895> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

¹⁶³ “2003 Nasıl Geçti? Dünya/Mart [How Was 2003? World/March]”, *Milliyet İnternet – Almanak 2003 [Milliyet İnternet – Almanac 2003]*,

<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/content/dosya/almanak2003/index.asp?kategori=dunya&Ay=3> , accessed on April 5, 2013.

¹⁶⁴ “Nisan 2004 – Yerel haber [April 2004 – Local News]”, *haber.ekolay.net*, <http://haber.ekolay.net/haber/Nisan-2004/2265/249143.aspx> , accessed on April 6, 2013.

¹⁶⁵ “Mayıs 2004 – Yerel haber [May 2004 – Local News]”, *haber.ekolay.net*, <http://haber.ekolay.net/haber/Mayis-2004/2265/249145.aspx> , accessed on April 6, 2013.

¹⁶⁶ “Kasım 2004 – Yerel haber [November 2004 – Local News]”, *haber.ekolay.net*, <http://haber.ekolay.net/haber/Kasim-2004/2265/249145.aspx> , accessed on April 6, 2013.

¹⁶⁷ “2005’te Neler Oldu! [What Happened in 2005!]”, *Bianet*, <http://eski.bianet.org/2005/12/31/72755.htm> , accessed on April 6, 2013.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

earthquake, and lost its “one generation” in the wreck, in October.¹⁷⁰ The next month, November 2005, there was a riot of the immigrants (and their 2nd generation) in the Paris’ ghettos, which was over the distribution of social and economical standards.¹⁷¹ The mediation efforts of the US, Turkey and other regional actors in the Iran, Syria, Israel and Palestine conflicts continued until July 2006.¹⁷²

At the end of this overview of the period, the *conditionality* (that comes from the literature review of this study) gives some clues about the analysis of foreign policy use of the time in question. During this term, a devastated economic situation is seen in Turkey. At first, this brings the prediction of a focus on economic improvement from the 1st JDP government. After the economy-focused policies of government, the personal popularity of Erdoğan is another factor of the pre-election policies. Then, foreign policy seems to share second place with the presidential candidate’s popularity, as in the usage of it. Also, the economic and political overview of Turkey and the world provides here to see the “foreign policy use” trends of the incumbent in Turkey during ordinary situations and during crises. Aside from these facts, the pre-election period of the 2007 elections will be subjected to a precise investigation in the following section. Still, the foreign policy use of the JDP in the governing period is seen in the following subsection.

2.1.2. The Analysis Through Foreign Policy Use of Government

In this subsection, the data which comes from the *Address to the Nation* speeches of February 2003 – June 2006 will be evaluated, in order to determine the

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Benlisoy, Foti, “Fransa Ayaklanmaları: Dışlanma ve Olağanüstü Hal Rejimi [The Riot of France: The Exclusion and Under the State of Emergency]”, *21. Yüzyılın İlk Devrimci Dalgası [The First Revolutionary Wave of the 21st Century]*, İstanbul: Agora Press (2012), p. 4.

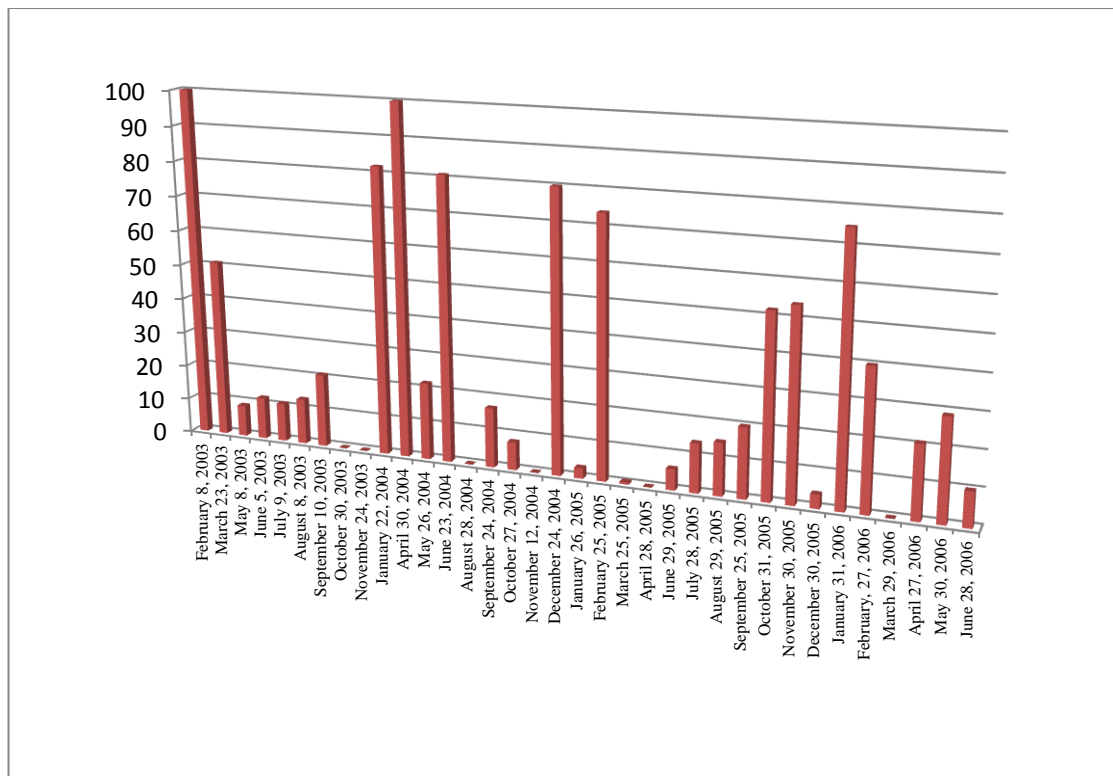
¹⁷² “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, April 27, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2356> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

See also, “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, May 30, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/3710> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

“Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, June 28, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/3610> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

general “foreign policy use” of incumbent. To start with, the methodology of the rate calculations will here be clarified. While calculating the foreign policy use rates in the *Address to the Nation* speeches, “foreign policy use” rates of each speech are included for consideration. Every speech is calculated with the entire word count of the speech and with the total number of foreign policy related words. Calculating the proportion of these two numbers brings the “foreign policy use rate” of every speech. And, collecting all foreign policy use rates and averaging them to the total number of speeches (35 speeches, for this section) delivers the average “foreign policy use” rate of each section.

Table 1



“Foreign Policy Use” Rates in the *Address to the Nation* Speeches of the February 2003 – June 2006

As it could be seen in **Table 1** (in the previous page,) there are 35 *Address to the Nation* speeches from the prime minister between February 2003 and June 2006. The average “foreign policy use” rate in all of the speeches during a period of nearly

3,5 years between February 2003 - June 2006 was 10 percent. In six speeches, there is no mention of foreign policy.¹⁷³ The issues discussed are instead the performance overview of the government in October 2003, August & November 2004 and April 2005 speeches. November 2003 speech discusses only the terrorist attacks on two synagogues in Istanbul. The March 2006 speech handles the “Çanakkale spirit” of Turkey.¹⁷⁴

While getting into analysis, the placement of the *Address to the Nation* speeches’ issues in the context of contemporary global and Turkey circumstances is conducive as a precursor to the rest of this study. For this, firstly, world crisis situations are posited here. According to İşyar, “(international) crisis means disorder” and a “chaotic situation”,¹⁷⁵ which comes “urgently or suddenly, (...) and breaks” the current circumstance.¹⁷⁶ So, using this definition, between November 2002 and June 2006, it is found the crisis situations of 1) the start of Iraq War, 2) the “Hood” incident of Turkish troops in Iraq and, 3) the Cyprus Referendum. While all of these crisis situations are discussed in the *Address to the Nation* speeches, the Iraq War and Cyprus Referendum outweigh the whole of the rest of their speeches’ foreign policy part, and even of their speeches altogether. However, the “Hood” Incident is only a minor topic in its *Address to the Nation* speech; and in the whole speech of this month (July 2003), foreign policy topics cover only 11% of the total. That crisis is not covered in depth within its speech. It is notable to determine and to underline this interesting result.

Then, the EU membership -its process, progress and the insistence on full membership- are the most frequently mentioned topics amongst all *Address to the Nation* speeches in this period. Also, the AoC preliminary work and UNSC temporary membership candidacy projects of Turkey have visible references after the decision to start EU accession talks, in December 2004.

¹⁷³ *October & November 2003, August & November 2004, April 2005 and March 2006* speeches.

¹⁷⁴ “Çanakkale Spirit” refers the Çanakkale Defense of Ottoman Turks, in 1917 - within the World War I.

¹⁷⁵ İşyar, Ömer, Göksel, “Definition and Management of International Crises”, *Perceptions*, Winter (2008), p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

In this period, there takes place the JDP's party position & identity clarifications within the Turkish domestic political scale, until December 2004. Then, economic reforms are witnessed, along with infrastructural investments (after 2005, mostly), and a rare terror emphasis in Turkish domestic politics. It could be conveniently noted that the economy and domestic issues are the topics of the *Address to the Nation* speeches in the 2003 – 2006 period – that is, the first period of JDP governance.

Since there is not a pre-election period between the 2003 – 2006 speeches, the evaluation is done only for the general “foreign policy use” of JDP, in this subsection. It is still useful, because this helps to show a general “foreign policy use” trend of the JDP, starting from this subsection. The first point to mention is the 10 – 15 % weighting of foreign policy in the speeches – as the average -, of this term. This is quite low, when compared with the economy & investments. Only during crisis situations does foreign policy comprise the entirety of speeches, and this only happens in this period. (During the following periods, entire foreign policy-subjected speeches will not be given again.) These posit foreign policy as a low priority within the JDP's general policy performance. Notably, the economy-focused promises of the JDP are observable in their 2002 Election Declaration,¹⁷⁷ and foreign policy promises of the JDP make up just 5 % of all 2002 election promises.¹⁷⁸

The foreign policy acts of the 1st JDP government through the *Address to the Nation* speeches (within the referred period of this section) contains the emphasis on the foreign trips of the prime minister, foreign visits abroad to Turkey, the planned and/or signed international & foreign treaties, and foreign aid sent abroad by Turkey. Interestingly, the crisis situations comprise only a small part of these speeches, apart from the Cyprus referendum and Iraq War. For example, the “Iraq Hood Incident” which happened in July 2003, only occupies 11 % of the full speech of that month, as with other foreign policy acts of the JDP government. More clearly, “*it created a*

¹⁷⁷ “Herşey Türkiye İçin [Everything For Turkey]”, *AK Parti Seçim Beyannamesi [Justice and Development Party Election Declaration]* (2002), pp. 1 - 84.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 81 – 84.

shock effect” in Turkish public opinion¹⁷⁹ and the US relations of Turkey, and it was treated in the *Address to the Nation* speech like any other routine foreign affairs of that time.

The general trend of foreign policy acts and the use rates in related months’ speeches are quite coherent, though there are some instances that vary from this trend. As an example, in December 2004, the month when EU accession talks begin, foreign policy topics occupy 80 % of the whole *Address to the Nation* speech. Or, the November 2005 speech includes discussion of the Blue Stream Natural Gas Pipeline project¹⁸⁰ along with some other trips and topics, and this makes up 52 % of the total speech. However, the de facto start of EU accession talks and the start of the Alliance of Civilization project (a cooperation of Spain and Turkey) are the topics of the June 2006 speech along with some mention of other trips abroad and foreign visitors, and altogether these issues make up 10 % of the total of the June 2006 speech. This indicates a kind of irregularity in monthly foreign policy action and use. Still, it is safe to deem the general trend of foreign policy actions and their usage rates in related months’ speeches to be coherent.

Looking at the foreign policy topics of *Address to the Nation* speeches gives an idea of the regional perspective of the JDP. The Middle East, the EU countries, the US - as a special country of its region -, Cyprus, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Russia - as a special actor in its region -, Central Asia, Eurasia and South & East Asia, and the Balkan region are the general topics. This is the attitude of the JDP in its 2002 Election Declaration, too.¹⁸¹ Because of the special crisis situation of war, Iraq is an exception to the regional approach of this period. The region-based view does not mean that there are no bilateral country relations mentioned in the speeches. In terms of special treaties or policies that JDP took a position on, Greece, Spain, and some other European and Balkan countries are posited in speeches. Apart from

¹⁷⁹ Uzgel, İlhan, “Süleymaniye (Çuval Geçirme) Olayı [The Sulaymaniyah (The Hood) Incident]”, Baskın Oran (ed.), *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı’ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy, Facts and Analyses with Documents from The War Of Independence Till Today]*, Vol. III (2001 – 2012), Ed.1, İstanbul, İletişim Press (2013), p 278.

¹⁸⁰ This project was the successful end of a long story of those days, economically and internationally.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 81 – 82.

regions, the international organizations topic is another focus of the JDP in Turkish foreign policy.

The discourse on the Middle East is based on topics about the increase of economic relations (foreign trade specifically) of the region with Turkey, the peace efforts of Turkey between Israel & Palestine, Israel & Syria, Israel & Lebanon, and the Iraq War. After the election of Ahmadinejad as president in 2005, Iran also takes its place in the discussion of this region, with its hardening discourse. The regularity that the Middle East plays a part in speeches increases during the 2003 – 2004 period. This could be related with the high tension of that region because of the Iraq War. Ahmadinejad's election by Iran brings even more weight to the topic of the Middle East in the speeches.

The Cyprus region takes its place in speeches in general with the Turkish perspective on resolution history. After the April 2004 referendum, the way of evaluating this region in speeches corresponds more with the Turkish resolution offer, and the diversification of it from the EU membership process of Turkey. The appearance of the Cyprus issue in speeches has a periodic distribution, coming out in the May 2003, April 2004 and January 2006 speeches. Also, while touching on the foreign policy principles and vision of the JDP in terms of “peace”, Cyprus is mentioned consistently.

The EU and European countries' relations with Turkey are the most mentioned topic in the *Address to the Nation* speeches of the February 2003 – June 2006 period. 16 of the 35 speeches of this period are about Turkey's EU membership intentions, performance, activities summits and trips.¹⁸² In these speeches, there are some references to the Cyprus issue in terms of South Cyprus' EU membership without its northern part. The speeches before December 2004 include Turkey's intentions to obtain a start date for EU accession talks in December 2004. Interestingly, while at other times exact steps of the EU membership process of

¹⁸² *June & July & August & September 2003, April & May & September & October & December 2004, February & September & October & December 2005 and February & April & June 2006 speeches.*

Turkey are discussed in detail in speeches, the de facto start of EU accession talks happens in June 2006 and takes little space in that month's speech.

US relations are not mentioned too much.¹⁸³ Most of the mentions appear in the speeches of 2003 related to the Iraq War, and the others were for the summits held in the US. This is partly because of the March 1 Iraq War negative missive from GNAT, in 2003. This negative missive caused the Turkish – US relations stagnate.

Russian relations take their place in terms of economic and energy treaties, during this period. Their weighting in Turkish foreign policy is quite low; some bilateral visits and the Blue Stream Gas Pipeline project (in the November 2005 speech) are the only activities involving Russia. Central Asia has a Mongolia trip on July 2005, and this is nearly all for this region. There are also some trips to and visitors from the Caucasus, increasingly after the first half of 2004.

The Balkan countries also have references in five speeches.¹⁸⁴ The contents are regarding trips made by Turkish officials to these countries, and the visitors to Turkey - especially from Bosnia & Herzegovina. Eurasia and South & East Asia relations take a very small place, and only in the context of humanitarian aid calls to the natural disasters in that region.¹⁸⁵ Lastly, there are mentions about international organizations, Turkish membership and Turkish initiative in those organizations. The temporary membership to the UNSC, the OIC activity of Turkey, and the Alliance of Civilizations project of Turkey and Spain together are discussed in eight speeches.¹⁸⁶

2.1.3. Collecting the Core Results

As a final word before the next section, the research question has to be brought to mind here. Between November 2002 and June 2006, there is no parliamentary pre-election period. So, the usage of foreign policy in a pre-election term can not be identified during this period. The analysis on this topic will take its

¹⁸³ *February & March & July 2003, January & June 2004, February 2005 and April 2006* speeches.

¹⁸⁴ *May & June 2003, February 2005 and May & June 2006* speeches.

¹⁸⁵ *July 2003, January & February & October & November 2005* speeches.

¹⁸⁶ *January & June 2004, February & June & July & October 2005 and May & June 2006* speeches.

place in the following sections. Nevertheless, this subsection focuses on and reveals the general “foreign policy use” attitudes of the JDP, which is surely necessary for making a comparison with the following pre-election period. From here, it is precisely seen that the major part of this time span’s topics are economical reforms and infrastructural investments (see Appendix 1 for more details.) Also, that foreign policy which is mentioned in speeches during this period mostly concerns topics of international summits, trips abroad, visitors from world and some treaties done with other countries. (The AoC is partly different from the foreign policy agenda of the referred period’s *Address to the Nation* speeches. It is rather an initiative of Turkey, not a classical relationship form.) Also, the regional categorization of foreign relations in the *Address to the Nation* speeches of this period can be seen. The Western-dominated relations and increasing Middle East region mentions are also posited in speeches. Finally, until the December 2004 declaration of EU accession talks’ start, the foreign relations are based on trips abroad by the Turkish prime minister, especially to EU countries and institutions. After obtaining the start date of EU accession talks, it is observed that foreign visitors begin to come more often to Turkey, from regions all over the world. So, the EU accession talks’ start is a crossroad of JDP foreign policy for the 2003 – 2006 term.

2.2.The “Foreign Policy Use” of the JDP In The July 2006 – May 2010 Period

In this section, “foreign policy use” trends of the 2007 pre-election period of the incumbent JDP will be examined, via *Address to the Nation* speeches. As the focus of main importance, this pre-election “foreign policy use” trend is compared with the 2003 – 2006 1st governing period of the incumbent. Also, the July 2006 – May 2010 period’s “foreign policy use” by the incumbent party is collated with its 2003 – 2006 1st incumbency period.

The *Address to the Nation* speeches of the chief executive are the area of analysis. With this, the trend of the foreign policy practices of the incumbent are investigated for pre-election terms, as predicted in the research question.

Additionally, the general “foreign policy use” trend of the incumbent will be lay out, and detailed precisely in the final results chapter of this study. Furthermore, the continuity of July 2006 – July 2007 and July 2006 – May 2010 periods will be seen through the analysis. To complete this analysis, two subsections appear in this section. The first one examines the general circumstances in Turkey and in the world. The other subsection is the place to check the refined results of changing trends in Turkish foreign policy, for the pre-election and in general in this period.

2.2.1. The Economic and Foreign Policy Overview of Turkey and the World in the July 2006 – May 2010 Period

Starting an overview with Turkey’s domestic politics reveal the election-intensive atmosphere, and appreciable competency ambiance, for the referred period. The 2007 general elections, the presidential election (crisis) and referendum, and the local election of 2009 occur over this period.¹⁸⁷ Between the 2007 presidency elections and 2009 local elections, there were various political party unities and secessions within and outside of the parliament.¹⁸⁸ There was a closure case against the JDP in its second term of incumbency, in 2008.¹⁸⁹ After the announcement of the incumbent JDP’s candidate for presidency, Abdullah Gül, the Turkish Armed Forces declared a manifesto that emphasized loyalty to Atatürk’s principles and reforms, in April 27, 2007.¹⁹⁰ Then, the presidential election in parliament took quite a long

¹⁸⁷ “Türkiye’de ve dünyada 2007’de neler oldu? Genel [What Happened In Turkey and In World In 2007? General]”, *Dünya Bülteni [World Bulletin]*, <http://www.dunyabulteni.net/index.php?aType=haberArchive&ArticleID=30691> , accessed on April 8, 2013.

See also, “Türkiye’de 2008 [2008 In Turkey]”, *NTVMSNBC*, <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/470537.asp?cp1=1#storyContinues> , accessed on April 8, 2013. “Türkiye’de 2009 Yılı Olayları [Incidents In Turkey In 2009]”, *Sabah (Newspaper)*, 9 Nisan 2013 [April 9, 2013], http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/Dosyalar/2009/12/18/turkiyede_2009_yili_olaylari , accessed on April 8, 2013.

¹⁸⁸ “Türkiye’de ve dünyada 2007’de neler oldu? Genel [What Happened In Turkey and In World In 2007? General]”, *Dünya Bülteni [World Bulletin]*, <http://www.dunyabulteni.net/index.php?aType=haberArchive&ArticleID=30691> , accessed on April 8, 2013.

¹⁸⁹ “Türkiye’de 2008 [2008 In Turkey]”, *NTVMSNBC*, <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/470537.asp?cp1=1#storyContinues> , accessed on April 8, 2013.

¹⁹⁰ “Türkiye’de ve dünyada 2007’de neler oldu? Genel [What Happened In Turkey and In World In 2007? General]”, *Dünya Bülteni [World Bulletin]*,

term; 5 months with 2 elections in parliament and one referendum.¹⁹¹ There are, then, the judicial incidents about the secret structures within the state, known as the *Ergenekon* and *Balyoz* coup plan indictments.¹⁹² Later, some crises in the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors occurred in 2009.¹⁹³ In January 2007, Hrant Dink, an Armenian-originated Turkish journalist and peace activist, was murdered.¹⁹⁴ The trial for this murder went on within this term. The headscarf restriction in Turkish universities was also removed after some administrative regulations, towards the end of this term.¹⁹⁵ Lastly, there were repeated terrorist attacks in Turkey during this term.¹⁹⁶

Looking at Turkey's economy gives the echoes of 2007 Mortgage Crisis of the US, which affected the entire global economy during the following years. Within this context, Turkey had quite a stable economy with disciplined and tight monetary & financial policies.¹⁹⁷ The domestic debt and inflation was decreased, and there existed macroeconomic stability and an increasing growth rate. Current account deficit and unemployment were high, and the need for mitigation was felt by the government. The capital structure was more durable than had been thought. Viewing the situation with the more general development indicators given by the World Bank,

<http://www.dunyabulteni.net/index.php?aType=haberArchive&ArticleID=30691> , accessed on April 8, 2013.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² "Türkiye'de 2008 [2008 In Turkey]", *NTVMSNBC*,

<http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/470537.asp?cp1=1#storyContinues> , accessed on April 8, 2013.

"Türkiye'de 2009 Yılı Olayları [Incidents In Turkey In 2009]", *Sabah (Newspaper)*, 9 Nisan 2013 [April 9, 2013], http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/Dosyalar/2009/12/18/turkiyede_2009_yili_olaylari , accessed on April 8, 2013.

¹⁹³ "2010'da Türkiye'de Neler Oldu? [What Happened In Turkey In 2010?]", *soL Haber Portalı [soL News Portal]*, <http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/2010da-turkiyede-neler-oldu-haberi-37521> , accessed on April 8, 2013.

¹⁹⁴ "Türkiye'de ve dünyada 2007'de neler oldu? Genel [What Happened In Turkey and In World In 2007? General]", *Dünya Bülteni [World Bulletin]*,

<http://www.dunyabulteni.net/index.php?aType=haberArchive&ArticleID=30691> , accessed on April 8, 2013.

¹⁹⁵ "Türkiye'de 2008 [2008 In Turkey]", *NTVMSNBC*,

<http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/470537.asp?cp1=1#storyContinues> , accessed on April 8, 2013.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ "Genel Değerlendirme [Overall Evaluation]", *TC Merkez Bankası Finansal İstikrar Raporu [Republic of Turkey Central Bank Financial Stability Report]*, 2006 Haziran – 2010 Mayıs [June 2006 – May 2010].

Turkey had an increasing growth rate, increasing life expectancy, GDP and GNP.¹⁹⁸ Also, the consumer price index was quite stable between 2006 and 2010.¹⁹⁹ This data shows the economic situation as quite stable and indicates that it should go on with that discipline.

Monitoring the foreign policy issues of Turkey between 2006 and 2010 presents the Davos - World Economic Forum dispute between Erdoğan and Israeli president Peres,²⁰⁰ the Mavi Marmara Attack of Israel,²⁰¹ the cross-border ground and air operations of Turkey with North Iraq,²⁰² and Armenian president Serge Sargsyan's visit to Turkey for a friendly football match between Armenia and Turkey, which took place after diplomatic protocols between these countries.²⁰³

Screening the world's political issues gives, firstly, deposed Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein's execution at the end of 2006.²⁰⁴ Then, after the election of Ahmadinejad as president of Iran, reports about the nuclear programs' of Iran and the conflict of Iran with West due to these programs begin to be heard.²⁰⁵ In 2007, the presidency changes from Chirac to Sarkozy in France, from Blair to Brown in the UK, and the presidency of Shimon Peres begins in Israel.²⁰⁶ The change of presidents of countries went on increasingly in 2008; Georgia, Uzbekistan, Serbia, the US, Russia, China, Italy, Cuba, Armenia, Lebanon, Taiwan, Montenegro, Malaysia and

¹⁹⁸ "World Development Indicators – Turkey", *The World Bank*, <http://data.worldbank.org/country/turkey>, accessed on April 3, 2013.

¹⁹⁹ "Enflasyon Verileri – Fiyat Endeksi [Inflation Data – Price Index]", *TC Merkez Bankası [Republic of Turkey Central Bank]*, <http://www.tcmb.gov.tr/>, accessed on April 3, 2013.

²⁰⁰ "Türkiye'de 2009 Yılı Olayları [Incidents of 2009 In Turkey]", *Sabah (Newspaper)*, 9 Nisan 2013 [April 9, 2013], http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/Dosyalar/2009/12/18/turkiyede_2009_yili_olaylari, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²⁰¹ "2010'da Türkiye'de Neler Oldu? [What Happened In Turkey and In World In 2010?]", *soL Haber Portalı [soL News Portal]*, <http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/2010da-turkiyede-neler-oldu-haberi-37521>, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²⁰² "Türkiye'de ve dünyada 2007'de neler oldu? Genel [What Happened In Turkey and In World In 2007? General]", *Dünya Bülteni [World Bulletin]*, <http://www.dunyabulteni.net/index.php?aType=haberArchive&ArticleID=30691>, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²⁰³ "Türkiye'de 2009 Yılı Olayları [Incidents of 2009 In Turkey]", *Sabah (Newspaper)*, 9 Nisan 2013 [April 9, 2013], http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/Dosyalar/2009/12/18/turkiyede_2009_yili_olaylari, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²⁰⁴ "2007'de Dünyada Neler Oldu? [What Happened In World In 2007?]", *NTVMSNBC*, <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/430959.asp?cp1=1#storyContinues>, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

Somalia changed their presidents or prime ministers after elections.²⁰⁷ The Lisbon Treaty of the EU, which was named unofficially as the “*new EU constitution*”, was signed in Lisbon in 2007.²⁰⁸

The 2007 Mortgage Crisis of the US affected the world and European economies starting from 2008 continuing beyond the referred period of the July 2006 – May 2010.²⁰⁹ A citation is expressive here, from Çağrı Erhan: “*It is said that this could be overcome with the cooperation of all countries, but countries preferred to save only themselves.*”²¹⁰ “The crisis had effects on Greece, Spain, Italy, Ireland and other EU countries.”²¹¹ The Greek economy was the worst hit, with profound sociological effects. A high school student, Alexis Grigoropoulos was shot by a police bullet, and this fired up the protests and strikes in this country. The protests multiplied throughout the whole term.²¹² A final word about this economy within the period, the EU countries made the temporary rescue funds permanent.²¹³

As for crisis situations and topics worldwide over the whole period, there were the terrorist attacks and civilian deaths in Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sudan & Darfur and Somalia.²¹⁴ Somalian pirates also pirated international ships, as a terror activity.²¹⁵ Palestine & Israel peace talks started and ended, repeatedly, within the term; Hamas and Al Fath conflicts and ceasefires were

²⁰⁷ “Dünyada 2008 Böyle Geçti [2008 Had Gone In World Like This]”, *NTVMSNBC*, <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/470573.asp?cp1=1#storyContinues>, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²⁰⁸ “2007’de Dünyada Neler Oldu? [What Happened In World In 2007?]”, *NTVMSNBC*, <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/430959.asp?cp1=1#storyContinues>, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²⁰⁹ Oran, Baskın, “Dönemin Sonu: Krizlere Devam [End Of the Period: Continuing to Crises]”, Baskın Oran (ed.), *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı’ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy, Facts and Analyses with Documents from The War Of Independence Till Today]*, Vol. III, Istanbul: İletişim Press (2013), p. 44.

²¹⁰ “2009 Yılında Ne Oldu? – Prof. Dr. Çağrı Erhan [What Happened In 2009? – Prof. Dr. Çağrı Erhan]”, *USAK - Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu [ISRO – International Strategic Researches Organization]*, <http://www.usak.org.tr/makale.asp?id=1254>, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²¹¹ “2010’da Dünyada Neler Oldu? [What Happened In Turkey In 2010?]”, *soL Haber Portalı [soL News Portal]*, <http://haber.sol.org.tr/dunyadan/2010da-dunyada-neler-oldu-haberi-37522>, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²¹² Benlisoy, Foti, “Yunanistan: Bir Ayaklanmanın Anatomisi ve ‘Yeni’ Gençlik Muhalefeti [Greece: The Anatomy of A Riot and The Opposition of the ‘New’ Youth]”, *21. Yüzyılın İlk Devrimci Dalgası [The First Revolutionary Wave of the 21st Century]*, Istanbul: Agora Press (2012), pp. 9 – 12.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ “Dünyada 2008 Böyle Geçti [2008 Went On In World Like This]”, *NTVMSNBC*, <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/470573.asp?cp1=1#storyContinues>, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

practiced repeatedly, too.²¹⁶ In 2007, Benazir Bhutto – a popular politician of Pakistan - returned to Pakistan to be a candidate in the elections, however, she was murdered before the elections. Her husband later became the prime minister of Pakistan. The “islamophobia” issue had become apparent after September 11, but the increasing scale of this issue became apparent during this term, with caricature and mosque crises (especially) in Europe.²¹⁷ The Georgia & Russia War broke out in August 2008, a territorial dispute over inland Georgian South Ossetia.²¹⁸ Russia entered Georgian territories to “protect the South Ossetia’s independence”; about 150 civilian died in Georgia during the conflict. There were ceasefire negotiations with France’s initiative, and this war lasted 5 days.²¹⁹ Lastly, the Wikileaks crisis of the world should be mentioned here; in which notes of the US diplomats and military officials were published without the permission of the US authorities.²²⁰ The point is that those notes included instances of gossip, and this gossip was on the agenda for quite a long time.

The political and economic overview of the world and Turkey in this period was revealed in this subsection. Under the economy-precision situation of Western economies, Turkey was focused on retaining the stability of its economy, in this term. Also, there were various crises in the world, and Turkey had its word on all of those incidents, with its *active* foreign policy. Under these circumstances, increased use of foreign policy by the incumbent is expectable both during the pre-election period and in general during this timeframe. Any direction of changing trends in Turkish foreign policy will be brought to light in the following subsection, through the *Address to the Nation* speeches of the incumbent.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

See also, “2007’de Dünyada Neler Oldu? [What Happened In World In 2007?]”, *NTVMSNBC*, <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/430959.asp?cp1=1#storyContinues> , accessed on April 8, 2013.

²¹⁷ “Avrupa’da İslamofobi Algısı Üzerine – Gamze Değirmenci [On The Islamophobia Perception In Europe – Gamze Değirmenci]”, *BİLGESAM*, August 25, 2010, http://www.bilgesam.org/tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=790:avrupada-slamofobi-algs-... , accessed on April 11, 2013.

²¹⁸ “Dünyada 2008 Böyle Geçti [2008 Went On In World Like This]”, *NTVMSNBC*, <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/470573.asp?cp1=1#storyContinues> , accessed on April 8, 2013.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ “2010’da Dünyada Neler Oldu? [What Happened In World In 2010?]”, *soL Haber Portalı [soL News Portal]*, <http://haber.sol.org.tr/dunyadan/2010da-dunyada-neler-oldu-haberi-37522> , accessed on April 8, 2013.

2.2.2. The Analysis Through Foreign Policy Use of Government

To start with, the trend of “foreign policy use” by the incumbent party of Turkey will be investigated in this subsection. The pre-election period of the 2007 parliamentary elections in Turkey (July 2006 – July 2007) and the rest of the 2nd incumbency term until the next pre-election period (July 2007 – May 2010) are the scope of this subsection. Firstly, the pre-election period is detailed with its “foreign policy use” trend and other characteristics, via the *Address to the Nation* speeches. Then, the whole of the period’s (July 2006 – May 2010) characteristics & “foreign policy use” trends and the changes of regional trends as well as the changes in regional trends are examined. General period’ trends investigation, here, is needed due to determine the shifts (namely, “changing trends”) during pre-election periods. The detailed content of the *Address to the Nation* speeches will take place at the end of the study, in the *appendices* part.

2.2.2.1. Examination of the Pre-Election Period of the 2007 Elections

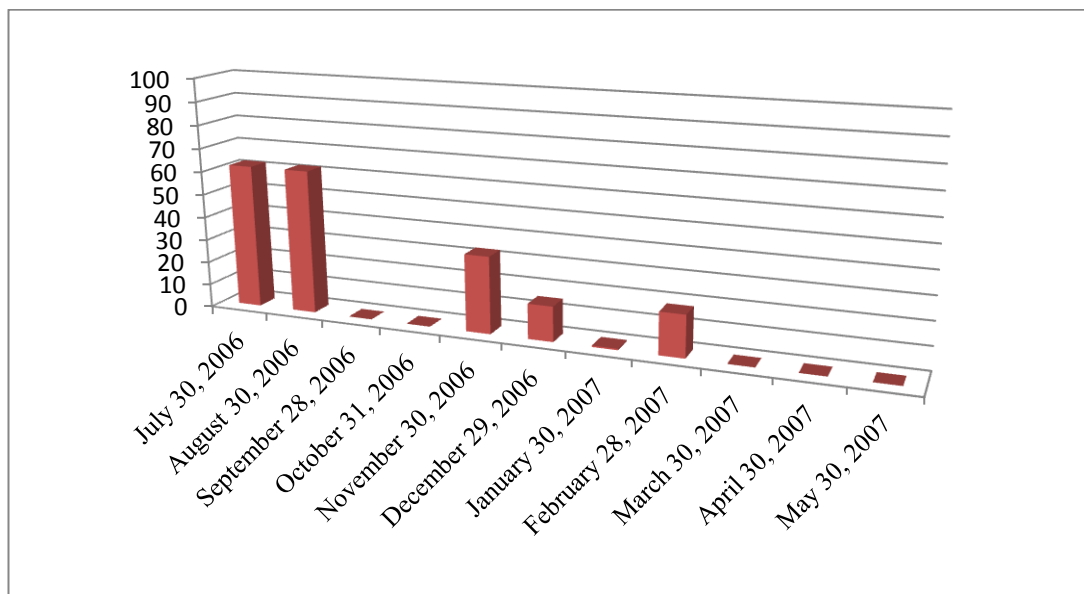
Starting with the illustration of **Table 2**, there are 11 *Address to the Nation* speeches in the pre-election period of the 2007 Turkish parliamentary elections. 6 of these speeches include some mention of the foreign policy and foreign relations of Turkey. These are the July & August & November & December 2006 and January & February 2007 speeches. The average “foreign policy use” rate of this pre-election period is about 17 percent.²²¹ Going from here, the September and October 2006; and March, April and May 2007 speeches contain no mention of foreign policy issues. However, the lack of any mentions of the foreign policy especially in the March, April and May 2007 speeches could be evaluated as being part of the pre-election strategy of the incumbent, because all emphasis is on the forthcoming election,

²²¹ This is calculated from 1) the collection of all 11 speeches in pre-election period and 2) proportioning the total to 11. All rate calculations in this text are done in this way.

domestically bettering standards and reforms under the 1st JDP government policies. (See “Appendix to Chapter 2 Section 2” for precise examples.)

Here, nonexistence of foreign policy mentions in last three *Address to the Nation* speeches of Turkish incumbent is not in tune with Nincic’s and Gaubatz’s *conditionalities*. It is waited the increasing number of foreign policy mentions of incumbent in the pre-election period, according to the *conditionality*. Still, the nonexistence of foreign policy mentions in last three speeches of the pre-election period of Turkish case is a kind of changing trend of “foreign policy use” of the incumbent, which is compatible with the research question of this study.

Table 2



“Foreign Policy Use” Rates in the *Address to the Nation* Speeches of the 2007 Pre-Election Period

Checking the content of foreign policy references in pre-election speeches reveals topics of foreign visitors, trips abroad, signed international treaties, and summits which were held in Turkey or which Turkey participated in. Also, included are Turkey’s participation in the UN’s Lebanon peace mission and the special

mentions of Turkish Cypriots & Turkey's position on the Cyprus issue by the "July 20 National Celebration Day" (of the TRNC.) At the same time, it is evident that the "foreign policy principles and vision" projections (of the JDP, for Turkish foreign policy) are markedly visible in this pre-election period, which is an interesting observation to be followed up in the subsequent periods.

The "foreign policy use" trend of the incumbent in this pre-election period is quite irregular, under the light of the above information. More or less half of pre-election speeches contain foreign policy references. However, the average "foreign policy use rate" of 17 % is slightly more than the general trend of the 1st incumbency term (of 10 – 15 %.) (Comparisons with previous and following "general trends" will be replaced below.) The common content is the pursuit of harder/sharper foreign policy activities (as in a peace mission) or discourse (as in the contributions to the TRNC's domestic and foreign topics) in related regions. Furthermore, the harder/sharper tone in foreign policy discourse is a pursuit of which continues on 2007 – 2010 (2nd) governing term of the incumbent. The pre-election situation of Turkey (between political parties) might have prompted the incumbent to use this tone in 2007 pre-election period. Notwithstanding, improving economy is the main driving behind the harder/sharper tone of foreign policy discourse in 2007 pre-election period and in 2007 – 2010 (2nd) governing period of the incumbent.

The regional "foreign policy use" trend will be discussed here. Checking the *Address to the Nation* speeches made in the pre-election period reveals statistically quite balanced mention of the EU and the Middle East peace process. But, the EU attitudes to Turkey begins to be criticized, via North Cyprus' de facto exclusion from the EU. Also, in this regard, the military participation in the Middle East peace missions begins to be mentioned at the same time. Consequently, with the irregular distribution of foreign policy use numbers (rates) and foreign policy use timings in this pre-election period, some changing trends in contents of pre-election discourse (the *Address to the Nation* speeches) and performance is precisely observable here, during the July 2006 – July 2007 (pre-election) period. Notably, the changing trends in Turkish case are not coherent with Nincic's and Gaubatz's *conditionalities*;

however, the changing trends themselves are relevant with the research question of this study.

While concluding the 2007 pre-election period, both the increase of “foreign policy use” rate/numbers and the topics and the hardness grade of discourse (the *Address to the Nation* speeches) seem to be the **changing trends** of this pre-election period, in comparison with the 2003 – 2006 period of the JDP. On the distribution of regions (East/West dominant), a quite balanced use of EU and Middle East mentions are found in this period. According to the research question of this study, the average “foreign policy use” rate of the incumbent is slightly increasing, in comparison with the 1st governing period’s (2003 – 2006) average “foreign policy use” rate. Notwithstanding, the nonexistence of foreign policy mentions in last three *Address to the Nation* speeches of 2007 pre-election period is a remarkable point, within the changing trend of average “foreign policy use” rate of 2007 pre-election period.²²² Then, the hardness grade of the incumbent’s foreign policy discourse increases into a new one starting in this pre-election period. Notably, with the developing economy of Turkey and with the (exact) weakenings of the EU membership process, criticisms from Erdoğan begin to be heard in the pre-election speeches. (These will be followed in 2nd governing period of this incumbent in next subsection.)

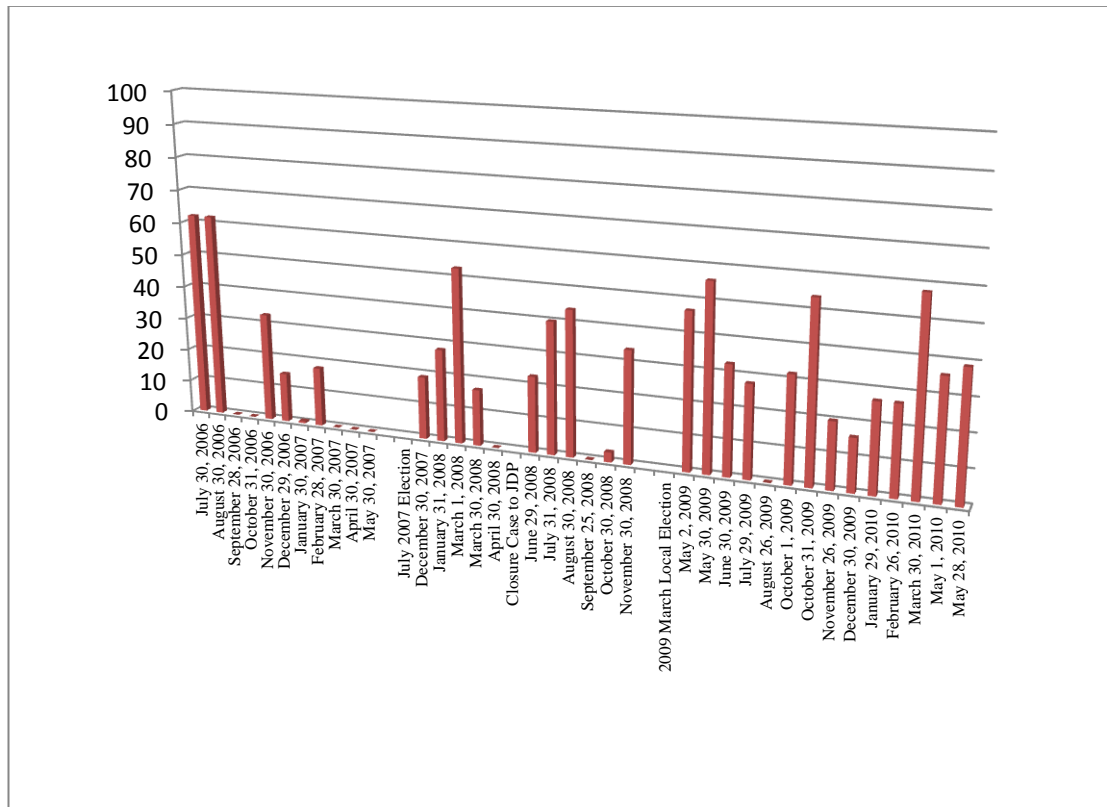
2.2.2.2. Examination of the General of the Period of July 2006 – May 2010

An analysis the entire July 2006 – May 2010 term appears below, with a graphic of technical details of the period in **Table 3**. There are 36 *Address to the Nation* speeches in this period, which is fairly regular. Apart from the 10 months of breaks due to several elections, the *Address to the Nation* speeches are released regularly throughout this period. There are 6 speeches in 2006, 6 speeches in 2007,

²²² The nonexistence of foreign policy mentions in the last 3 *Address to the Nation* speeches could be done as an instrumental pre-election attitude by the incumbent. However, it can not be generalized that the nonexistence of foreign policy mentions in last 3 speeches is a pure pre-election strategy of the incumbent, while forming the “pre-election period” as starting from 1 year before the exact election date in this study.

10 speeches in 2008, 9 speeches in 2009 and 5 speeches in 2010. The average foreign policy usage rate of the speeches is 9 percent, over the whole term.²²³ As a colorful detail, this is quite consistent with the election promises of JDP, in which foreign policy promises also comprised 9 %.²²⁴

Table 3



“Foreign Policy Use” Rated in the *Address to the Nation* Speeches of July 2006 – May 2010

The foreign policy distribution in 36 *Address to the Nation* speeches shows 8 of the speeches without foreign policy mention (5 of these 8 speeches are made before the 2007 parliamentary election.) These speeches take their place in the months of September & October 2006, March & April & May 2007, April &

²²³ This is calculated just like the previous one.

²²⁴ “Güven ve İstikrar İçinde Durmak Yok Yola Devam [Within Confidence And Stability, Non-Stop, The Road-Ahead]”, *AK Parti 2007 Seçim Beyannamesi [Justice And Development Party Election Declaration 2007]*, pp. 208 – 230.

September 2008 and August 2009. While the 2006 speeches might be random digressions on foreign policy use, the 2007 speeches could include worries²²⁵ about pre-election circumstances as the reason for cutting the foreign policy mention. Also, while the 2008 speeches' mention of "foreign policy use" contains references to global economic fluctuations, the 2009 speech's "foreign policy use" break basically includes the focus of terrorist attacks of the PKK on Turkey. So, the breaks in foreign policy use in speeches – unusually - contain some other irregular incidents in Turkey and in the world.²²⁶

In terms of the research area of this study, it is searched the determination of the 2nd governing period of the JDP's "foreign policy use" attitudes & trends here. After the 1st governing period's and the 2007 pre-election period's "foreign policy use" trends (of the JDP), it is expected to observe the increasing "foreign policy use" rates and the changing trends in "foreign policy use" by regions in 2006 – 2010 period. The rationale behind this expectation is the continuously improving economic data of Turkey, which leaves place for mentioning foreign policy in (changing directions specifically for the world's regions in) the speeches. This is also compatible with the *conditionality* (of Nincic and Gaubatz.)

None of the speeches have full foreign policy content in 2006 - 2010 period. Actually, there are some crises²²⁷ for the world or Turkish foreign policy, such as Davos 2009,²²⁸ Mavi Marmara 2010, the Georgia - Russia War 2008, the terrorist attacks on Turkish territories by the PKK or the Somalian pirates' piracy of Turkish ships, in this period. However, neither any of these nor the world's economic crisis ever takes any of the *Address to the Nation* speeches' full text. It is a crucial point that the importance of the chaotic incidents does not cover a full speech in 2006 - 2010 period. After that, the common topics of speeches are the democratic gains, the

²²⁵ In terms of the research question, here, "worries" refer the attitudes of pre-election period that the incumbent uses them to guarantee the reelection bid. In practice, only the economic references took place in 2007 pre-election period's last 3 speech of Turkey example, and gaining the re-election (of the incumbent) could cause this – which is meant in the text above.

²²⁶ Here, "the breaks in 'foreign policy use' in speeches" cover the entire period of 2006 – 2010. Strikingly, the breaks in 2007 pre-election period hve only the economic stability, development, and reforms. There is no such a crisis situation reference in these breaks (of speeches.)

²²⁷ According to İşyar definition of crisis, which was placed in previous section.

²²⁸ Notably, the Davos 2009 tension of Erdoğan has no mention in any speeches.

emphasis on the stability of the Turkish economy, and the investments done in this period (except for foreign policy). Apart from the foreign policy acts of government, the foreign policy vision of the JDP (for Turkish foreign policy) is also given almost in every speech of this term, even if only slightly.

Touching on crisis situations as topics for the foreign policy parts of speeches brings the question of the foreign policy acts and their reference in speeches. The top foreign topics of this period are, in general, the trips abroad, foreign visitors, economy- and energy-based treaties. As a new development, Turkish activity in international/regional organizations is noticeably increased, as well as the peace-mission participations and cross-border operations to North Iraq. Like in the 1st government of the JDP, the unbalanced use of key events and their respective weighing in the speeches is observed. However, the imbalance (of the key event and its proportion in speeches) increases in this period – this is seen in 6 speeches.²²⁹ As an example, while Armenian protocols took 54 % of October 2009 speech as a new and striking point for Turkish foreign policy, the UNSC temporary membership only covered 3 % of the October 2008 speech. Also, the top issues could take a smaller place than mundane issues in Turkish foreign policy, in the same speech. The December 2009 speech is a precise example of this: A new chapter opening on the – long - EU membership process of Turkey takes a small number of words in comparison with the usual developing relations with Syria.

Monitoring the regional trend of “foreign policy use” of JDP government is quite enlightening. The first remarkable change is the increasing activity of Turkey within international and/or regional organizations. UNSC temporary membership, the UN Alliance of Civilizations, OIC membership and G-20 summits are the boldly underlined positions of Turkey. These took place in 8 speeches.²³⁰ In their efforts to improve foreign relations, the focus of the JDP government shifted from the use of domestic and international diplomatic visits, to that of international and regional organizations (the example, the temporary membership of the UNSC.)

²²⁹ *October 2008, May & July & December 2009 and January & March 2010 speeches.*

²³⁰ *July & December 2006, January & August & October & November 2008, October 2009 and May 2010 speeches.*

The European countries and the EU relations take a place in fifteen speeches.²³¹ The August 2006 speech only touches on Turkey's prestigious position due to the newly started EU accession talks. The July & December 2009 speeches contain the opening of new chapters from EU acquis. While 5 of the speeches basically include trips and visitors from various European countries and bilateral relations, the other 9 speeches have some references to the membership process and diplomatic contact of Turkey with the officials & institutions. This "foreign policy use" trend is quite consistent with the 1st JDP government. One point is remarkable here: there are 2 or 3 precise EU membership activities, and, the place of these exact steps is not underlined in the *Address to the Nation* speeches (see "Appendix for Chapter 2 Section 2" for details.)

The Middle East is mentioned in terms of its peace process, the Palestinian problem and, most prominently the improving Turkey – Syria relations, in 13 speeches.²³² The topic most discussed is the improvement (diplomatic, economic, investment) in the relations of Syria and Turkey. After its war situation, Iraq plays a smaller part than in the 1st government period. Iran is also mentioned a few times. The Palestine & Israel conflicts and Israel & Syria peace negotiations under Turkey's mediation is another top topic. There is one mention of the Lebanon peace mission and one of cross-border operation to PKK camps throughout all speeches. This trend of the Middle East is quite compatible with the 1st JDP government policies. At the same time, the "*integration of hard power into economic and diplomatic force*" is seen in this region (as promised in 2007 Election Declaration of JDP), between 2006 and 2010.²³³

From the continent of America, US relations are basically referred to within the boundaries of terrorism and the Middle East peace process, NATO and the G-20 summits, in several speeches. This trend is quite similar to the 2003 – 2006 period of

²³¹ August 2006, December 2007, January & February & June & August & October 2008, May & June & July & November & December 2009 and January & March & April & May 2010 speeches.

²³² August & December 2006, February 2007, February & August & October & November 2008, September & November & December 2009 and January & March & May 2010 speeches.

²³³ "Güven ve İstikrar İçinde Durmak Yok Yola Devam [Within Confidence And Stability, Non-Stop, The Road Ahead]", *AK Parti 2007 Seçim Beyannamesi [Justice And Development Party Election Declaration 2007]*, p. 210.

the JDP. After the presidency change of G. W. Bush to B. Obama, the US contribution to the counterterrorism topic was brought to the agenda of Turkey. Checking the south of the continent, Latin America firstly comes to the stage in the EU and UN's Latin America summit platforms, in several speeches after 2007. The relations with Latin America countries trend is a new topic for Turkish foreign policy. Economic stability of Turkey and the UNSC temporary membership could be the cause of this new page of relations.

The Caucasus region has an increasing number of references in the 2006 – 2010 *Address to the Nation* speeches, especially with the energy & infrastructure treaties, and with the “bettering Armenia – Turkey relations” efforts. This rising trend of Caucasus relations could be related with the stability of the Turkish economy and the increasing energy need of Turkey. In the same manner, the Armenian problem is one of the “*blind spots*”²³⁴ of Turkish foreign policy (along with the regional Kurdish and Cyprus problems.) A “better economy and active foreign policy” vision of the JDP²³⁵ is needed to solve this Armenian “*blind spot*”.

Focusing on the Russian and Asian regions, Russian relations seem fairly static in this period. Only some bilateral trips and visitors are seen in speeches, as usual. The 2008 Georgia - Russia War and the NABUCCO energy pipeline project (which excludes Russia from energy traffic through Turkey in this project) might be the cause of this stability. Central Asian relations follow a similar path. Some new energy treaties, trips and visitors are there, with little increases in numbers. As for the South and East Asia region, some new economic and technical cooperation projects are conducted between Turkey and countries from the region. There are 1) the Turkish defense project of ALTAY with South Korean cooperation, 2) an increase in New Zealand officials' trips to Turkey (which are made in connection with the Armenian “genocide” thesis), 3) the Afghanistan peace mission participation of Turkey, and 4) some new economic relations with China. Finally, some economic summits, trips & visits from Eurasian countries take their place in this period's *Address to the Nation* speeches.

²³⁴ Italics of “*blind spot*” are the author's.

²³⁵ Ibid.,pp. 1 – 231.

As last regions, Africa, the Balkan countries and Cyprus are notable here in terms of their mentions in the *Address to the Nation* speeches. Basically, Cyprus is mentioned in terms of the Turkish government's investments in the TRNC and the efforts of Turkey in international organizations for TRNC recognition, in 4 *Address to the Nation* speeches.²³⁶ Starting from 2006, the July speech has a certain TRNC topic in itself, due to the Turkish prime minister's participation in the July 30 National Celebration Day. While the trend of using the Cyprus topic in speeches shifts into mentions of the TRNC, the new trend of using the TRNC every July of every year becomes automatic. Then, the Balkan countries become part of speeches with 1) their increasing lateral trips and visits with Turkey, 2) increasing economic and cultural relations with Turkey, and also 3) regional cooperation efforts with Turkish mediation. It could clearly be said that Balkan relations are deepened and increased during this period. Lastly, a rare but new African focus appears as a topic. 2008 was declared *Africa Year* in Turkey, in order to kick start diplomatic and economic relations with this region. So, an African focus is a new foreign policy under the 2nd JDP government.

2.2.3. Collecting the Core Results

While finishing this subsection and this section, a final emphasis on the research question of this study is necessary. In the pre-election period of the 2007 parliamentary elections, the "foreign policy use" attitudes of the incumbent JDP had changing trends, which were different from the general trend of the previous government (of the 2003 - 2006 period.) Use of foreign policy as an instrument/vote promoter is slightly increased on average "foreign policy use" rate in the July 2006 – July 2007 period (from 10 % to 17 %), which is quite consistent with Nincic's and Gaubatz's "increasing use of foreign policy" *conditionality*" (in terms of the average rate.)

²³⁶ July 2006, July 2008 and July & September 2009 speeches.

As looking from another window, it is observed the no use of foreign policy in 5²³⁷ speeches of entire 11 speeches of 2007 pre-election period. Furthermore, last 3 speeches of 2007 pre-election period have the exact “forthcoming parliamentary election-relevant” references in the speeches (while not including foreign policy mentions.) This is another observation through Turkish case data analysis of 2007 pre-election period which does not fit into the *conditionality* (of Nincic and Gaubatz.)

According to their *conditionality*, the bettering economic situation brings with it an increased use of foreign policy, as the addition to gain more votes for reelection. Also, the presidential candidate’s popularity is the other factor in promoting votes. In the Turkish example, 1) the healing economy, 2) a more active foreign policy and 3) high presidential popularity factors are on the table. Those factors give a high chance of reelection for the incumbent JDP.

Specifically for the 2007 pre-election period, the average “foreign policy use” rate in the *Address to the Nation* speeches is increased, while the number of foreign-policy-referred speeches throughout the entire 11 speeches (of the pre-election period) is decreased; due to the possible cause of the election strategy of the incumbent. First of these points is coherent with the *conditionality* (of Nincic and Gaubatz), while the second one contradicts with their *conditionality*.²³⁸ Still, both of these situations are the **changing trends** in pre-election “foreign policy use” attitudes of the incumbent. Besides these, the topics mentioned in pre-election speeches are quite diverse from 2003 to 2006. This could be identified as another changing trend of pre-election period speeches. Also, the absence of crises in the international area in 2007 pre-election period has no effect on pre-election “foreign policy use” strategy of the incumbent, in Turkey example.

Importantly, 2007 pre-election period’s “foreign policy use” trends (characteristically, regional, in the tone of discourse) are more coherent with the

²³⁷ Importantly, 3 of 5 speeches of the pre-election period are placed as the last three speeches.

²³⁸ It should be noted that the non-mentioning of foreign policy in 5 of 11 speeches could be evaluated as another phase of instrumental use of foreign policy in 2007 pre-election period – which does not conform with Nincic’s and Gaubatz’s *conditionality*.

2007 – 2010 period, in comparison with 2003 – 2006 period. Then, within the period after the 2007 elections, foreign policy is used about as much as in the 1st governing period. Apart from their (fairly) common “foreign policy use” rates, two points vary from the 1st term (2003 – 2006) of JDP government:

- a) The more active and decisive position of Turkey is seen in the 2007 – 2010 period, especially with “*the integration of hard power into economic & diplomatic forces*”,
- b) The changing regional trends of being a “foreign policy topic” in the *Address to the Nation* speeches are widened from an EU-focused perspective into countries in Turkey’s close milieu.

Both of these two points could possibly be related with the stable and improving economy of Turkey, even in global economic crisis circumstances. This self-reliance could have been the catalyst for the widening of the foreign policy focus of JDP/Turkey, and for the shifts between 1st (2003 – 2006) and 2nd (2006 – 2010) governing periods of JDP.

2.3.The “Foreign Policy Use” of the JDP In the June 2010 – January 2013 Period

In this section, the “foreign policy use” of the incumbent will be examined through the *Address to the Nation* speeches, firstly in the 2011 parliamentary pre-election period and in the June 2010 – January 2013 period. For this, an economic and political overview of these periods both globally and in Turkey comes first, in the first subsection. Then, the analysis of “foreign policy use” trends of incumbent in the pre-election period, as well as in the whole period, takes place in the second subsection. Determining the changing trends in “foreign policy use” of the incumbent across the general trend of “foreign policy use”, and evaluating these in terms of a pre-election instrumentality are the main objectives of this section, within the two subsections. The appendix regarding the detailed contents of the *Address to the Nation* speeches is posited at the end of the study.

2.3.1. The Economic and Foreign Policy Overview of Turkey and the World in the June 2010 – January 2013 Period

Starting from the second half of 2010, Turkey had quite a busy agenda in internal politics. September 12 of 2010 saw a significant constitutional referendum, which changed some civil & military legislature as well as the Constitutional Court judiciaries.²³⁹ The ongoing Ergenekon and Balyoz inquiries continued with new arrests of TAF members, judicial officials, some journalists; with new evidence obtained in the inquiries.²⁴⁰ Lastly in 2010, the main opposition party of Turkey (RPP) changed its leader from Deniz Baykal to Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu.²⁴¹

Regarding the domestic politics of Turkey in 2011, one main characteristic of the time was the election atmosphere which dominated domestic politics of Turkey. Secondly, the arrests of the KCK (the civil wing of the PKK) occurred over a fairly long period of time and saw the detainment of fairly well-known professors,

²³⁹ “2010’da Türkiye’de Neler Oldu? [What Happened In Turkey In 2010?]”, *soL Haber Portalı [soL News Portal]*, December 31, 2010, <http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/2010da-turkiyede-neler-oldu-haberi-37521>, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²⁴⁰ “Türkiye’de 2010 Yılı’nın Önemli Olayları – Foto Haber 9 [Important Events of 2010 In Turkey – Photo News 9]”, *Sabah Haber Plus [Sabah News Plus]*, http://www.sabah.com.tr/fotohaber/gundem/turkiyede_2010_yilinin_onemli_olaylari?tc=40&albumId=26949&page=9, accessed on April 14, 2013.

See also, “Türkiye’de 2010 Yılı’nın Önemli Olayları – Foto Haber 11 [Important Events of 2010 In Turkey – Photo News 11]”, *Sabah Haber Plus [Sabah News Plus]*, http://www.sabah.com.tr/fotohaber/gundem/turkiyede_2010_yilinin_onemli_olaylari?tc=40&albumId=26949&page=11, accessed on April 14, 2013.

“Türkiye’de 2010 Yılı’nın Önemli Olayları – Foto Haber 13 [Important Events of 2010 In Turkey – Photo News 13]”, *Sabah Haber Plus [Sabah Photo News]*, http://www.sabah.com.tr/fotohaber/gundem/turkiyede_2010_yilinin_onemli_olaylari?tc=40&albumId=26949&page=13, accessed on April 14, 2013.

“Türkiye’de 2010 Yılı’nın Önemli Olayları – Foto Haber 19 [Important News of 2010 In Turkey – Photo News 19]”, *Sabah Haber Plus [Sabah News Plus]*, http://www.sabah.com.tr/fotohaber/gundem/turkiyede_2010_yilinin_onemli_olaylari?tc=40&albumId=26949&page=19, accessed on April 14, 2013.

“Türkiye’de 2010 Yılı’nın Önemli Olayları – Foto Haber 27 [Important Events of 2010 In Turkey – Photo News 27]”, *Sabah Haber Plus [Sabah News Plus]*, http://www.sabah.com.tr/fotohaber/gundem/turkiyede_2010_yilinin_onemli_olaylari?tc=40&albumId=26949&page=27, accessed on April 14, 2013.

²⁴¹ “Türkiye’de 2010 Yılı’nın Önemli Olayları – Foto Haber 35 [Important Events of 2010 In Turkey – Photo News 35]”, *Sabah Haber Plus [Sabah News Plus]*, http://www.sabah.com.tr/fotohaber/gundem/turkiyede_2010_yilinin_onemli_olaylari?tc=40&albumId=26949&page=35, accessed on April 14, 2013.

journalists, municipal officials.²⁴² After the June elections, there was a changeover of all high officials of the TAF. Then, the newly-commenced resolution talks of the National Intelligence Organization (henceforth, NIO) and the PKK were leaked to the press. Also, the Ergenekon and Balyoz inquiries were opened as court cases. This process was the cause for heavy criticisms of the HCJP and Ministry of Justice. Close to the end of 2011, Erdoğan underwent a medical operation, and a new crisis between the judiciary and Premiership occurred (about the investigation of the NIO's top official) during this period. Another statistic of importance was the notable rise in incidents of violence against women. The headscarf became free in universities in practice, which had been a cause of serious tension in Turkey for the prior three decades.²⁴³

In 2012, the Balyoz case was concluded.²⁴⁴ Also, the first face transplant operation in Turkey was performed. Many Turkish artists passed away during this year. Free clothing was implemented in all schools (primary, secondary, etc.), on a pilot basis.²⁴⁵

Economically, Turkey had an improved and quite stable situation, in comparison with the European and the world economy. The World Bank's development indicators showed increasing population, income, GNP, GDP and life expectancy numbers for Turkey.²⁴⁶ The economic reports of the Central Bank of Turkey gave "the durable economy against shocks" data for the whole term.²⁴⁷ In 2011, some new protection steps (for keeping household numbers stable) were

²⁴² "2011'de Türkiye'de Ne Oldu? [What Happened In Turkey In 2011?]", *Posta.com.tr*, December 30, 2011, http://www.posta.com.tr/turkiye/HaberDetay/2011_de_Turkiye_.htm?ArticleID=102678, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ "2012'de Türkiye'de Neler Oldu [What Happened In Turkey In 2012]", *İhlas Son Dakika [İhlas Breaking News]*, http://www.ihlassondakika.com/haber/2012de-Turkiyede-neler-oldu_523838.html, accessed in April 13, 2013.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ "World Development Indicators – Turkey", *The World Bank*, <http://data.worldbank.org/country/turkey>, accessed on April 3, 2013.

²⁴⁷ "Genel Değerlendirme [Overall Evaluation]", *TC Merkez Bankası Finansal İstikrar Raporu [Republic of Turkey Central Bank Financial Stability Report]*, 2010 Aralık – 2012 Kasım [December 2010 – November 2012].

suggested and 2012 data revealed better indicators than 2011.²⁴⁸ The consumer prices index also continued at a low and stable rate.²⁴⁹

The foreign policy of Turkey firstly gave the Mavi Marmara Crisis on the last day of May 2010 (the context of this issue for this study will be explained below).²⁵⁰ The NATO Defense Shield (against Iran's nuclear movements) was placed in Kürecik, Malatya in the last days of 2010.²⁵¹ In 2011, there were 1) remarkable numbers of historical artifacts brought back from abroad to their homeland Turkey, 2) the visa-free system for travel between Turkey & Russia for citizens of those countries, 3) the visit of Angelina Jolie to the Syrian refugee camps in Turkey.²⁵² 2012 brought to the agenda increasing numbers of Syrian refugees, the meetings of *the Friends of the Syrian People* in Istanbul, the second visit of Jolie for Syrian refugees, the reciprocal downing of Turkey and Syria²⁵³ fighter planes,²⁵⁴ five civilian deaths in Şanlıurfa – a Turkish city on the Syrian border, and 12 Turkish military deaths in an Afghanistan NATO garrison - ISAF.²⁵⁵

In world politics, an integration of economic and political issues is witnessed in this period. Global political issues included the Arab Spring issue and the economic crisis in general, during 2010 - 2013. The Arab Spring started with the self-immolation of Muhammad Buazizi himself, in Tunisia, in the last days of

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ “Enflasyon Verileri – Fiyat Endeksi [Inflation Data – Price Index]”, *TC Merkez Bankası [Republic of Turkey Central Bank]*, <http://www.tcmb.gov.tr/>, accessed on April 3, 2013.

²⁵⁰ “2010’da Türkiye’de Neler Oldu? [What Happened In Turkey In 2010?]”, *soL Haber Portalı [soL News Portal]*, December 31, 2010, <http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/2010da-turkiyede-neler-oldu-haberi-37521>, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² “2011’de Türkiye’de Ne Oldu? [What happened In Turkey In 2011?]”, *Posta.com.tr*, December 30, 2011, http://www.posta.com.tr/turkiye/HaberDetay/2011_de_Turkiye_.htm?ArticleID=102678, accessed on April 8, 2013.

²⁵³ Syria’s downing of Turkish plane had deaths of Turkish pilots, while Turkey only downed the plane without any deaths.

²⁵⁴ “Suriye Türk Savaş Uçağını Düşürdü! [Syria Downed Turkish War Plane!]”, *Gazete Vatan [Gazette Vatan]*, <http://haber.gazetevatan.com/suriye-turk-savas-ucagini-dusurdu/459720/1/gundem>, accessed on April 24, 2013.

See also, “Türkiye Suriye Uçağını Esenboğa’ya Jetler Eşliğinde İndirdi [Turkey Downed Syrian Plane to Esenboğa With Jets]”, *Milliyet Haber [Milliyet News]*, <http://gundem.milliyet.com.tr/turkiye-suriye-ucagini-esenboga-ya-jetler-esliginde-indirdi/gundem/gundemdetay/10.10.2012/1609775/default.htm>, accessed on April 24, 2013.

²⁵⁵ “2012’de Türkiye’de Neler Oldu [What Happened In Turkey In 2012]”, *İhlas Son Dakika [Ihlas Breaking News]*, http://www.ihlassondakika.com/haber/2012de-Turkiyede-neler-oldu_523838.html, accessed in April 13, 2013.

2010.²⁵⁶ The issue at stake was the intolerable economic and democratic troubles for individuals in North African & Arab countries, which had dictatorial governments. The flame spread fast with the irrepressible usage & communicative power of the internet and social media.²⁵⁷ Then, the flames travelled to Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen, partly to Bahrain and Jordan. The July 2010 – January 2013 period passed with the reflections of this “spring”. The dictators of Tunisia (Ben Ali), Egypt (Mubarak), Libya (Qaddafi), Yemen (Saleh) were dismissed from their chairs, and Qaddafi was lynched on camera in front of a world audience. In Syria, the beginning of a still ongoing civil war took place, with nearly 30,000 recorded civilian deaths;²⁵⁸ and 1,300,000 refugees to this day.²⁵⁹

Apart from the Arab Spring incidents, the “Occupy Wall Street” protests in the US, and some other student or social group protest in Europe took place, stemming from the economical instabilities and crises in those regions.²⁶⁰ Italy and, – more dramatically, - Greece also had governmental crises. In 2011, Osama Bin-Laden²⁶¹ was killed in his home in Afghanistan, by US military forces.²⁶² Embargoes on Iran because of its nuclear works were implemented. Then, the Fukushima nuclear disaster occurred in 2011. Serbia became a “candidate member state” of the

²⁵⁶ Oran, Baskın, “Arap Baharı [The Arab Spring]”, Baskın Oran (ed.), *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy, Facts and Analyses with Documents from The War Of Independence Till Today]*, Cilt III [Vol. III] (2001 – 2012), Ed. 1, İstanbul, İletişim Press (2013), pp. 51 – 52.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ “Suriye’de 18 Ayda Ölenlerin Sayısı [Deaths In Syria In 18 Months]”, *TRT Haber [TRT News]*, September 4, 2012, <http://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/suriyede-18-ayda-olenlerin-sayisi-54313.html>, accessed on April 14, 2013.

²⁵⁹ “Suriyeli Mülteci Sayısı 1 Milyon 300 Bin – Lisa Schlein [Number of Syrian Refugees is 1.300.000 – Lisa Schlein]”, *VOA Amerika'nın Sesi [VOA Voice of America]*, April 10, 2013, <http://m.amerikaninsesi.com/a/1638166.html>, accessed on April 14, 2013.

²⁶⁰ “2011’de Ne Oldu!!! – Melek Çağlar [What Happened In 2011!!! – Melek Çağlar]”, *VOA Amerika'nın Sesi [VOA Voice of America]*, December 23, 2011, <http://blogs.voanews.com/turkish/melekcaglar/2011/12/23/2011-ekonomi-dunya-avrupa-abd/>, accessed on April 13, 2013.

See also, “2011’de Ne Oldu!!! (2. Bölüm) – Melek Çağlar [What Happened In 2011!!! (2nd Chapter) – Melek Çağlar]”, *VOA Amerika'nın Sesi [VOA Voice of America]*, December 31, 2011, <http://blogs.voanews.com/turkish/melekcaglar/2011/12/31/2011%e2%80%99de-ne-oldu-2-bolum/>, accessed on April 13, 2013.

²⁶¹ Osama Ben-Laden was the leader of Al-Qaida which was claimed to do the September 11 terrorist attacks of the US.

²⁶² “2011’de Ne Oldu!!! – Melek Çağlar [What Happened In 2011!!! – Melek Çağlar]”, *VOA Amerika'nın Sesi [VOA Voice of America]*, December 23, 2011, <http://blogs.voanews.com/turkish/melekcaglar/2011/12/23/2011-ekonomi-dunya-avrupa-abd/>, accessed on April 13, 2013.

EU. In 2012, the Olympic Games were held in London. Starting in 2011, the Rohingya people were victims of violence. In France, Sarkozy was replaced by Hollande. Soon after this change, the Mali coup and later French operation to Mali took place. The US ambassador in Libya was attacked (and murdered) by a rioting mob in the aftermath of the production of an Islamo-phobic movie in the US, in the last days of the 1st Obama government, in 2012. Also at the end of this year, The US and China elected their presidents. Israel had a new operation to “ Hamas” in the Gaza Strip just before its parliamentary elections, in the last days of 2012.²⁶³

The world economy experienced the shocks and aftershocks of the US Financial Gap Crisis and the Euro-zone crisis. The developing countries – BRICS -, the transfer of the IMF chairmanship – scandalously - from Strauss-Kahn to La Garde, the failed Greek economy, and the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Irish and Cypriot economies in deep debt crisis were the only global economy items on the agenda.²⁶⁴

Before going on with the analysis subsection, the prospects from this period are posited here. Following the politically intense pre-election period of Turkey, the increasing use of foreign policy from the incumbent might be presumed as a changing trend. This is sourced from the *conditionality* of Nincic and Gaubatz: if

²⁶³ “2012’de dünyada neler oldu [What Happened In World In 2012]”, *UIPortal.Net – Uluslararası İlişkiler Portalı [Portal of International Relations]*, December 31, 2012,

<http://www.uiportal.net/2012de-dunyada-neler-oldu.html> , accessed on April 13, 2013.

See also, “14 Ocak Pazartesi tarihli haberler [News of January 14, Monday]”, *TRTTürk Haberdar*,

<http://www.trtturkhaberdar.com/tarih/14-01-2013.html>, accessed on April 13, 2013.

“24 Ocak Perşembe tarihli haberler [News of January 24, Thursday]”, *TRTTürk Haberdar*,

<http://www.trtturkhaberdar.com/tarih/24-01-2013.html>, accessed on April 13, 2013.

²⁶⁴ “2011’de Ne Oldu!!! – Melek Çağlar [What Happened In 2011!!! – Melek Çağlar]”, *VOA Amerika’nın Sesi [VOA Voice of America]*, December 23, 2011,

<http://blogs.voanews.com/turkish/melekcaglar/2011/12/23/2011-ekonomi-dunya-avrupa-abd/>, accessed on April 13, 2013.

See also, “2011’de Ne Oldu!!! (2. Bölüm) – Melek Çağlar [What Happened In 2011!!! (2nd Chapter) – Melek Çağlar]”, *VOA Amerika’nın Sesi [VOA Voice of America]*, December 31, 2011,

<http://blogs.voanews.com/turkish/melekcaglar/2011/12/31/2011%e2%80%99de-ne-oldu-2-bolum/> , accessed on April 13, 2013.

“02 Ocak Çarşamba tarihli haberler [News of January 2, Wednesday]”, *TRTTürk Haberdar*,

<http://www.trtturkhaberdar.com/tarih/02-01-2013.html>, accessed on April 13, 2013.

“04 Ocak Cuma tarihli haberler [News of January 4, Friday]”, *TRTTürk Haberdar*,

<http://www.trtturkhaberdar.com/tarih/04-01-2013.html>, accessed on April 13, 2013.

“08 Ocak Salı tarihli haberler [News of January 8, Tuesday]”, *TRTTürk Haberdar*,

<http://www.trtturkhaberdar.com/tarih/08-01-2013.html>, accessed on April 13, 2013.

there is high tension in domestic politics -whether the incumbent's performance is positive or negative in voters' eye-, the foreign policy performance is –presumably- highlighted more than before (to gain votes.) Presidential charisma is an additional point that could help win more votes, in this correlation. In the Turkey 2010 – 2013 example, the economy, foreign policy and presidential charisma variables give positive points to the incumbent. In this sense, instrumental/rising use of foreign policy could be expected from the incumbent. Here this will be examined.

2.3.2. The Analysis Through Foreign Policy Use of the Government

In this subsection, the “foreign policy use” trend of the incumbent government is examined through the *Address to the Nation* speeches, both for the pre-election period and for the broader period (of 2010 – 2013.) The pre-election period of the June 2011 parliamentary elections is the period of first investigation. The incumbent JDP's “foreign policy use” trend and characteristics within the prime minister's *Address to the Nation* speeches will be followed in terms of their numerical, regional and general shifts. Then, these steps will be followed up with an analysis of the whole of the period.

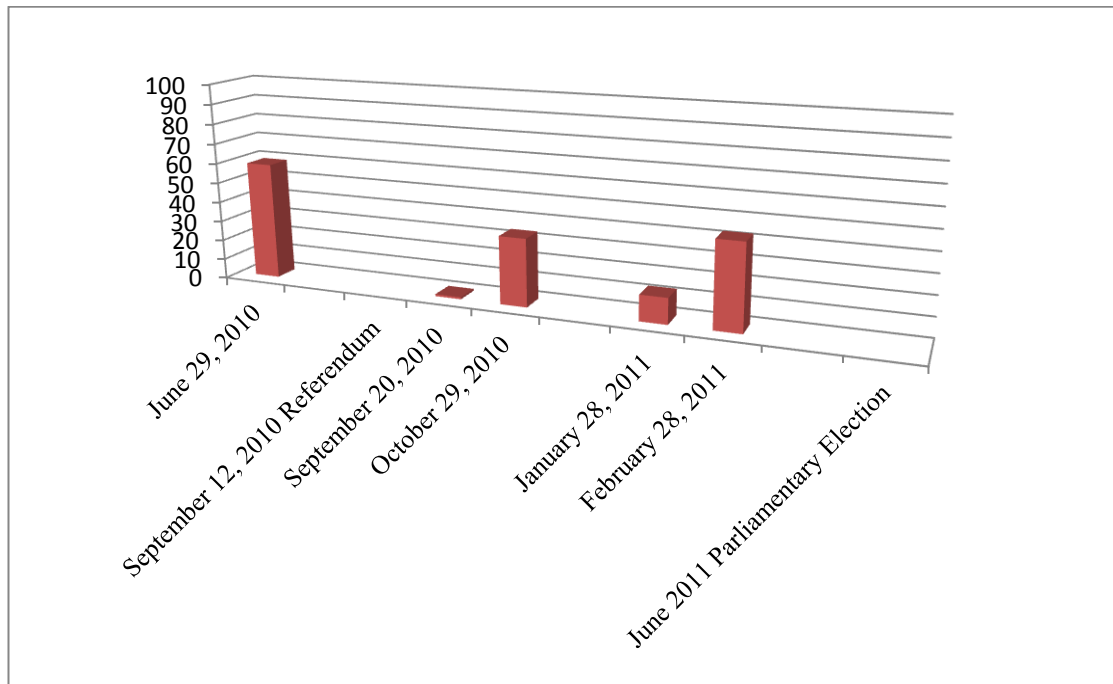
2.3.2.1.Examination of the Pre-Election Period of the 2011 Elections

During the pre-election period of the 2011 Turkish parliamentary elections, there appeared 5 *Address to the Nation* speeches, in June & September & October 2010 and January & February 2011. The fragmented distribution of speeches is due to the September 12, 2010 referendum and the November & December 2010 breaks on speeches. This break might be related to the domestic political tension in Turkey, after the referendum. During that time, the average “foreign policy use” rate²⁶⁵ in these speeches is 30 % - distinctly higher than that of any previous of the JDP governments. Clearly, this is sourced from the foreign policy topics' existence in all

²⁶⁵ This is calculated from 1) the collection of all 5 speeches in pre-election period and 2) proportioning the total to 5.

5 speeches. Here, the absence of the March, April and May 2011 speeches could be noted as the legal break²⁶⁶ of domestic Turkish politics, ruled by the Supreme Board of Election of Turkey.

Table 4



“Foreign Policy Use” Rates in the *Address to the Nation* Speeches of the 2011 Pre-Election Period

Then, the topics of pre-election period’s speeches are 1) the “Arab Spring” incidents in that region, 2) TICCA activities around the world, 3) the developing Turkish defense industry, 4) summits Turkey participated in or hosted, trips abroad and foreign visitors, 5) the Turkish economy against backdrop of the global economic crisis and 6) humanitarian aid to Pakistan and Somalia. The Mavi Marmara Attack by Israel was at the start of this period, during the last days of May 2010. There is no mention of EU, US or Russian relations with Turkey in this pre-election period. This period includes only 17 speeches, which allows for limited sources of

²⁶⁶ The legal break/pre-election period which determined & declared by the SBE is given detailed in the “Methodology” section of this study.

analysis. Despite this scarcity, the available data clearly gives an idea of the trends of foreign policy use.

In crisis situations of this period, there is a pretty balanced use of foreign policy in each of the speeches. The Mavi Marmara Crisis is handled in the June 2010 speech, taking 59 % of the total speech (along with other foreign touches.) Similarly, the Arab Spring and Turkish citizens' evacuation from Libya issues makes up 43% of the total of the February 2011 speech.

In these 5 speeches and under the global circumstances of that time, the Caucasus & Middle East & Balkan regions are the top regions of Turkish foreign policy focus in the 2011 pre-election period. The average "foreign policy use" of the incumbent in the *Address to the Nation* speeches is quite unlike the general average use rates in previous periods at - 30 percent for this pre-election period. The TICCA activities – especially in and around milieu countries of Turkey - , the Universiade, - and Istanbul as - the European Capital of Culture are the international cultural projects Turkey participated in or hosted, in this pre-election period. Also, the comparatively stable Turkish economy against a global crisis background and the defense industry's improvement in Turkey are the other fundamental topics of foreign policy. In short, these all centre on the strengthening economy of Turkey, and in relation, the active and soft-powered Turkish foreign policy performance of the JDP. Here, the developing economy could be named as the driving force, which helps to acquire the added depth of Turkish foreign policy.

All in all, 1) having a higher rate of "foreign policy use" (30%), 2) having no mentions of the West (the EU and the US,) 3) increasing references to the milieu countries of Turkey, could be named as the changing trends of 2011 pre-election period. The reason behind these changing trends are both the shifting international conjuncture, the shifting "foreign policy use" preferences of the incumbent with its increasing political experience, and possible pre-election strategies of the incumbent. Including statistical changing trends in "foreign policy use" of the 2nd JDP government could help in promoting votes. The vote promotion possibility of the changing trends in foreign policy is compatible with Gaubatz's and Nincic's

conditionality. Nonetheless, the economy is still the number one instrument of gaining more votes. The changing trends clearly show the increase of statistical and numerical mentions of foreign policy in its own lane.

2.3.2.2. Examination of the General of the Period of June 2010 – January 2013

According to the Table 5, the average “foreign policy use” rate of mention in the 17 speeches of this period is 30 percent, which is somewhat higher than both the 1st and 2nd JDP governments’ average.²⁶⁷ The reason of this high rate is possibly the mention of foreign policy issues in all speeches. In this period, all of the speeches have full-text or non-text foreign policy mentions. Still, the highest “foreign policy use” rate occurs in July 2012, when the foreign policy topics of this speech are the Arab Spring’s Syrian branch, the Olympic Games in London, the Rohingya people under Myanmar government pressure, and JDP foreign policy principles and vision. This high rate seems random in terms of its timing, because this month a crisis does not occur between Syria or any other country.

9 speeches from this period could not be found or reached as transcription or video record.²⁶⁸ Also, there are a lack of 1) the July & August 2010 speeches due to the election prohibitions of September 12, 2010 referendum, and 2) the March & April & May & June 2011 speeches due to June 2011 election prohibitions. Because of this irregular distribution of speeches within the 2010 – 2013 period, a comprehensive analysis of this term is not possible. However, the available data is still useful for giving a general view of the period.

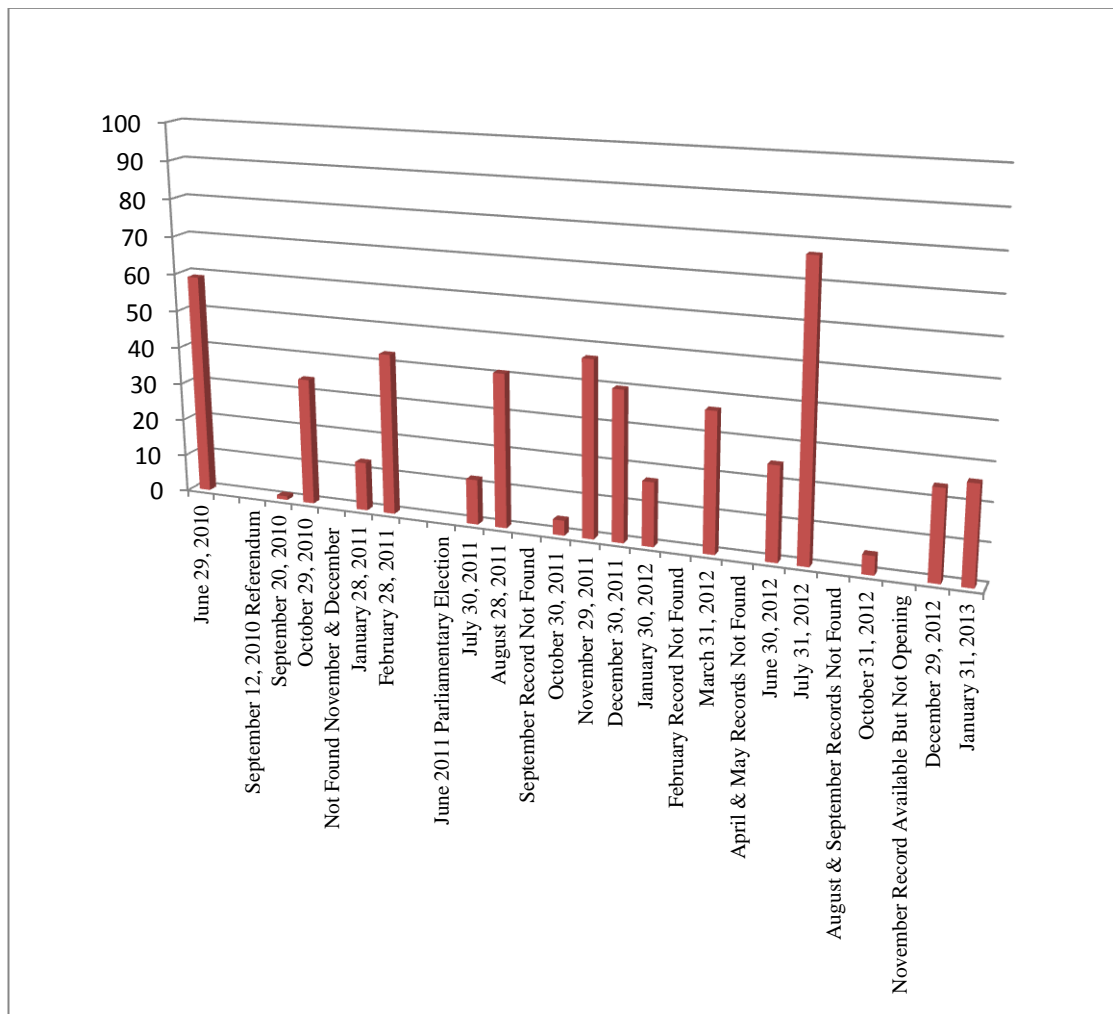
The general topics of this period’s speeches are 1) the global economy & G-20 summits, 2) the Arab Spring and the Middle East, 3) the Caucasus and energy treaties, 4) the TICCA projects in the Balkans and Central Asia, 5) terrorism, 6) humanitarian aid and the defense industry of Turkey. The July speeches of each year

²⁶⁷ This is calculated from 1) the collection of all 17 speeches in the period and 2) proportioning the total to 17.

²⁶⁸ *November & December 2010, September 2011, February & April & May & August & September & November 2012* speeches.

are automatically reserved for the TRNC & Cyprus parts. The Armenian problem and JDP foreign policy principles for Turkish foreign policy also have a place in these speeches. The EU mentions basically lacking in this period's speeches, which is a point of considerable interest.

Table 5



“Foreign Policy Use” Rates in the *Address to the Nation* Speeches of June 2010 – January 2013

According to the İşyar definition,²⁶⁹ the crisis situations of this period for Turkey and for the world are 1) the Mavi Marmara Attack of Israel in May 2010, 2) the Arab Spring (in general) which started in December 2010, 3) Turkish citizens' evacuation from Libya in February 2011, 4) Iran's nuclear exchange crisis in March 2012, 5) Syria's downing of a Turkish plane in June 2012 and 6) Turkey's downing and seizure of a Syrian plane in October 2012. The incidents and effects of the Arab Spring and the Mavi Marmara Attack continued until the end of this period, and, the mentions of these crisis situations in the months that they took place are quite balanced with the "foreign policy use" rates of those months. Thus, the Mavi Marmara Attack is covered in more than half of the June 2010 speech (along with other foreign issues, of course): at a rate of 59 % - to be precise. The references to other crises take up a remarkable part of their respective months' speeches. However, the Syrian crises are the exceptions of the generally balanced use of crises in the *Address to the Nation* speeches. The June & October 2012 speeches contain very little mention of foreign policy. To sum up, it could basically be claimed that the placement of international crises within (the foreign policy mentions of) the *Address to the Nation* speeches throughout the 2010 – 2013 period was balanced with the "foreign policy use" rates (of the related months.)

In this period, other topics of the *Address to the Nation* speeches are the democratization process in Turkey, the deep structures and military and judiciary tensions within government, counterterrorism efforts of the government, and of course, the reforms and performance of JDP governments. The common activities in Turkish foreign policy are the bilateral foreign trips, and the economic and energy treaties, as before. Humanitarian aid, cultural cooperation in milieu countries of Turkey and the international conventions hosted by Turkey are the new foreign policy activities of this period.

To begin with, the regional "foreign policy use" of the incumbent with one of the basic Turkish foreign policy issues, the TRNC and Cyprus, are mentioned in 2

²⁶⁹ İşyar, Ömer, Göksel, "Definition and Management of International Crises", *Perceptions*, Winter (2008), p. 3.

speeches of period.²⁷⁰ The content is the July celebration of the TRNC and the pipeline to the TRNC from Turkey. Without forgetting the irregular and random distribution of the *Address to the Nation* speeches in this period, the decrease in Cyprus & TRNC references in speeches is clearly seen here.

The Arab Spring, Middle East and Arab countries' relations take the most prominent place in the 12 speeches.²⁷¹ While the coverage of the Middle East peace process efforts of Turkey decreases, the increasing Syria and Iran references in speeches shows the shift in the "foreign policy use" trend for this region. The Arab Spring is another striking issue from the region, and it involves the mention of democracy from prime minister Erdoğan to "dictators" of Arab countries and evacuation of Turkish citizens from those countries. As distinctly from the chaotic political situation of this region, the increasing and improving Turkey - Qatar relations are evident, and based on tightening economic links. Regarding the visa-free travels with Middle Eastern countries in previous period, the Arab Spring changed the Turkish approach to the region. Recommendation of democratic reforms to regional countries, the worsened relations with Israel after the Mavi Marmara Attack, the total shift in Syrian relations from a friendly to hostile tone are Turkey's policies, in this period. Alongside this, the Middle East's use as a foreign policy topic stays quite high over this period. However, the content of Middle East topic includes a total change of direction: from a position as a "peace mediator" position to a "democratic-system-advisor".

The Caucasus region takes its places with its relation to energy and regional peace and cooperation areas, within 6 speeches.²⁷² The TANGP Project (the energy pipeline between Azerbaijan and Turkey), some parliamentary decisions around the world about the 1915 Armenian issue, the Nagorno-Karabakh issue, the Georgian visits are the topics relating to this region. While the friendship- and energy-based relations with Azerbaijan and Georgia continue, the Turkish positioning against the Armenian issue in the world & the underlining of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem of

²⁷⁰ July 2011 and December 2012 speeches.

²⁷¹ June 2010, February & August & October & November & December 2011, January & March & June & July & October 2012 and January 2013 speeches.

²⁷² January & July & December 2011 and January & June & December 2012 speeches.

Azerbaijan – Armenia seem to have newly emerged on stage (this is also an attitude outside the limits of energy and friendship.) Essentially, the use of the Caucasus in foreign policy topics of the *Address to the Nation* speeches goes on as in previous speeches, with some new content.

While relations with Russia are never underlined in this period's *Address to the Nation* speeches, there are increasing references to Central Asian relations with Turkey. The TICCA's cultural restoration work in this region, the integration of regional energy countries into pipeline projects in Turkey, and bilateral trips are the topics of these speeches. The deepening trend of relations with this region is definitely observed and emphasized in the *Address to the Nation* speeches.

The Eurasian and South & East Asian relations are based on humanitarian aid, bilateral trips, defense projects' cooperation and some economic treaties. This trend is slightly higher than in previous periods. This increase could be related with the economically improved situations of both South & East Asia and Turkey.

The African relations of this period take the topics of increasing bilateral trips and increasing economic, investment and cultural treaties with the region. Specifically, the January 2013 speech concerns Erdoğan's diplomatic visit to three African countries, along with numerous bureaucrats and businessmen. Apart from establishing economic relations with the region, new embassies are opened in Africa, during this period. After the 2008 Africa Year, this kind of increase in relations' trend seems coherent.

Notably for Western countries (to Turkey), there is no reference to relations with these regions except for some G-20 and OECD summits in the US and Europe & "traditional" bilateral trips with Turkey. This shows a notable and sharp fault fracture of their foreign relations' trends with the incumbent, in its 3rd term, through the *Address to the Nation* speeches.

In the Balkan region, there are bilateral trips and treaties with Turkey, within the period, as mentioned in a few speeches. The increase in TICCA work done in the region is mentioned in speeches. This is not so different from previous periods'

interaction between the JDP governments and the region. While remembering the limited number and irregular distribution of speeches of this period, this trend of relations seems logical, when compared with previous periods.

Lastly, the counterterrorism activities of the incumbent should be noted here. There are several meetings with the North Iraq Autonomous Kurdish Region and Iraqi state officials, and some Turkish cross-border operations to Northern Iraq against the PKK camps. Actually, these efforts go along with the internal reforms and regulations of the 2nd and 3rd JDP government. The point of significance here is the changing relations of North Iraqi Kurdish officials with Turkey. While North Iraqi and Turkish relations are increased and developed to a basis of friendship, the central Iraqi government and Turkish relations weaken. This is a new trend of counterterrorism cooperation between Turkey and North Iraqi Kurds, and also, is a new trend for the central Iraqi government & Turkish relations.

2.3.3. Collecting the Core Results

To conclude this section and the analysis of this period, the main points are stated here. There are 17 *Address to the Nation* speeches between June 2010 and January 2013. The speeches' distribution by months is irregular, opposed to that of the previous periods. The main topics are similar in general; bilateral trips, visitors and treaties are the characteristic actions in Turkish foreign policy (at least, as dealt with in the *Address to the Nation* speeches). Interestingly, the EU and US relations have no special references in this period's speeches. While the Balkan and Caucasus regions' relations continue in a manner consistent with the previous periods, the main change in "foreign policy use" trends is in the Middle Eastern relations with Turkey. The Middle Eastern relations take statistically the highest number of mentions in this period's speeches, however, the friendly relations and Turkey's status as a peace mediator come to an end. The Arab Spring is an uprising against the non-democratic and indigent regimes of the Middle East. As a welfare country with widening use of democratic rights, Turkey is placed in an unfriendly position in the old *dictators'* eyes. Syrian relations with Turkey are the most precise example of this situation.

Iraqi relations show a similar shift, while North Iraq forms closer links with Turkey, in the resolution sense of the PKK - one of the problem points of Turkish foreign policy-. Under the light of these points, it could be said that the Turkey - Middle East relations' trend is shifted into one of crystallization.

Concerning the 2011 pre-election period, it would be valuable to note that the pre-election period's "foreign policy use" attitudes & trend are quite similar to those of the 2011 – 2013 (3rd JDP government) period. With the investigation of 2011 pre-election period, it is also determined the shifting "foreign policy use" trends in comparison with the 2nd governing period of the incumbent. This is observable in the average "foreign policy use" rate of the government in the pre-election period (30 %) in terms of its clear increase from the 2007 pre-election period's rate (17 %.) A further point is the non-existence of discourse regarding the West's relations of Turkey, which is a clear changing trend, from taking a critical tone to not even mentioning them in pre-election speeches. From another angle, the effect of the Arab Spring on the pre-election period of the 2011 elections is not clearly determinable, because the speeches of this period are so limited. Because of the start of the Arab Spring, it could be concluded that this issue did not take a remarkable place in pre-election speeches. Still, as another changing trend, the increasing and regular use of foreign policy is witnessed in its (foreign policy use's) own lane, within the 2011 pre-election period's *Address to the Nation* speeches.

The cultural and athletic projects of Turkey are also visible during this period. New mentions of Africa, the (Latin) Brazil & Turkey in mediation of Iran's nuclear exchange, the more strongly emphasized defense and humanitarian aid topics, the Armenian issue's reverberations, and the energy treaties are the most significant and increasing points in speeches.

In this manner, the general and pre-election foreign policy trends of the 3rd JDP government are posited above. In the pre-election period, the increasing numbers and changing content of the "foreign policy use" are determined as the **changing trends**, through the *Address to the Nation* speeches. The numerical increase in the average "foreign policy use" rate during the pre-election period is

quite consistent with Nincic's and Gaubatz's *conditionalities* which predict the increasing use of foreign policy together with improving economy and high presidential popularity determinants. Furthermore, higher average "foreign policy use" rates are reached in general in the 3rd term of JDP government. Whatever happens, the increasing use of foreign policy is observed in this section. This could be due to the developing economy, focus on social rights and standards in Turkey. A strong economy gives more scope to talk about foreign policy in the pre-election period and in general, as seen through the *Address to the Nation* speeches investigation.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONCLUSION

The clear results of the study of “Instrumental Use of Foreign Policy In Pre-National Election Periods: Turkish Case (2003 – 2013)” are presented in this chapter. While the aim is to view the results of the analysis as a whole, the research question & method of the study and the possible future provisions are also discussed here.

As a worldwide observation, *Operation Cast Lead* (2008) and *Operation Pillar of Cloud* (2012) are the starting points of the research question of this study. The foreign policy (activities & discourse) of governments are liable to change just before elections, with the aim of promoting votes so as to attain another term of incumbency. This fact was hypothesized, tested and proven with the example of the US’ Soviet policies, by a number of researchers and is abstracted in/by a *conditionality*. This *conditionality* essentially claims that, whether the economy is good or bad in a “democratic state”,²⁷³ foreign policy is used to gain and/or increase votes so as to get another governing term. Presidential charisma could be another vote promoter/instrumental determinant, in this *conditionality*. No such test on Turkey has ever been done, for any period.

From here, the research question of **whether foreign policy is used as an instrument in parliamentary²⁷⁴ pre-election periods of Turkey, to gain more votes and obtain another incumbency**, is asked and tested in the case of Turkey. The instrumentality of foreign policy is identified with the **changing trends** in “foreign policy use” rates and attitudes compared to the previous incumbency period. The **changing trends** are analyzed through the *Address to the Nation* speeches of the incumbent. The rationale for choosing these speeches for measurement is their *direct, informative* and –quite- *regular* features, as they are aimed at reaching the voters within a whole governing period in Turkey. Then, the examination of each *Address*

²⁷³ “Democratic state” refers to elected governors of a state preferably by regular elections.

²⁷⁴ In Turkey, only *parliamentary* elections determine the government party/parties with the votes of all voters.

to the Nation speech is conducted by finding the proportion of foreign policy-related minutes/word numbers to the whole minutes/word numbers of that speech.

As the next step, clarifications of time periods are set in this study. Firstly, a pre-election period is identified as the one year before the exact election date, as this is supported in the literature. Then, the examination period of the study is specified from February 2003²⁷⁵ to January 2013.²⁷⁶ In other words, the period is chosen as the last decade in Turkey, under the governance of the JDP. This is significant, because it gives the opportunity to investigate a period which contains the continuity within itself; in terms of pursuing the foreign policy use trends in & before 2 elections and 3 governing periods. Then, the period is examined under three captions, which is meaningful in terms of the continuities and the breaking points of JDP foreign policy attitudes & trends. In this way, the February 2003 – June 2006, July 2006 – May 2010, June 2010 – January 2013 sub-periods are posited in the study.

With this research question, method and period, 88 *Address to the Nation* speeches are examined one-by-one, in terms of their general topics, foreign policy topics, and “foreign policy use” rates per month under regular situations and under crises. The general economic & political overview of Turkey and the world are also checked, in order to reach/determine the (changing) pure *instrumentality* results of “foreign policy use” analysis in the study. With this *modus operandi*, a significant data about the “foreign policy use” trends of the incumbent JDP within the whole decade is collected, as well as in the pre-election periods of the same decade.

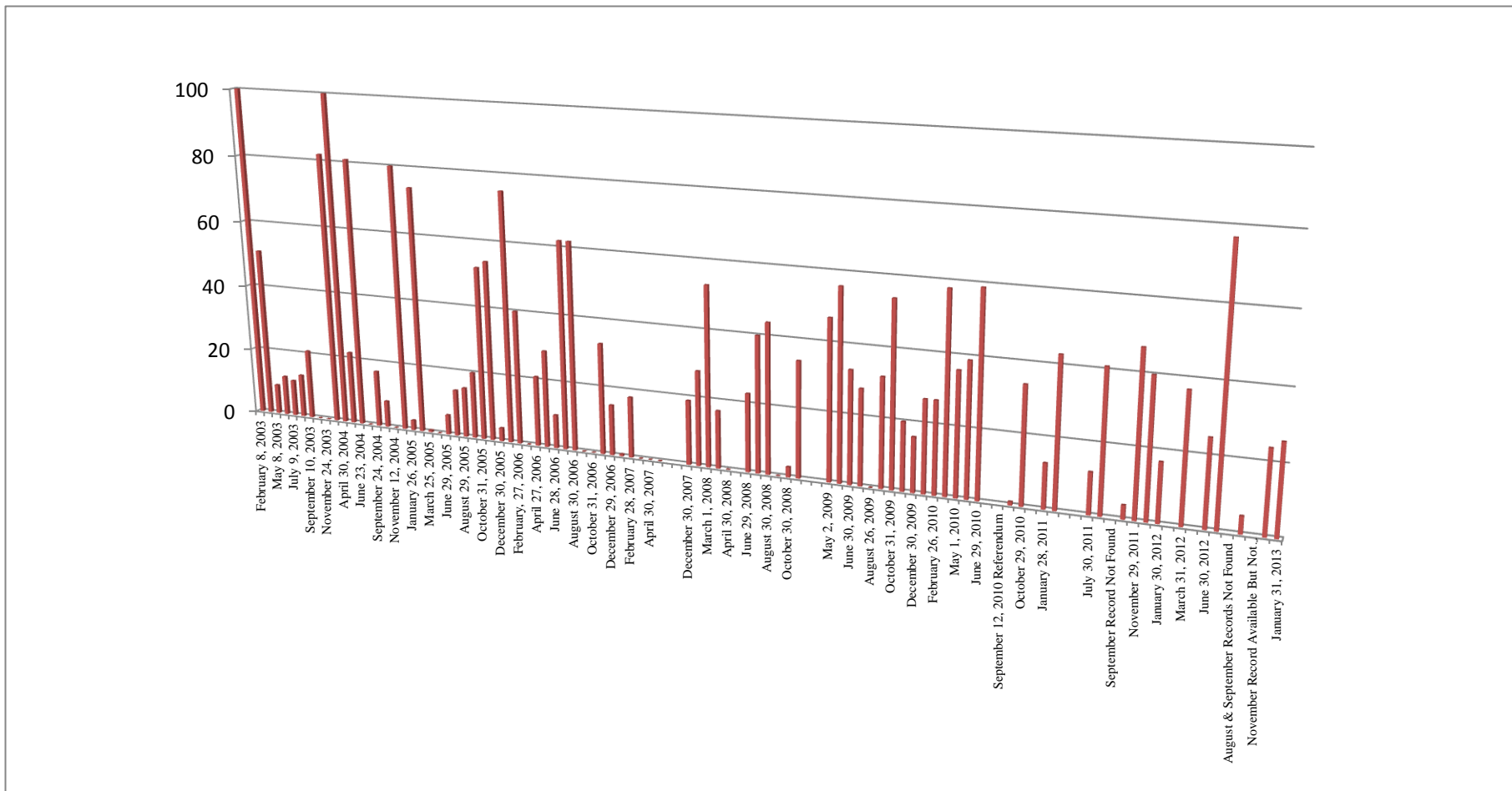
3.1. What Is Basically Obtained From All the Data Investigation?

Here follows the basic lay-out of the “foreign policy use” rates of all 88 *Address to the Nation* speeches, within a graphic.

²⁷⁵ February 2003 is the first *Address to Nation* speech of 1st JDP government.

²⁷⁶ With the January 2013 speech, the 10th year of JDP governments is reached, which is the symbolic end date of the study.

Table 6



“Foreign Policy Use” Rates of Entire February 2003 - January 2013 Period’s *Address to the Nation* Speeches

3.2 What Are the Findings In Terms Of the Research Question?

In terms of the research question of this study, the **increasing instrumental foreign policy use of JDP in the 2007 & 2011 pre-election periods** of Turkey is observed, compared with the general governing periods of the incumbent. Firstly, this data is acquired from the increasing “foreign policy use” rates in pre-election periods of the decade; **starting with 17 % and rising to 30 %**. This is a numerical changing trend of “foreign policy use” analysis, and this changing trend brings with it the assessment of “instrumentality” of foreign policy in pre-election periods.

Secondly, while *the characteristic foreign policy activities*²⁷⁷ stay the same in pre-election periods, the changing regional content of pre-election foreign policy mentions is laid out, as another changing trend. The regional discourses are fairly balanced between the Middle East and West (-ern relations of Turkey) in the 2007 pre-election period, while the 2011 pre-election period contains no mention of Turkish - Western relations’. The 2011 pre-election period’s Middle East references increase and shift in tone, in comparison with the 2007 pre-election period references to the Middle East. This shift could be identified as having stemmed from a “developing economic & diplomatic relations and cooperation” to a “democracy-adviser” position. In terms of the research question of this study, the changing trend of the “foreign policy use” in regional context is observable here.

Following from the changing regional content of pre-election foreign policy mentions, the increasingly visible references to milieu countries²⁷⁸ of Turkey are clearly observed. Milieu countries fill the entirety of the mentions of the 2011 pre-election period foreign policy speech content along with the Middle East and some cultural & sports organizations.

It should be neglected that, there is only one crisis situation throughout all pre-election periods of the decade, and that is the *Mavi Marmara Attack*. This was an

²⁷⁷ *The characteristic foreign policy activities* of JDP governments are 1) trips abroad, 2) foreign visitors, 3) international treaties planned or signed, 4) the hosting of and/or participating in international summits. These are mentioned in (previous) methodology and analysis sections of this study.

²⁷⁸ *Milieu countries* refers to the neighbors and Balkan & near Middle Eastern & Caucasus regions’ countries in the text.

unforeseeable crisis, occurring on the last day before the start of the pre-election period of the 2011 election. Due to having only one mention in pre-election foreign policy references, this crisis is not used as an instrument for the re-election bid of the incumbent. Then, with the *Mavi Marmara Attack* analysis/observation, the main research question of the study is answered (in remembrance of the starting example for studying Turkey in this study.)

These are the main and visible changing trends between the two pre-election periods of the decade. The reason behind these changing trends is probably the improving economy of Turkey. According to Nincic's and Gaubatz's conditionalities, the improving economy is a definite vote promoting situation for an incumbent, and this opens more space for the use of foreign policy as another vote promoter of a re-election bid. Under the light of the Turkish data, this conditionality fits the Turkish example. To produce a fair and sensible epilogue, it should necessarily be noted that the numerical and content changes in foreign policy mentions of the pre-election *Address to the Nation* speeches could only demonstrate their instrumental use in the *Address to the Nation* speeches.

3.3. What Are Determined as General “Foreign Policy Use” Attitudes & Trends of the Decade?

The analysis of general “foreign policy use” attitudes and trends of the decade is a part of the epilogue which goes beyond the research question of this study. Notably, the general “foreign policy use” attitudes of decade, which is monitored through the *Address to the Nation* speeches, are as valuable as the answer to the research question.

With a view of the period from 2003 to 2013, a numerical increase is appreciable in “foreign policy use” rates in speeches; from **9 % to 30 %** (in the general governing period average rates.) Also, while the first governing period of the incumbent has some full-foreign-policy speeches and some speeches without

mention of foreign policy, the balanced use of foreign policy mentions are evident in every speech of the 3rd governing period of the incumbent.

Then, the analysis of regional inclusion in the incumbent's "foreign policy use" reveals the decreasing EU relations references and increasing milieu countries references in general in the speeches. Apart from the decreases and increases of regional references in speeches, the changing tone of relations within the regions is another remarkable issue. As an example, the mention of EU relations in general in speeches decreases from the 1st to 3rd governing period of the incumbent. Also, while the 1st governing period's speeches include proud mention of the EU membership process, the 2nd governing period mostly involves a criticizing tone to EU attitudes towards Turkey. And in the 3rd governing period no mentions of the EU (apart from international & regional summits) are made at all in its *Address to the Nation* speeches. When the atmosphere of EU relations with Turkey in the 2007 and 2011 pre-election periods is taken into account, this analysis becomes more meaningful. The decrease in EU mentions comes together with the increasingly criticizing tone of the incumbent about EU relations.

Similarly, mention of the Middle East reveals a shifting focus of content within the general context of the decade. While there is increasing mention of the Middle East in general in the speeches, the tone changes. The 1st governing period includes economy-focused discussion, while the 2nd governing period adds diplomatic and regional cooperation topics, and the 3rd brings the "democracy-adviser" status (and the partly criticizing tone) to Turkey's foreign policy discourse. This is precisely observable in Syrian relations with Turkey, in this period. As another example of changes in relations, while relations with the Central Iraqi government are good and those with the North Iraqi Kurdish government relations are tense in the 2nd governing period, the 3rd governing period of incumbent includes generally tense Central Iraqi and cooperative North Iraqi Kurdish government discourse. Particularly for North Iraqi Kurdish relations, and also for this region, the changing tone of relations as mentioned in *Address to the Nation* speeches corresponds to a kind of **crystallization of relations**.

A notable point is the content integrity of foreign policy mentions in the speeches, which generates the periodization of this study. Focusing on the distribution and tone of content gives three captions in the 2003 – 2013 decade:

- a) 2003 – June 2006
- b) July 2006 - May 2010
- c) June 2010 – 2013.

Within these periods are the content and “foreign policy use” rate integrities. Here, these periods coincide with the policy styles that emerge from election promises of the JDP. A glance at the election declarations of the JDP, here, reveals the depth of the policies and periods - which forms the periodization of this study- . The foreign policies that begin with a pre-election period and continue until the beginning of the following pre-election period have a kind of content and “foreign policy use” rate integrity. This is definitely observable in foreign policies which began in the 2007 election’s pre-election period and continued to the pre-election period of the 2011 elections. This change, which is starting with the start of pre-election periods, could be commented as an instrument for winning the re-election bid of the incumbent;²⁷⁹ or perceived as the declaration of following period’s “foreign policy use” attitudes & trends.²⁸⁰

Thus, it is notable that in the 2007 election declaration of JDP special mention is made of “*the integration of hard power into economic & diplomatic forces*”, whose impact are observable in the voluntary attendance of the peace mission to Lebanon in the pre-election period of the 2007 elections. Likewise, starting with the pre-election period of the 2011 elections, the Arab Spring incidents take place on the world stage. The incumbent (of Turkey) only emphasizes the legitimate demand for democracy of those nations in the speeches throughout this period. This seems to be connected with the 2011 election declaration of the JDP,

²⁷⁹ The changes in the number and/or direction of foreign policy references in the *Address to the Nation* speeches are implemented for winning the re-election, by the incumbent.

²⁸⁰ Because, the continuity of the pre-election “foreign policy use” attitudes & trends through its following governing period (until the start of the next pre-election period) is clearly observed.

where “*the integrity of hard power*” definition is withdrawn from foreign policy promises.

Thirdly, economic relations and more cooperative regional diplomatic relations are pursued in the incumbent’s *Address to the Nation* speeches. The Balkan and Caucasus regions are examples of this, throughout the entire decade. The discourse on African and Latin American regions’ joint foreign policy by the incumbent are observed in the 2nd and 3rd governing periods. The Middle East is another clear example of this in the 1st and 2nd governing periods of incumbent, however the 3rd governing period has different determinants in terms of crystallization of relations (as noted in previous paragraph.)

Apart from these third specific attitudes of the incumbent JDP to the referred regions, the aim of the foreign policies through the whole decade is the continuity of the election declarations of the JDP. In other words, the changing policies to each region are clearly signaled in election declarations. As an example, changing tone of EU relations in the 2007 pre-election period and the 2nd governing period’s speeches is slightly visible in the 2007 Election Declaration of JDP.²⁸¹ This says that election declarations of the JDP are the declaration of milestones regarding the regions’ (changing) relations. This shows the importance of this decade’s foreign policy investigation with various and complementary tools. The link between this evidence and the research question of this study is to see the changing trend of the incumbent’s “foreign policy use” attitudes, starting with the parliamentary pre-election periods of Turkey. Just from this point, the suggestions and provisions for future study are posited here.

3.4. For Future Studies

In this study, the general “foreign policy use” attitudes and trends of the JDP, which is the incumbent party of last decade, are observed against the most salient

²⁸¹ “Güven ve İstikrar İçinde Durmak Yok Yola Devam [Within Confidence And Stability, Non-Stop, The Road Ahead]”, *AK Parti 2007 Seçim Beyannamesi [JDP 2007 Election Declaration]*, pp. 224 – 225.

ones, beyond the research question of this study. Being the first in the research area of foreign policy's instrumentality in pre-election periods in Turkey, this study uses only one tool within a methodology. Both for this research area and beyond, it would be fruitful to conduct new researches with new and integral methodologies. This will be complementary for obtaining certain "foreign policy use" outcomes for the last and remarkably different decade in Turkey, where it is quite possible to reach a wealth of sources for investigation.

APPENDIX 1 TO CHAPTER 2 SECTION 1

The Detailed Version of the *Address to the Nation* Speeches of February 2003 – June 2006

- 1) **Feb 8, 2003:** First speech is done by the 58th government's prime minister, Abdullah Gül. The government faced with the issues of the EU, Cyprus and the US' Iraqi operation/invasion, as soon as having its confidence vote.²⁸² There was an entitlement to 58th government of Turkish National Assembly, for developing the protection systems with the possible help of the US, within Turkish territories in case of any dangerous attack from Iraqi territories to Turkey.²⁸³ This speech actually comes near after this entitlement decision, and the prime minister suggests calming down to the public. Also, it is clearly seen that prime minister tries to clarify his government's stance in public eye.²⁸⁴ One emphasis is seen on the "*active peaceful foreign policy vision*" of this new government.²⁸⁵ (Active peaceful foreign policy vision is the emphasis of all JDP governments, like a slogan. Initially, this is seen in the 2002 Election Declaration of JDP.)
- 2) **March 23, 2003:** At the end of March 2003, 59th government of Turkey was established, by the prime ministry of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. He is the prime

²⁸² "Başbakan Gül: TBMM önemli bir karar aldı. Bu bir savaş kararı değildir. [Prime Minister Gül: GNAT Took An Important Decision This Is Not A War Decision.]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, November 8, 2003, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-gul-tbmm-onemli-bir-karar-aldi-bu-bir-savas-karari-degildir/4561>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

²⁸³ "763 Numaralı 'Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinin Kuzey Irak'a Gönderilmesine; Bu Kuvvetlerin Gerekliğinde Belirlenecek Esaslar Dairesinde Kullanılmasına ve Muhtemel Bir Askeri Harekat Çerçevesinde Yabancı Silahlı Kuvvetlere Mensup Hava Unsurlarının Türk Hava Sahasını Türk Hava Makamları Tarafından Belirlenecek Esaslara ve Kurallara Göre Kullanmaları İçin Gerekli Düzenlemelerin Yapılmasına, Anayasa'nın 92nci Maddesi Uyarınca 6 Ay Süreyle Resmi İzin Verilmesine Dair Karar [The Parliamentary Resolution No. 763 of Sending the Turkish Armed Forces to the North Iraq Region, of Making Legal Arrangements of Rules for Using the Armed Forces, the Air Force, of Using Turkish Air Space by the Foreign Military Forces in An Eventual Military Operation, and Their Approbation for Six Months In Accordance with the Article 92 of the Constitution of Republic of Turkey]", *25055 Sayılı TC Resmi Gazete [The Official Gazette No. 25055]*, http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc087/karartbmmc087/karartbmmc08700763.pdf, accessed on April 2, 2013.

²⁸⁴ "Başbakan Gül: TBMM önemli bir karar aldı. Bu bir savaş kararı değildir. [Prime Minister Gül: GNAT Took An Important Decision This Is Not A War Decision.]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, November 8, 2003, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-gul-tbmm-onemli-bir-karar-aldi-bu-bir-savas-karari-degildir/4561>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

minister for the rest of governments of this decade. He has his first *Address to the Nation* speech at the day of his government, at March 23, 2003.²⁸⁶ At about half of his speech (%51 of total word number) is about foreign policy and issues. The main issues for his newly-established government are newly started Iraq War, the US and Iraq relations of Turkey, international unresponsiveness for keeping Iraq's foreign peace and Turkey's stance. The other half of speech is about to clarify new government's and his personal position, against misinformation.²⁸⁷

- 3) **May 8 & June 5 & July 9, 2003 speeches:** Checking the May,²⁸⁸ June,²⁸⁹ July²⁹⁰ and August speeches of Erdoğan firstly give the proportionally low foreign policy-related word numbers, in comparison with the whole of speeches. Total 2500-3500 words for all of each speech have 10 percent of them on foreign policy issues, on average, for referred months. In contents, these months' speeches include the issues of the EU, Cyprus, Iraq War, foreign trips, visitors abroad and developing economic & commercial & diplomatic relations abroad. The major part and rest of those speeches are about the economical straits and the practices for fixing it.
- 4) **August 8, 2003:** On August 2003 speech, there is the "Turkish foreign policy vision" definition of prime minister, apart from foreign policy activities.²⁹¹ The "vision" will be seen on some of the following speeches, it basically

²⁸⁶ "Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi: Ülkemizin Dirlik ve Düzeni İçin Her Türlü Tedbiri almaktayız [Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Had Address To the Nation Speech: We Are Taking All Measures For Our Country's Harmony]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, March 23, 2003, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi-ulkemizin-dirlik-ve-duzeni-ici/4498>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ "Başbakan Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Erdoğan Had Address To the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, May 8, 2003, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi-kendi-emegimizle-ele-gune-muhtac-olmayan-ka/4541>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

²⁸⁹ "Başbakan Erdoğan'ın Ulusa Seslenişi [Prime Minister Erdoğan's Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, June 5, 2003, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenisi-meclis-yolsuzluklari-arastirma-komisyonu/4732>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

²⁹⁰ "Başbakan Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, July 9, 2003, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi-cifticilerin-borclarinin-odenererek-tekrar-tar/1511>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

²⁹¹ "Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın 'Ulusa Sesleniş' Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, August 8, 2003, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/4822>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

includes the foreign policy principles and plans of JDP governments. Erdoğan firstly declares to the activities about the EU relations of Turkey, then emphasizes the “*historical and geopolitical heritage*” of Turkish foreign policy.

- 5) **September 10, 2003:** September 2003 speech has the % 20 of total word number for foreign issues - Germany and Italy trips of Erdoğan. The trips have meetings with counterparts of Erdoğan and with the commercial and civilian organizations and their counterparts. The main theme of the meetings is that how reforms in Turkey change the opinions of those foreign groups, about Turkey.²⁹²
- 6) **October 30 & November 24, 2003 speeches:** Next speech is on October 2003, and any of 2500 total words have reference to foreign policy issues.²⁹³ Central topic of this speech is the end of 1st year of JDP government and is matching promises and practices of government, also with pre-JDP periods (in economic area).²⁹⁴ Similarly, November 2003 speech has no foreign policy emphasis in it.²⁹⁵ The only subject is (those days’) recent terrorist attacks to two synagogues in İstanbul.²⁹⁶
- 7) **January 22, 2004 speech:** In January 2004, % 82 of the whole *Address to the Nation* speech is used for foreign policy of government.²⁹⁷ This is partly due to the (relatively) economic stability and/or upswing income in Turkey

²⁹² “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, September 10, 2003, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/4917>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

²⁹³ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın ‘Ulusa Sesleniş’ Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, October 30, 2003, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/5297>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ “Başbakan Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Ministe Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, November 24, 2003, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi-insanlik-onuruna-kastederek-masumiyeti-kirl/3182>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

²⁹⁶ “Dualar Ölenler İçin, Neve Şalom – Beth İsrail Sinagog Saldırıları, Dosya [Prayers Are For Those the Died Ones – Beth Israael Synagogue Attacks, File]”, *Sabah (Newspaper)*, http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/ozel/sinagog224/dosya_224.html, accessed on April 6, 2013.

²⁹⁷ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, January 22, 2004, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan39in-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/5181>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

internally. Bettering economy brings the EU relations to public mind, and the EU issue is linked with Cyprus problem. Already, the EU and Cyprus are two points of this speech. Also, it is mentioned the relations and future visions on the Central Asia & Caucasus, Middle East peace, Iran and relations with Islamic world –with the cause of participation to Jeddah Economic Forum-.²⁹⁸

- 8) **April 30, 2004:** After two months break due to local elections of Turkey (by legal regulation), the referendum in Cyprus covers the whole of April 2004 speech.²⁹⁹ Erdoğan mentions referendum’s technical details, the position of Turkish and Greek Cypriots to Annan Plan, Turkey’s stance and (technical and principal) plans before and after referendum.³⁰⁰ There is also some mention on the EU issue for Turkey, with the results of Cyprus Referendum.³⁰¹ Lastly, it is referred the rising democracy standards of Turkey, within its stance on Cyprus Referendum.³⁰²
- 9) **May 26, 2004:** In following month, May 2004, the foreign policy weight in general of speech declines to % 22.³⁰³ Reforms and things changed in two years in Turkey by the 59th government are significant for the EU officials, and Erdoğan voices his strong belief about strengthening and/or concretizing the EU – Turkey relations in coming EU summit in December. In this speech, Erdoğan also touches to the foreign policy vision of JDP for Turkey, as “the peace bridge of world”, and “of Middle East”.³⁰⁴
- 10) **June 23, 2004:** June 2004 dominantly is mentioned with foreign policy, in comparison with all speech (81 %).³⁰⁵ This is possibly because of the

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, April 30, 2004, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/3533>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, May 26, 2004, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/3667>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, June 23, 2004,

international summits which are held in Turkey and of which Turkey is participated abroad. Also, a name that Turkey offered to Organization for Islamic Conference (OIC) general secretariat is elected for that position.³⁰⁶ Also, the forthcoming EU summit on December is used for mentioning the EU, (and partly, for) Cyprus issues. Lastly, here it is seen largely the Turkish foreign policy principals & visions of JDP.³⁰⁷

11) **August 28 & September 24 & October 27 & November 12, 2004 speeches:** Next four speeches of August,³⁰⁸ September,³⁰⁹ October³¹⁰ and November 2004³¹¹ have too little or no rates for foreign policy within the whole text. August and October speeches have few mentions (17% and 8%, in order) on the hopes from December EU Summit for Turkey membership process; that is the all foreign policy agenda of four months of JDP government.

12) **December 24, 2004:** December 2004 speech has a significant agenda on the EU summit resolution of starting to accession negotiations with Turkey.³¹² This covers the 80 percent of the speech with foreign policy focus. The decision of starting to accession talks is evaluated as harmonious with the

<http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2401>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, August 28, 2004, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2895>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁰⁹ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, September 24, 2004, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslenditurkiye-ab-ile-muzakerelere-baslamak-konusun/3314>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³¹⁰ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, October 27, 2004, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/3572>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³¹¹ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, November 12, 2004, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi-calisan-kesimlerimizin-sikintilarini-giderm/3505>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³¹² “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, December 24, 2004, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/3845>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

JDP's foreign policy principles, practices and future perspectives.³¹³ Rest of this speech is used to mention the reforms of government for Turkey.³¹⁴

13) **January 26 & February 25, 2005:** While January 2005 has only 3 percent reserved for foreign policy of Turkey only with humanitarian aid for Southeast Asia call of Erdoğan to Turkish public,³¹⁵ February 2005 is more foreign policy- and future perspectives-emphasized with 74 percent of whole speech on foreign issues.³¹⁶ The speech includes some valuable points for following speeches of Erdoğan: first time in this speech, it is seen the desire/want of being one of the “*global power*” in world.³¹⁷ This will be seen on later speeches frequently and emphatically.³¹⁸ This arises from the developing and healing economy of Turkey, arises also from the EU perspective of Turkey, and “*political and social gains of last 2,5 years of Turkey.*”³¹⁹

14) **March 25 & April 28 & June 29 & July 28 & August 29 & September 25, 2005:** Following six months, namely, March,³²⁰ April,³²¹ June,³²² July,³²³

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, January 26, 2005, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2631> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³¹⁶ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, February 25, 2005, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/4820> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ ‘Being a global power’ goal of JDP is not just an epic or so-called word sequence, JDP declares and -partly- actualizes sensible physical reform steps for this goal in its election declarations and practices.

³¹⁹ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, February 25, 2005, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/4820> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³²⁰ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, March 25, 2005, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2561> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³²¹ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, April 28, 2005, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasi-tam-metni/3475> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³²² “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, June

August³²⁴ and September 2005³²⁵ have very little foreign policy parts within whole speeches; the average foreign policy usage rates are changing between 0 and 20 per cent. The foreign policy issues in these speeches are foreign trips, diplomatic visitors abroad, international terrorism, some summits and/or organizations held in Turkey, the increasing foreign investments in Turkey and how those investments help for promotion of Turkey abroad. A remarkable and interesting foreign & international activity takes place in July 2005: the switch/implementation of the *Alliance of Civilizations*³²⁶ project with Turkish and Spanish initiatives under the framework of the United Nations.³²⁷ However, this does not take so many words in total of referred speech. Still, *the Alliance of Civilizations* will be owned and emphasized pretty much in later speeches.

15) **October 31, 2005:** October 2005 *Address to the Nation* includes 52% of total speech for current foreign policy titles of Turkey.³²⁸ The reason behind this increase could be to start the accession talks with the EU, on October 3, in the EU summit of the UK.³²⁹ The other titles are the trips to Pakistan after (those days') recent earthquake, Kuwait and Yemen. Later in the speech, there is the

29, 2005, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/5859> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³²³ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, July 28, 2005, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2292> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³²⁴ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, August 29, 2005, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2345> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³²⁵ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, September 25, 2005, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/3467> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³²⁶ “History”, *United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (UNAOC)*, <http://www.unaoc.org/about/history/> , accessed on April 4, 2013.

³²⁷ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, July 28, 2005, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2292> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³²⁸ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, October 31, 2005, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/5758> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³²⁹ Ibid.

explanation on the humanitarian aid sent by Turkey to just after South Asia natural disasters.

16) **November 30, 2005:** Differently from previous speech, foreign policy is committed in - global - economy context, in November 2005.³³⁰ Within the speech, there are the last progress report of the European Commission, the inauguration of the Blue Stream project, the trips to Gulf countries, Australia and New Zealand, the visits of German, Italian, Spanish executives and their business sectors.³³¹ These take the 54% of the speech. The notable point is that economic commentary is done on the Blue Stream project and the progress report of the EC.³³² The acts about Turkish foreign policy are evaluated with their economic significance and/or contribution.

17) **February 27 & March 29 & April 27 & May 30 & June 28, 2006 speeches:** Until the start of 2007 election's pre-election period - namely to the end of June 2006 -, February,³³³ March,³³⁴ April,³³⁵ May³³⁶ and June³³⁷ speeches (of 2006) of Erdoğan have quite low foreign policy words numbers within the total numbers of each speech. The per cents have up and downs between 0 and 29. In the speeches, that have some foreign policy mentions in

³³⁰ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, November 30, 2005, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/5770> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, February 27, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2440> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³³⁴ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, March 29, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2976> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³³⁵ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, April 27, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2356> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³³⁶ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, May 30, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/3710> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³³⁷ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, June 28, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/3610> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

it, it is possible to see one of foreign policy acts: foreign trips, visits abroad, the EU or Cyprus references, Middle East peace, the principals and future projections for Turkey. However, those speeches very low foreign policy sections within their *Address to the Nation* speeches.

18) **January 31, 2006:** As the last speech of this episode, there is January 2006 one.³³⁸ It has remarkably different usage rate of foreign policy than mentioned previously five speeches: 75%. There is the informing about EU accession talks process, as a topic of foreign policy in the speech. The speech also includes the clarification on Turkey's position in terms of the EU membership and Cyprus problem. This could be partly due to the criticism on JDP government whether the EU reforms in Turkey slow down or not.³³⁹ Then, there is also the - Davos – World Economic Forum summit in this month, which contains Erdoğan's meetings with world leaders. This brings to emphasize world issues and principals of (JDP's) "active" foreign policy of Turkey.³⁴⁰

³³⁸ "Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, January 31, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/4672>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³³⁹ Baykal, Sanem, Tuğrul Arat, "AB'yle İlişkiler [Relations With the EU]", Baskın Oran (ed.), *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy, Facts and Analyses with Documents from The War Of Independence Till Today]*, Vol. III (2001 – 2012), Ed.1, İstanbul, İletişim Press (2013), pp 370 - 375.

³⁴⁰ "Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, January 31, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/4672>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

APPENDIX 2 TO CHAPTER 2 SECTION 2

The Detailed Version of the *Address to the Nation* Speeches of July 2006 – May 2010

- 1) **July 30, 2006:** 62 % of total word number is used for foreign policy. The contents are the North Cyprus' Peace and Independence Celebration of July 20, and talks for peace with the Middle East leaders. The main theme of this speech is the position of Turkey against “*violence culture*”, as contributing the “yes” vote in the 2004 Cyprus Referendum, as being one of the two founders of the Alliance of Civilizations platform, as sending civilian aid to Lebanon and calling for a peaceful end of recent Lebanon - Israel conflict.
- 2) **August 30, 2006:** The foreign policy focus takes 62% of whole speech.³⁴¹ The issues are the Middle East peace – “*which means the global peace*” -, the need of stability and peace in Lebanon, Turkey's participation to international peace missions (previous participations and recent one in Lebanon), as first. Then, OIC Malaysia Summit and the reputable position of Turkey with the membership negotiations of the EU are mentioned. From this context, the aim of the UN Security Council temporary membership is referred for the first time.
- 3) **September 28 & October 31 & November 30 & 2006 speeches:** September³⁴² and October 2006³⁴³ speeches have no foreign policy mention within them; the references are on investments and reforms of JDP for Turkey. November speech has 33% of itself on foreign policy, with NATO

³⁴¹ “Başbakan Erdoğan'ın ‘Ulusa Sesleniş’ Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, August 30, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/5916>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁴² “Başbakan Erdoğan'ın ‘Ulusa Sesleniş’ Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, September 28, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2548>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁴³ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni: Milletimiz, Anayasal Rejimine de, Demokratik, Laik Cumhuriyetine de Sadakatle Bağlıdır [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Address to the Nation Speech: The Public Is Attached To Its Constitutional Regime, To Its Democratic Secular Republic With Loyalty]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, October 31, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni-mille/6469>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

Summit in Riga and the summits held in Turkey.³⁴⁴ Vision and principles of JDP for Turkish foreign policy fills the most of the speech.

- 4) **December 29, 2006 & January 30 & February 28, 2007 speeches:** December 2006,³⁴⁵ January³⁴⁶ and February 2007³⁴⁷ speeches include very low foreign policy references within them, on average 11 % of them. The issues in these speeches are 1) the sign of the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum Railroad Project, 2) the inauguration of the Bolu Tunnel of Turkey with Italian PM Romano Prodi, and 3) participation of the Jeddah Economic Forum. Rest of the issues are the trips abroad to Georgia, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Russia and visits to Turkey from Blair, Musharraf and Olmert. The year of 2007 is declared as the Year of Rumi by the UNESCO, and the Alliance of Civilizations come to the stage of action.
- 5) **March 30 & April 30 & May 30, 2007 speeches:** March,³⁴⁸ April³⁴⁹ and May 2007³⁵⁰ speeches contain no mentions on foreign issues of Turkey. While the July general election is coming, the mentions are on economic

³⁴⁴ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, November 30, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/5989> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁴⁵ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, December 29, 2006, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6066> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁴⁶ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, January 30, 2007, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/5961> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁴⁷ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, February 28, 2007, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2664> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁴⁸ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, March 30, 2007, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/5512> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁴⁹ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, April 30, 2007, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2189> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁵⁰ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, May 30, 2007, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6142> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

bettering, the “Çanakkale spirit”³⁵¹ of Turkey, the investments done in last 5 years, and the future provision for the 100th year of Turkey Republic. There is no June speech, because of the legal regulation,³⁵² in August and September also do not have speeches due to the same regulation, before October 2007 Referendum.

- 6) **December 30, 2006 & January 31, 2007 speeches:** December 2007 speech has its 20 %;³⁵³ January 2008 speech uses 28% of it, for foreign issues.³⁵⁴ In these two months, there are too many foreign policy activities of government of Turkey, however, these take quite few place in whole of the speeches. As more popular ones, there is the inauguration of Greek-Turkish Natural Gas Pipeline project in December; 1st Alliance of Civilizations Forum hold in Spain and Greek PM Karamanlis visit Turkey (after 49 years of a visit of a Greek PM to Turkey) in January.
- 7) **March 1, 2008:** The February 2008 speech of Erdoğan contains quite half of it (52%) for foreign policy.³⁵⁵ There is the cross-border air operation hold in this month with a GNAT authorization. The Germany trip, the fire in Ludwigshafen that affected a Turkish family in the immolated building, and the recognition of newly-established Kosovo are other topics in the speech. The weight of foreign policy in this speech could be sourced from the terrorism, PKK camps in North Iraq and the cross-border operation of Turkey.

³⁵¹ “Çanakkale Spirit” refers the Dardanelles Defense of Ottoman state in 1917, today which means the unity of Turkish citizens from diverse ethnicities.

³⁵² “Başbakan ve Bakanlara İlişkin Yasaklar, Madde 65 [Prohibits of Prime Minister and Ministers, Article 65]”, *298 Numaralı Seçimlerin Temel Hükümleri ve Seçmen Kütükleri Hakkında Kanun [The Code of the Fundamental Provision of Elections and the Voter Registries]*, 26/04/1961.

³⁵³ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, December 30, 2007, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/5271> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁵⁴ “Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, January 31, 2008, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6206> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁵⁵ “Ak Parti Genel Başkanı ve Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of JDP Chairman and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, March 1, 2008, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/ak-parti-genel-baskani-ve-basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-ko/5065> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

- 8) **March 30 & April 30, 2008 speeches:** The March³⁵⁶ and April 2008 speeches have quite low foreign policy mentions in them – 17 % in March and zero rate in April.³⁵⁷ In March, there are the Bosnia & Herzegovina, Albania and Bulgaria trips of Erdoğan, and strengthened relations with those countries. In April 2008, the main theme of the speech is the economy, global mortgage crisis and their effect to Turkey. In May 2008, there is no *Address to the Nation* speech, this could be related with the closure case against JDP in this month.
- 9) **June 29, 2008:** The intriguing topic is the developing defense industry and technology and defense equipments' export of Turkey; apart from the usual topics of 1) being concerned with world and peace issues after a good-working economy (of Turkey, surely) and 2) Europe and the EU contacts of Turkey.³⁵⁸ With this, defense part finds place in Turkey's foreign policy activities for the first time. These take 23 % of the total speech.
- 10) **July 31, 2008:** This speech has its 40 % for foreign activities of Turkey.³⁵⁹ The trip to Paris for the EU meetings (Barcelona: Union for Mediterranean), the trip to Iraq for High Level Strategic Cooperation Council, and the trip to North Cyprus for its national July 20 celebrations are some of the activities. The Iraq visit of Erdoğan is the one by a Turkish PM after 18 years, and includes the economic closing with that country. The infrastructure

³⁵⁶ “Ak Parti Genel Başkanı ve Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of JDP Chairman and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, March 30, 2008, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/ak-parti-genel-baskani-ve-basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasin-ta/2773> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁵⁷ “Ak Parti Genel Başkanı ve Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of JDP Chairman and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, April 30, 2008, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/ak-parti-genel-baskani-ve-basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasin-ta/2780> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁵⁸ “Ak Parti Genel Başkanı ve Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of JDP Chairman and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, June 29, 2008, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/ak-parti-genel-baskani-ve-basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasin-ta/5090> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁵⁹ “Ak Parti Genel Başkanı ve Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of JDP Chairman and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, July 31, 2008, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/ak-parti-genel-baskani-ve-basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasin-ta/6235> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

investment to the TRNC by this government is also told pretty detailed. As last, news from defense industry of Turkey is detailed more in this speech, with the ALTAY battle tank of Turkey.

11) **August 30, 2008:** August 2008 comes with the Georgia-Russia War.³⁶⁰

Calmness is offered to both laterals of this war, and Turkey is willing to help any peace efforts, within this tension of the region. Also, a Caucasus Cooperation Platform for preventing this kind of stress is suggested to Russia and Georgia, by Turkey. As different from the regular EU and Cyprus issues of Turkish foreign policy, a Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit hold in Istanbul. According to the speech, the visits from Bahrain, Iran, Romania, Iraq and Syria about the regional peace, the Africa Summit, and the peace efforts of Turkey in Georgian War are the helpful points for UN Security Council temporary membership contribution.

12) **September 25 & October 30 & November 30, 2008 speeches:** In

September 2008, the speech has no foreign policy reference, the main theme is the global economic crisis and stability of Turkey.³⁶¹ October 2008 speech is quite notable, the temporary membership of UN Security Council is achieved.³⁶² The interesting part is the size of this (quite) performance; this is the only foreign policy mention in this speech, and it takes only 3% of total October 2008 speech. The November 2008 speech is the last one before 2009 local election, it has 34% of it on foreign policy.³⁶³ It has a quite busy agenda; except from various visits from abroad, the remarkable topics are that 1) the

³⁶⁰ “Ak Parti Genel Başkanı ve Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of JDP Chairman and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, August 30, 2008, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/ak-parti-genel-baskani-ve-basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-ta/2870> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁶¹ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, September 28, 2008, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/4975> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁶² “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, October 30, 2008, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/4939> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁶³ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, November 30, 2008, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/2918> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

G-20 membership of Turkey due to its economy's stability in the global crisis circumstance, 2) the diplomatic efforts of attracting the Gulf capital, and 3) the inauguration of the Alliance of Civilizations Hall in UN Geneva building.

- 13) **May 2, 2009:** The first *Address to the Nation* speech after 2009 local election is in May 2, 2009, instead of April speech.³⁶⁴ 47% of total speech is used for foreign policy and global/international economy-politics. As first, closing relations with the US is seen on Obama visit to Ankara and on the intelligence collaboration of Turkey & the US & Iraq. NATO Summit and 2nd Alliance of Civilizations Forum are held in Turkey, some EU countries' PMs and ministers hosted in Turkey. Probably, the most considerable topic is the initiative of "normalization" with Armenia. This is intriguing for examining in following speeches.
- 14) **May 30, 2009:** In this speech, the 56% of 2770 words of total speech is reserved for foreign policy.³⁶⁵ The topics are quite fresh but not so wide; energy focus is observable through Russia and Azerbaijan relations. Also, there is the first trip to Poland at the level of PM in all republic history of Turkey.
- 15) **June 30 & July 29 & August 26, 2009 speeches:** June 2009 speech has its 33% for foreign policy.³⁶⁶ The main and only topic is the EU membership process and the insistence of the government on membership process. In comparison with June speech, July 2009 has quite intense topics, with less place (28%) of foreign policy within the whole speech.³⁶⁷ The sign of

³⁶⁴ "Başbakan Erdoğan'ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan's Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, May 2, 2009 <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6353> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁶⁵ "Başbakan Erdoğan'ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan's Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, May 30, 2009, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6357> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁶⁶ "Başbakan Erdoğan'ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan's Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, June 30, 2009, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6374> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁶⁷ "Başbakan Erdoğan'ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan's Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, July 29, 2009, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6380> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

NABUCCO Project, mine clearing along Syrian border of Turkey, and starting to the taxation title in EU adjustment process are the remarkable topics from the speech. The August 2009 speech has no mention that may be related with foreign policy.³⁶⁸ The focus of the speech is being together again terrorism within the country.

- 16) **October 1, 2009:** In September 2009 speech, 32% of the total speech is reserved for foreign policy issues.³⁶⁹ The first issue is the protocols with Armenia which is about the willingness of peace between countries. Then, the visa-free circulation between Syria and Turkey is activated. Active and peace-focused foreign policy approach of Turkey is mentioned, lastly. Here, the principals of JDP foreign policy are mentioned for the first time in 2006-2010 period of JDP.
- 17) **October 31, 2009:** 54% of October 2009 speech is referred for foreign policy.³⁷⁰ There are 1) the details of protocols with Armenia, 2) the visits from Greece, Slovakia, Finland, Macedonia, Iraq, Syria, Bosnia & Herzegovina and Georgia executives, 3) two international meetings in Turkey, and 4) the mention for non-armament topics in foreign policy part of the speech.
- 18) **November 26, 2009:** November and December 2009, January and February 2010 speeches have quite low foreign policy parts within their totals. In November 2009, 20% of total speech mentions that 1) friendly Italy and

³⁶⁸ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, August 26, 2009, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6387>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁶⁹ “AK Parti Genel Başkanı ve Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of JDP Chairman And Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, October 1, 2009, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/ak-parti-genel-baskani-ve-basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-ko/6391>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁷⁰ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, October 31, 2009, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasi/6410>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

regional Iran, Syria, Iraq contacts with their executives, 2) Erdoğan's trip to Libya and 3) the visitors from Germany, Sweden, Jordan and the UK.³⁷¹

19) **December 30, 2009:** December 2009 has 16% of total speech for foreign issues.³⁷² This is quite an assessment about 2009, it has the topics of 1) start of environment title in EU adjustment process, 2) Obama visit to Turkey and the “model partnership” level of lateral relations, 3) 51 treaties with Syria and our refining relation, 4) some trips abroad, 5) 1st year of Gaza “*drama*”.

20) **January 29, 2010:** January 2010 has its 27% about foreign policy.³⁷³ The visa-free countries are increased through Libya, Albania, Tajikistan, Jordan and Lebanon after Syria. A JDP parliamentarian, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu is elected for the presidency of the European Parliament. Also, some trips abroad and some visits from abroad happen.

21) **February 26, 2010:** February 2010 includes its 27% of foreign policy.³⁷⁴ There is the Spain – Turkey Summit for bettering relations, and visa facilitation is agreed. Between Bosnia & Herzegovina, Serbia and Turkey, trilateral consultation meeting is done. Some foreign executive visitors are in Turkey, and Erdoğan has some trips abroad for some summits.

22) **March 30, 2010:** In the March 2010 speech, more than half of the speech (56%) is used for foreign topics.³⁷⁵ Most of this part contains the Armenian issue, and the intense emphasis of Erdoğan for the resolution by historians

³⁷¹ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın 26 Kasım 2009 Tarihli Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s November 26, 2009 Dated Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, November 26, 2009, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-26-kasim-2009-tarihli-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasi/6423>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁷² “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, December 30, 2009, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6438>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁷³ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, January 29, 2010, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6450>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁷⁴ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, February 26, 2010, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6460>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁷⁵ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, March 30, 2010, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6477>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

with historic records. There is the Saudi Arabia trip, a prize from king is gifted to the personality of Erdoğan. Also, some trips to the UK and to Germany are mentioned.

23) **May 1, 2010:** The April 2010 speech has 36% of its total, for foreign policy.³⁷⁶ There is the Armenian Bill in the House of Representatives of the US. Despite this, Erdoğan has a meeting with Sargsyan in the US, after the Nuclear Security Summit. Also, a France trip is there for the closing of “Turkish Season”, a conference in Bosnia is attended. The very point while ending this speech is that Erdoğan refers the visit of New Zealand PM for the Çanakkale Memorial of Turkish and Anzac martyrs, as an opposite reference of Armenian claims.

24) **May 28, 2010:** May 2010 speech has its 39% for foreign policy topics.³⁷⁷ As usual, there are too many visits from foreign countries and trips abroad. Then, there is the 1st Greek-Turkish High Level Strategic Cooperation Council in Athens. Some contacts in Latin America in the context of Alliance of Civilizations is another topic. Valuably, within 24 hours, there are 1) the uranium exchange agreement with Iran with the participation of Brazil, then 2) the contacts in Azerbaijan about the contributions of Turkey on Nagorno-Karabakh, 3) an inauguration of Turkish investment in Georgia and 4) the participation to the EU’s Latin & Caribbean Summit in Spain. Lastly, more mentions of a) increasing trips abroad bring the foreign investments and b) the public diplomacy institute of Turkey –which will work for the promotion of Turkey abroad- take place in this speech.

³⁷⁶ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşması [Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, May 1, 2010, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasi/6506> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁷⁷ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, May 28, 2010, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6526> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

APPENDIX 3 TO CHAPTER 2 SECTION 3

The Detailed Version of the *Address to the Nation* Speeches of June 2010 – January 2013

- 1) **June 29, 2010:** In first speech of this period, in June 2010, 59 % of the total speech is reserved for foreign issues.³⁷⁸ The topics are the Mavi Marmara Operation of Israel, 4 international organizations held in Turkey, 3 international organizations Turkey participated abroad, and the visits to Turkey and trips abroad. While Mavi Marmara crisis takes the 1/3 of foreign policy part, G-20 visit of Erdoğan and his contacts there in Canada covers more than Mavi Marmara incident's place. The Mavi Marmara issue was happened in the last day of previous month, and it caused the crisis period for Turkey and Israel till March 2013.³⁷⁹ However, in the direct speech to public, this topic was used with less emphasis than it was used in practice.
- 2) **September 20, 2010:** After 2 months break due to the 2010 Constitutional Changes Referendum, September 2010 speech replaces. This speech is available with its video format, and the first 7.09 minutes of the speech could be watched.³⁸⁰ Because of this situation, it is not possible to make a healthy analysis for this speech. Besides, the only foreign emphasis in this video part is the OECD president's visit to Turkey for congratulating the government for its economic stability and success. This only takes 1 % of the video part.
- 3) **October 29, 2010:** October 2010 is found in its video version, and the 34% of it emphasizes foreign issues.³⁸¹ The topics are the trips abroad and visits, the international organizations Turkey participated, and preciously the

³⁷⁸ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, June 29, 2010, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6582>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁷⁹ “Mavi Marmara: İsrail Türkiye’den Özür Diledi [Mavi Marmara: Israel Apologised From Turkey]”, *BBC Türkçe [BBC Turkish]*, March 22, 2013, http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2013/03/130322_israil_turkiye_ozur.shtml, accessed on April 14, 2013.

³⁸⁰ “20100929_2200.264”, *Address to the Nation Speech – September 2010*, Kanal 7 Archive.

³⁸¹ “20101029_2300.264”, *Address to the Nation Speech – October 2010*, Kanal 7 Archive.

improvisations in Turkish defense industry. November and December 2010 speeches could not be found in any format.

- 4) **January 28, 2011:** The first speech of 2011, January 2011 has its 13 % for the topics of foreign trips, the TICCA activities done abroad, the Universiade organization done in Erzurum, visa-free travel regulation and the High Level Economic Cooperation Council with Ukraine, and the European Capital of Culture Istanbul.³⁸²
- 5) **February 28, 2011:** Before the June 2011 general elections, there is one more speech of February 2011.³⁸³ This has its 43 % for foreign topics, of the Kyrgyzstan trip, the Syrian friendship barrage on Asi River, and the voidance of Turkish citizens and other requesting countries' citizens from Libya. Also, it is seen the foreign policy vision of JDP in global peace context, in this speech. There is no mention that this one is the last speech before general elections in terms of laws, however no other records could be found till the election. With this, there is no intense emphasis of domestic investments and developing process under JDP governments, like done on previous elections' last pre-election speeches.
- 6) **July 30, 2011:** July 2011 speech has its 12 % for foreign topics of 1) TRNC July 20 Celebration, the reiteration of UN solution suggestion on Cyprus, 2) the Azerbaijan trip of Erdoğan which underlines the fraternity of both countries, 3) the Youth Olympics in Trabzon.³⁸⁴
- 7) **August 28, 2011:** August 2011 speech has 41 % of its total as reserved to foreign politics.³⁸⁵ The mentions are on the Turkish humanitarian aid to

³⁸² “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, January 28, 2011, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/6995>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁸³ “Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Ulusa Sesleniş Konuşmasının Tam Metni [Full Text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, February 28, 2011, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdoganin-ulusa-seslenis-konusmasinin-tam-metni/7079>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁸⁴ “Başbakan Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, July 30, 2011, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi/11351>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁸⁵ “Başbakan Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, August 28, 2011, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi1/12236>, accessed on March 4, 2013.

Somalia, on the directions that Turkey initiated in international organizations and community, on the touches to the Arab Spring countries' situations, on the recognition of Libya's new administration, and on the 2020 Olympic Games candidacy of Turkey via the fraternity of sports. The very point is the first touch to Syrian administration on taking care of democratic requests of public.

- 8) **October 30, 2011:** While September 2011 records could not be found, October 2011 has only 4 % of it for 1) the visit of Nechervan Barzani to Turkey, 2) Massoud Barzani's telephone call to Ankara in terms of terror in region and 3) the meeting with Iran Minister of Foreign Affairs about the regional issues.³⁸⁶
- 9) **November 29, 2011:** In November, nearly half of total speech (47 %) refers the foreign issues.³⁸⁷ The topics are some international organizations held in Turkey, some trips to Germany and France for G-20 meetings. Two points come forward in this speech; the tougher approach to Esad while touching to Syrian public riot, and the strong emphasis on JDP foreign policy's principles and vision. Also, under these flashlight points, it could be evaluated the message about Egypt presidency elections.
- 10) **December 30, 2011:** December 2011 has its 40 % for foreign topics.³⁸⁸ The topics include the Syrian and Iraqi conflicts within those countries, and, the French parliamentary decision about the 1915 Armenian Incidents. Here, both on touching Iraqi & Syrian & French attitudes, it is clearly seen the clarification of JDP foreign policy principles- *Zero-Problem with Neighbors*, namely and mostly.

³⁸⁶ "Başbakan Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, October 30, 2011, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi3/15288> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁸⁷ "Başbakan Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, November 29, 2011, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi4/16629> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁸⁸ "Başbakan Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, December 30, 2011, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi5/18229> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

- 11) **January 30, 2012:** New year's first speech, January 2012 is contained the 17 % of its total word number for foreign issues.³⁸⁹ This speech has 1) the meeting with Saakashvili of Georgian & Turkish sailors saved from Somalian pirates, 2) the visits of Kyrgyz president, and some ministers and officials from South Korea, Iran and Iraq. The very point in this speech is the remind of the JDP foreign policy principles about the French position on the 1915 Armenian Incidents and about the ethnicity- and sectarian-focused problems in Syria and Iraq.
- 12) **March 31, 2012:** While there is no record that could be reached for February 2012, the March 2012 speech has its 37 % for foreign policy.³⁹⁰ The topics are Nuclear Safety Summit in South Korea, the contacts with Iran about its nuclear program, World Athletics Championship in Istanbul, the lost (deaths) of 12 Turkish soldier in ISAF in a helicopter accident, and Syria's failure on implementing UN's Envoy of Syria Annan's plan of ceasefire. There are no April and May records that could be found.
- 13) **June 30, 2012:** June 2012 includes its 25 % for foreign policy.³⁹¹ There are 1) Syria's downing of Turkish aircraft over Mediterranean Sea, 2) G-20 meeting in Mexico, 3) the UN Sustainable Development Conference in Brazil, 4) BSEC Summit in Turkey, and lastly, 5) the projection of the TANGP with Azerbaijan. The point, the Syrian downing does not take a large place within the speech, while the issue was a sounding issue on those days. Also, there is the not-driven position of Turkish government, against the hot and pushy Syria action.

³⁸⁹ "Başbakan Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, January 30, 2012, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi6/19588> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁹⁰ "Başbakan Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, March 31, 2012, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi7/22265> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁹¹ "Başbakan Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]", *Address to the Nation Speech*, June 30, 2012, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi9/28102> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

- 14) **July 31, 2012:** July 2012 speech has most of it for foreign policy, with 77 % of total word number.³⁹² Syria and the Arakan (Rohingya) people that suffer from state oppressions are the first topic; then, the 2012 London Olympics is also mentioned. Here, it is precisely seen the vision and principles of the JDP foreign policy, through the Syrian problem. The instability in region affects Turkey's economy and tourism. This puts Turkey to an opposite position of the conflicts in the region, with the special precision of Turkey on humanitarian and civilian violence, according to this speech. Following months of August and September 2012 records could not be founded.
- 15) **October 31, 2012:** October 2012 includes 5 % of its total for foreign touches on Syrian, Rohingya, Iraqi and Gazan violence on Islamic celebration days.³⁹³ The November record is available in internet, however it could not be opened-unavailable in practice.
- 16) **December 29, 2012:** December 2012 speech contains 24 % of its total word number for foreign policy.³⁹⁴ Its topics are 1) the defense industry of Turkey, 2) the self-production of Turkish satellite and the targets on this area, 3) the official signing of TANGP, 4) the nuclear central targets of this government for producing own energy for Turkey, and lastly 5) the water supply pipeline and electrical line to TRNC from Turkey.
- 17) **January 31, 2013:** Last speech is founded in video format, in January 2013.³⁹⁵ The total speech takes 21.22 minutes. The name of *Address to the Nation* speech is changed into the *Towards the Service of the Nation*.³⁹⁶ The 5.30 minutes of total video is reserved for foreign policy-corresponding to 26

³⁹² “Başbakan Erdoğan Ulusa Seslendi [Prime Minister Erdoğan Had Address to the Nation Speech]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, July 31, 2012, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-ulusa-seslendi10/29356> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁹³ “Türkiye’yi 2023 Hedefleriyle Buluşturacağız [We Will Meet Turkey With Its 2023 Goals]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, October 31, 2012, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/turkiyeyi-2023-hedefleriyle-bulusturacagiz/33007> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁹⁴ “Gerçeğe Dönüştüremeyeceğimiz Hayal Yok [There Is No Vision That We Can Not Make Real]”, *Address to the Nation Speech*, December 29, 2012, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/gercee-donutiremeyeceimiz-hayal-yok/35748> , accessed on March 4, 2013.

³⁹⁵ “20130201_0000.264”, *Towards the Service of the Nation – January 2013*, Kanal 7 Archive.

³⁹⁶ “Ulusa Sesleniş’in Adı Millete Hizmet Yolunda Oldu [Name of ‘Address to the Nation’ Was Changed Into ‘Towards The Service of the Nation’]”, *Radikal Politika [Radikal Politics]*, January 31, 2013, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/radikal.aspx?atype=radikaldetayv3&articleid=1119400&categoryid=78> , accessed on April 15, 2013.

% of total minutes. The main topic is the trip of Erdoğan to three African countries, which includes the increasing foreign trade numbers with those countries and Africa in general. Also, the trip to Qatar for meeting regional issues, and the meeting with Greek PM Samaras in Qatar are mentioned. Lastly, the visits from abroad to Turkey are referred. It is pointed the TICCA projects in Africa, the Turkish Airlines' direct flights to Africa and Turkish NGOs in Africa, too.

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