

**THE CHANGING ASIAN
DIMENSION IN TURKISH FOREIGN
POLICY SINCE 2003**

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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

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In this thesis, the Asian dimension in Turkish foreign policy has been studied. In so doing, since Asia as a whole covers many different countries grouped under different labels, and since for example the so-called Central Asian ones and Turkey's relations with them are known and studied well, this study will limit itself to some selected Asian states, located in the main at the Southern parts of the continent. These are eight: China, India, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. They were deliberately chosen because they are comparatively less studied than those Central Asian ones are, and because most of them have also recently assumed increasing importance, as far as their place in post-2003 Turkish foreign policy and relations is concerned.

In this way, an attempt has been made to put forward the Asian dimension in Turkish foreign policy. For this reason, the radical transformation of Turkish foreign policy has been viewed first. Accordingly, Turkish foreign policy before 2003 was characterized by a "siege mentality" which viewed Turkey as surrounded by the enemy. The foreign policy elite believed that Turkey was located in a region where everyone was at war with everyone else, as in a Hobbesian state of nature. Therefore, Turkey behaved closed within internal borders and so refused to follow a proactive foreign policy until 2003. Since 2003, with the ruling AK Party government and particularly with the influence of Davutoglu, the situation has begun to change. Davutoglu, who was the Prime Minister's Foreign Policy Advisor before becoming Minister of Foreign Affairs, is also the architect of the Turkish foreign policy of today. In this context, Turkey's Asian policy is evaluated.

In this analysis, the distance covered of Turkey's relations with Asian states since 2003 is presented. The development of Turkey's relations with the countries in the region has been believed to offer some advantages in many areas, especially in the economic field. In particular, Turkey has followed a multi-dimensional, proactive diplomacy, and desired to be a global actor since 2003. The development of Turkey's relations with Asia will play a critical role in achieving these goals. Besides, it is unthinkable that the great powers and states having great vision will remain indifferent the fact that the world economic and political balance of power has shifted to Asia. As such, as presented in this research, Turkey has developed bilateral relations with Asian states and multilateral relations with international organizations in the region since 2003.

Key words: Turkish Foreign Policy, Asia, South Asia, International Organizations, Turkey's Asian policy, Turkey's relations with Asian countries.

KISA ÖZET

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Mart 2010

Bu arařtırmada, Türkiye'nin Asya politikası ele alınmıřtır. Ancak, Asya'nın bir bütün olarak ele alınması yerine bugüne kadar üzerinde en az çalışılmıř olan ve Orta Asya politikası alanında çok fazla çalışıldıđından dolayı Güney Asya kısmı üzerinde durulmuřtur. Bununla birlikte, arařtırmada sadece Güney Asya ülkeleriyle yetinilmemiř, Orta Asya ve Pasifik'ten üzerinde az çalışılan ülkeler olan Afganistan, Pakistan ve Japonya ülkeleriyle iliřkilerde bilinçli olarak tercih edilmiřtir. Ayrıca, bir yüksek lisans tezinin sınırları göz önünde tutularak Türkiye'nin Asya ile iliřkilerinin sekiz ülke çerçevesinde ele alınması uygun görülmüřtür. Bunlar: Çin, Japonya, Hindistan, Güney Kore, Endonezya, Malezya, Pakistan ve Afganistan'dır.

Bu řekilde Türk Dıř Politikasının Asya boyutu ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıřtır. Bunun için öncelikle, Türk dıř politikasındaki radikal dönüşüm ele alınmıřtır. Buna göre Türk dıř politikası başlangıçtan 2003 yılına kadar kendi içine kapalı sınırları dıřında proaktif politika izlemeyen, kuřatılmıřlık zihniyetiyle etrafının düşmanlarla çevrili olduđu sendromuyla yařayan Hobsçu bir devlet doğasına sahip bir Türk dıř politikasından 2003 yılından sonra Ak Parti hükümeti ve önce Bařbakanlık Dıř Politika Bař danıřmanı ve sonra Dıřiřleri Bakanı olan Davutođlu, ki bugün Türk Dıř politikasının mimarıdır, ile bařlayan dönüşüm çerçevesinde Asya politikası deđerlendirilmeye alınmıřtır.

Arařtırmada Türkiye'nin 2003 yılından itibaren Asya ülkeleriyle iliřkilerinin kat ettiđi masefe ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıř ve bölge ülkeleriyle Türkiye'nin iliřkilerini geliřtirmesinin bařta ekonomik olmak üzere birçok alanda Türkiye'ye avantajlar sunacađı görülmüřtür. Özellikle, 2003 yılından itibaren çok yönlü bir politika ile proaktif diplomasi izleyen ve böylece küresel aktör olma hedefiyle hareket eden Türkiye'nin Asya ile iliřkilerini geliřtirmesinin bu hedeflere ulařmada kritik rol oynayacađı ortaya konulmuřtur. Zaten dünya ekonomik ve siyasi güç dengesinin Asya'ya kaymaya bařladıđı bu yıllarda büyük vizyon sahibi ülkelerin Asya'ya kayıtsız kalması düşünülemez. Bu anlamda arařtırmada, Türkiye'nin 2003 yılından itibaren Asya ülkeleriyle ikili ve bölgedeki uluslararası örgütlerle çok taraflı iliřkilerini geliřtirdiđi görülecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Dıř Politikası, Asya, Güney Asya, Uluslararası Örgütler,

Türkiye'nin Asya Politikası, Türkiye'nin Asya Ülkeleriyle İliřkileri.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACD	The Asia Cooperation Dialogue
ACHR	Asian Centre for Human Rights
AK Party	The Justice and Development Party, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi
ANP	Awami National Party, Pakistan
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	The Association of Southeast Asian Nations
B.C.	Before Christ
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CICA	Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia
COI	The Indian Ocean Commission
D-8	The Developing 8 Countries
EAEC/EurAsEC	The Eurasian Economic Community
EAS	The East Asian Summit

ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
GNI	Gross national income
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
INGOs	International Nongovernmental Organizations
IOR-ARC	The Indian Ocean Rim-Association for Regional Cooperation
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
JUI-F	Jamiat Ulema-i- Islami- Fazlur Rehman Party, Pakistan
LDP	The Liberal Democratic Party, Japan
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement Party, Pakistan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIC	The Organisation of the Islamic Conference
OPEC	The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PM	Prime Minister
PML-N	Nawaz Party, Pakistan
PML-Q	Quaid-i-Azam Party, Pakistan
PPP	Pakistan People's Party

PRC	The People's Republic of China
SAARC	The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
SDPJ	Social Democratic Party of Japan
STSC	Summit of Turkish-speaking countries
TAF	The Turkish Armed Forces
TFP	Turkish Foreign Policy
TIKA	Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency
THY	Turkish Airlines
TOBB	The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey
TSCFBCC	Turkic States and Communities Friendship, Brotherhood, and Cooperation Council
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	The World Trade Organization

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, the Asian dimension in Turkish foreign policy has been studied. In so doing, since Asia as a whole covers many different countries grouped into different regions, and since, for example, the so-called Central Asian ones and Turkey's relations with them are known and studied well, this study will limit itself to some selected Asian states, located in the main in the Southern part of the continent. These are eight: China, India, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. They were deliberately chosen because they are comparatively less studied than the Central Asian ones are. Also, most of them have recently assumed increasing importance as far as their places in post-2003 Turkish foreign policy and relations are concerned.

In this analysis, it has been attempted to display the distance covered of Turkey's relations with Asian states since 2003. The development of Turkey's relations with the countries in the region has been believed to offer some advantages in many areas, especially in the economic field in particular. For instance, Turkey has followed a multi-dimensional, proactive diplomacy, and desiring to be a global actor since 2003. The development of Turkey's relations with Asia will play a critical role in achieving these goals. Besides, it is unthinkable that the great powers and states having great vision are able to remain indifferent to the fact that the world's economic and political balance of power has shifted to Asia. As such Turkey has developed

bilateral relations with Asian states and multilateral relations with international organizations in the region since 2003, which is shown in this research.

In this way, it has been attempted to put forward the Asian dimension in Turkish foreign policy in this analysis. For this reason, the radical transformation of Turkish foreign policy is shown first. In this context, it should be noted that Turkish foreign policy before 2002 appears to have had a siege mentality that perceives Turkey as being surrounded by the enemy, and accordingly, the foreign policy elite believed that Turkey was situated in a region where everyone seemed to be at war with everyone else, just as would be the case in a Hobbesian state of nature. Consequently, Turkey remained closed within its borders and so declined to follow proactive foreign policy until 2003. Since 2003, with the ruling AK Party government and particularly with Davutoglu, who served first as the Prime Minister's Foreign Policy Advisor, then as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and also is the architect of Turkish foreign policy today, there has emerged and gradually evolved a transformation of Turkish foreign policy. The AK Party's foreign policy vision and applications, when compared to previous Turkish foreign policy understandings, are very different from traditional Turkish foreign policy. Nevertheless, the AK Party's foreign policy is similar to that of the Özal era in method and practical implementations to some extent. In this context, Turkey's Asian policy will be evaluated in the course of this Turkish foreign policy.

This thesis consists of six chapters: the first chapter is the introduction, the second is on Turkish foreign policy, the third is on Asia in global politics and major states in Asia, the fourth section is about Asia in Turkish foreign policy, the fifth is on Turkey's relations with Southern Asian States, and the last one is arranged as a conclusion. In the introduction, the purpose and scope of the study and the circumstances that led to its formulation are explained. It is expected that this study can contribute to the field of Turkey's Asian policy. This topic is of interest because it is a lesser studied field in Turkish foreign policy.

Furthermore, the Turkish foreign policy section has presented the transformation of Turkish foreign policy with the new government (AK Party) and particularly as it has been influenced by the academician Davutoglu. That is to say, the evolution and characteristics of Turkish Foreign Policy (TFP) are explained with periodization.

In the chapter on Asia in global politics, Asian regional and global politics are summarily examined and then major states analyzed in a brief country-by-country study. The fourth section is focused on showing the Asian dimension in Turkish foreign policy and the dimension of international organizations as soft power diplomacy. In the part on Turkey's relations with the South Asian states, Turkey's relations with Asian countries are analyzed in detail, one by one. After that the consequences of this research are given in the concluding chapter.

In this thesis, historical analysis, power politics, and international political economy are used as research methods and frameworks for analysis. In the historical method, relations are analyzed in a historical process. In power politics, international politics are examined from a state-centric approach. Thus, intergovernmental relations are highlighted. In this respect, the level of analysis is the state. However, in a liberal approach, international organizations are added into the analysis. But mostly, the relations between states and international organizations are evaluated. This means that this dissertation is consigned to writing from a neorealist perspective. In the international political economy, international relations are studied from an economic perspective. That is to say, commercial relations are included in the analysis, particularly relations between states. In this study, mostly secondary literature is used, such as articles and books. In addition, primary sources are used such as documents of international organizations.

1. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY: A HISTORICAL REVIEW

In this section, the evolution and characteristics of Turkish Foreign Policy (TFP) are explained. Before identifying TFP, it should be noted that Turkey's geographical location largely determines its foreign policy. Turkey is located both in Europe and in Asia. In addition, Turkey is surrounded by seas which have played a fundamental role in history and continue to do so at present. Therefore, Turkey is a Black Sea Region and a Mediterranean country, as well as a Balkan and Caucasian country. Generally speaking, Turkey could be called a half-European half-Asian country.

1.1. Turkish Foreign Policy until 2002

To give a brief historical background of TFP in four phases, they may be separated as follows: 1923-1939, 1945-1989, 1990-2001, and 2002-until the present. In the first years of the Republic, TFP was based upon Western values in terms of ideological aspects. During that time, Turkey was trying to externally consolidate its independence and territorial integrity through treaties of partnership. In this regard, TFP was based upon neutrality and a balance of power which came from Ottoman

Empire. But in terms of ideological aspects, Kemalist ideology rejected the country's Ottoman past¹.

The main characteristic of TFP came out of the formation of the Turkish Republic, and this term could be defined as traditional Turkish foreign policy. The fundamental principles of TFP at that time are the status quo, continuity, caution and conservatism². Neutrality was a continuity principle of TFP used in order to consolidate Turkey's territorial integrity and the sovereignty of the Republic of Turkey. With the status quo principle, Turkey implemented an anti-revisionist policy (with exceptions for the Hatay and Cyprus issues). And this status quo principle made TFP static. In addition, TFP relied on a balance of power with the status quo. Conservativist principles were, naturally, sensitive to any change and transformation.

Therefore, total change was rejected and this principle referred to traditional foreign policy. For instance, in the coming years, the end of the "Cold War" changed the environment and this affected not only the international balance but also national foreign policy. At that time Turkey found it difficult to adapt to the new environment, which indicated how conservative TFP was.

¹ Nicholas, Danfurth, "Ideology and Pragmatism in Turkish Foreign Policy: From Atatürk to the AKP", *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol.7, No.3, 2009, p.85.

² Ahmet Sözen, "Changing Fundamental Principles in Turkish Foreign Policy Making", *Paper prepared for presentation at the 2006 Annual Conference of the International Studies Association in San Diego, USA, March 22 – 25, March 2006*, p. 2.

Turkey was born from the experiences of the Ottoman Empire and saw itself as surrounded by enemies³. This perception –turned paranoia- became established in the mentality of, not only decision makers, but also the general public.. It even made its way into a proverb: “Turks have no friends other than Turks.” This Turkish way of thinking connoted a Hobbesian understanding. Namely, TFP had initially formed a realist framework of international relations. It could be identified as “Kemalist ideology in TFP”.

To summarize TFP principles in the first phase:

1. The Status quo
2. Continuity
3. Conservatism
4. Balance of Power
5. Surrounded by enemies

In the Cold War era, Turkey implemented an integration policy with the West. In this concern, Turkey became a founding member of the OECD (1948), a member of the Council of Europe (1949) and of NATO (1952). Turkey preferred to integrate with the West for the consolidation of its security against the Soviet threat. In the Cold War, membership with NATO and US alliance were at the center of Turkish foreign

³ Ekrem Eddy Güzeldere, “Turkish Foreign Policy: From “Surrounded by Enemies” to “Zero Problems”, *C•A•P Policy Analysis* • 1 • 2009. p. 14.

policy making. Turkey had significant strategic importance on behalf of the West, in particular for the US⁴.

In the Cold War period, geopolitics was a fundamental factor in the determination of TFP. Turkey had gained strategic importance thanks to its geopolitics. And Turkey became the “gendarme” of NATO in the south against the USSR⁵.

To summarize TFP principles in the second phase (The Cold War):

1. Geopolitics
2. Strategic importance
3. Western Ally
4. NATO’s gendarme role

In the Post-Cold War era, TFP altered and new principles emerged. The collapse of the Soviet Union opened up new horizons and new areas which were previously closed for Turkey. Turkish foreign policy in the Ozal period changed in terms of method and practice. First, Ozal left the state bureaucracy of foreign affairs and preferred personal advisors in external relations. These advisors acted as diplomats. Ozal wanted to take advantage of the personal connections of his consultants in external affairs. Methodically, Ozal implemented pragmatist policies such as he used in the Gulf crisis. In this event, Ozal approached the problem that is put one and take

⁴ Mustafa Aydın, “Turkish Foreign Policy at the end of the Cold War: Roors and Dynamics”, *Turkish Yearbook of International Relations*, Vol. XXXVI, 2005, p. 2.

⁵ Nasuh Uslu, *The Turkish-American relationship between 1947 and 2003: The History of a Distinctive Alliance*, Nova Press, New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2003, p. 125.

five. Thus this perspective is pragmatist and uses short term evaluation, whereas foreign policy is long term assessment and the interest of the state is the priority. The most important of Ozal's actions is that he acted as foreign minister and took initiative. Ozal believed that economic instruments would solve the questions of foreign policy. In this sense, the AKP's foreign policy today is similar to that of the Ozal period. In Ozal's time, Turkey enthusiastically set out as a leader and as a sort of big brother of Turkish states in Central Asia and the Caucasus. But Turkey had moved very modestly in Central Asia, especially after 1993, because of the cautious and conservative character of TFP that was a "tradition" in TFP coming from the beginning of the Cold War Era. However, by and because of the end of Cold War, Turkey lost its strategic importance. Turkey had been bargaining its strategic location to the West during the Cold War. But now, Turkey has come to feel itself alone in its foreign policy⁶. This perception in Turkish policy-making circles brought threat-focused policy implementation. Thus, Turkey has emphasized its location near the conflict area⁷.

To summarize TFP principles in the third phase (post-Cold War):

1. Losing strategic importance
2. Threat-focused view of world

⁶ Idris Bal, *Turkish Foreign Policy in Post Cold War Era*, Boca Raton, FL:BrownWalker Press, USA, 2004, p. 227.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

As a result, Turkish foreign policy has been evaluated in principle-oriented terms instead of periodic as seen.

1.2. Changing Dimensions of Turkish Foreign Policy since 2003

The Justice and Development Party (AK Party) won the 2002 elections with two-thirds of the seats in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. It was after twelve years of a coalition government (1991-2002) that Turkey was once again ruled by a one-party government. The AK Party government came to power calling for more democratization, not only in domestic politics but also in foreign and security politics. Notwithstanding this fact, the AK Party followed a pro-Western foreign policy. In the AK Party government, Davutoğlu became the chief adviser of the Prime Ministry in 2002. Since then, the author of *Strategic Depth*, Davutoğlu, is known as the architect of Turkey's current foreign policy, aiming at making Turkey a regional and global actor. Later, he became the foreign minister of Turkey on May 1, 2009.

In Davutoglu's best-selling book⁸ *Stratejik Derinlik* (Strategic Depth), he formulated a new Turkish foreign policy. According to Davutoğlu, the new Turkish foreign policy will be a more multi-dimensional stance with reference to Turkey's historical and religio-cultural characteristics. This new foreign policy concept and vision is

⁸ Ahmet Davutoğlu, *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu*, İstanbul: Küre yayınları, 2001, p. 24.

based upon, not only geopolitical, but also cultural terms. According to Davutoglu, Turkey should take more initiative in regional and global politics⁹. As such, Davutoglu developed the new approach for more regional cooperation in Turkish foreign policy.

Davutoglu's foreign policy vision and concepts are based on five fundamental foreign policy principles¹⁰:

1. Zero-problems with neighbors.
2. Multi-dimensional, multi-regional and multi-track policies.
3. Rhythmic diplomacy.
4. A new diplomatic discourse relying on firm-flexibility and soft power.
5. Balance between freedom and security.
6. De-securitization and democratization via foreign policy practices.

This new Turkish foreign policy could be called *Soft Power*. Someone even used the term "New Ottomanism" instead by mistake, or perhaps on purpose. This new foreign policy suggests paradigmatic shift in terms of vision. Namely, Davutoglu implements a vision-based strategy in the making of the new Turkish foreign policy. This vision is global, using terms such as Afro-Eurasia¹¹. And it is a radical move

⁹ Ahmet Davutoglu, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", Vol. 10, No.1 pp. 77-96, *Insight Turkey*, pp. 77-96, 2008, http://www.insightturkey.com/Insight_Turkey_10_1_A_Davutoglu.pdf.

¹⁰ Bülent Aras, "The Davutoglu era in Turkish foreign policy", *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 11, No. 3, July 2009, p. 132,

¹¹ Ahmet Davutoglu, *Stratejik Derinlik...*, p. 326.

from Kemalist foreign policy, which was dependent upon a defensive, clumsy, ahistorical, security-based and enemy-focused, minimalist, status quo, hesitant, and static foreign policy understanding.

In this respect, TFP gained activism and dynamism and began to be transformed. In this regard, it could easily be said that the new Turkish foreign policy is transformative¹². It transforms domestic politics and Turkey's vision in the global arena. That is to say, foreign policy practices transform Turkey. This transformation process has not only brought about a new era of foreign policy making, but also domestic policy making. It means that transformation is taking place regarding the democratization of Turkey with de-securitization¹³.

On the other hand, the new foreign policy principles, particularly the principle of having zero-problems with neighbors, aim to overcome the syndrome of feeling completely surrounded by enemy states (which Kemalist ideology had imposed). In this sense the most significant characteristics of Davutoğlu's foreign policy can be expressed as this radical departure from Kemalist foreign policy and a conspiracy theory approach. However it is evident that Davutoğlu's proactive, multipronged and peaceful foreign policy has been acknowledged by the whole world since 2003. Until

¹² Soli Özel, "Divining Davutoğlu: Turkey's Foreign Policy Under New Leadership", *GMFUS Analysis*, June 4, 2009, pp.1-3, p. 2http://www.gmfus.org/doc/Soli_Analysis_Turkey_0609_Final.pdf. Accessed on 17 May 2009.

¹³ Kemal Kirişçi, "Between Europe and the Middle East: The Transformation of Turkish Policy", *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, March 2004, Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 3, <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2004/issue1/jv8n1a4.html>. Accessed on 08 April 2009.

2003, Turkey was regarded as a country primarily concerned with security, and Turkish politicians had the perception that 13 of the 16 regions of Turkey were problematic areas¹⁴. Following the progress made, Turkey has emerged as an actor promoting security in its region and cooperation with its neighbors.

In conclusion, temporary United Nations Security Council (UNSC) membership, by enabling Turkey to overcome psychological limits, has played a crucial role in the level Turkish foreign policy has reached today. After a 60-year wait, Turkey's temporary UNSC membership has increased the country's status on the global stage. Thanks to this it has made important progress in the way to becoming a global actor as well. With its temporary UNSC membership, Turkish policy is of interest to global powers such as the US, the EU, China and Russia. Turkey also follows a policy of being both an active contributor and an initiator in global-scale projects, such as the Alliance of Civilizations and Nabucco. This also makes Turkey a global actor.

In this regard, Turkey has established a high profile on the international stage, which in turn has raised the bar and increased the expectations from Turkey. The philosophy of Turkish foreign policy can be explained as an approach to realize “Peace at Home, Peace in the World” by establishing a zone of peace in the region.

¹⁴ Itr Toksöz, “The Turkish Military’s Perception of Instability as an External Threat and Terrorism”, *Defence Against Terrorism Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Spring 2009, p. 4.

2. ASIA IN THE WORLD

2.1. Asia in Global Politics

In this section, main features of Asian politics are briefly explained for the purposes of global politics. The collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) ended the Cold War. The end of the Cold War and the demise of the USSR considerably changed global politics as well as Asian politics. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR in 1991 altered the character of the international political system and its regional subsystem. At the global level, the collapse of the Soviet Union ended the bipolarity system which was the form of the Cold War. Accordingly, the world entered a new era in global politics. At the regional level, the end of the Cold War changed the regional politics and foreign relations of states of this region. Following these events the geopolitical importance of Asia suddenly emerged in terms of energy resources, in particular. But this has caused rivalry between states that have interests in the region, which came out in the form of filling the power vacuum that was formed after the dissolution of the USSR¹⁵. After the end of Cold War, the second important landmark for Asian politics, was the 9/11 terror attacks which changed world politics, and Asian politics in particular. As a result of

¹⁵ David J. Dallin, *The Rise of Russia in Asia*, Hesperides Press, USA, 2008, p. 3.

this event, the US military entered Afghanistan and became the determinant actor in Asian politics¹⁶.



Map 1: Political Map of Asia

¹⁶ Olga Oliker, David A. Shlapak, *U.S. interests in Central Asia: policy priorities and military roles*, RAND Cooperation, NBN (National Book Network), USA, January 10, 2006, p. 24.

To understand Asian politics and the international relations of Asia, the roles of the great powers must be considered. The major great powers in Asia are the US, China, (still) Russia, Japan and India. In addition, regional powers such as Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan are determining actors in the region that also have an influence on the policy of the great powers¹⁷. Also, the newly independent Central Asian states are hub of natural resources. Especially, China and India have emerged as rising powers not only in Asia but also in the greater world.

At this point, the characteristic of Asian states is a determining factor in Asian politics, which are very different in terms of political, economic and cultural systems. Also, there are controversies in Asia. For instance, there are huge landmass countries and small ones. And in general Asian states have very diverse, mixed and nested populations. That is to say, the size and population of Asian states differ enormously, from micro to giant territorial states such as China and India. To sum up, there are major features of contemporary Asian politics which are different in terms of politics, economic systems, cultural diversity, ethnic divisions, values, and great civilizations¹⁸.

Concerning the geopolitics of oil in Asia, the demise of the Soviet Union caused the rise of intense political and commercial competition for control of the vast energy

¹⁷ Jonathan B. A. Bailey, *Great power strategy in Asia: empire, culture and trade, 1905-2005*, Routledge, New York and London, 2006, p. 157.

¹⁸ Kenneth Saunders, *Great Civilizations of Asia*, Delhi: Shubhi Publications, 2004, p. 236.

resources of particularly the newly independent and vulnerable states of the Central Asia. These energy resources became a geopolitical rivalry point in Asia. In this respect, this geopolitical competition defined a new or second great game. This game is twofold: first, it involves the struggle for control of the production of the oil and gas, and second, it is concerned with control of the pipelines which will transfer the oil to the Western or Asian markets. In a nutshell, energy resources are reshaping not only the geopolitical map in Asia, but also the political and economic future of Asian states¹⁹.

2.2. Profiles of the Major (Selected) States in Asia

As noted at the beginning, in Turkish foreign policy, instead of taking Asia as a whole, some selected South Asian countries are predominantly emphasized due to their having been narrowly and insufficiently studied. Therefore, these selected countries will be introduced briefly in this section.

2.2.1. China

The People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded in 1949. China is the world's most populous country; it has a population of 1.34 billion according to the UN's 2009 estimate. Its capital is Beijing and its area is 9.6 million sq. km.

¹⁹ Robert A. Manning, *The Asian Energy Factor: Myths and Dilemmas of Energy, Security and the Pacific Future*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, November 11, 2000, p. 263.



Map 2: China

In terms of ethnic groups, China has 55 different peoples. The majority of the population is classified as Han Chinese (1.1 billion), and other ethnic groups are the Zhuang (16.1 million), Manchu (10.6 million), Uygur (8.3 million), Mongol (5.8 million), Tibetan (5.4 million), Korean (1.9 million), Kazakh (1.2 million) etc. Major religions in China are Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and Taoism. Geographically, China is usually described as part of East Asia, and it is west of the Korean peninsula and insular Japan²⁰.

As for the characteristics of its government, the Chinese head of state is President Hu Jintao, who was elected by the National People's Congress in March 2003 and re-elected as president in March 2008. In addition, the vice-president is Xi Jinping, prime minister is Wen Jiabao, the foreign minister is Yang Jiechi, and the National People's Congress chairman is Wu Bangguo. Politically, China is a unitary and socialist state. The political system is led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). As

²⁰ Susan L. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 16.

a legislative branch, the National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power. And the government is led by the State Council (cabinet) that is headed by a premier who is Wen Jiabao since 2003.

Regarding foreign relations, Chinese foreign policy promotes peaceful development. China has boundary disputes with Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan, Vietnam, Japan, India, and regarding the South China Sea²¹.

In economic terms , the Chinese economy is the second largest in the world, after the US. In addition, China became a leader of exports in the world surpassing Germany²². And with their accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, China has implemented state capitalism. In energy, Chinese coal production is 2 billion tons, crude oil 175 million tons, and natural gas 41 million cubic meters. China can fulfill 13.5 percent of its oil requirements and 3.0 percent of its natural gas requirements. China is a major producer and consumer of energy resources²³. As for administrative divisions, China has 22 provinces, five autonomous regions, and four municipalities. The most important and problematic autonomous regions are Tibet, the Xinjiang Uygur province, and Inner Mongolia. China also has two special administrative regions of which Hong Kong is one. Hong Kong reverted from

²¹ Ibid., p. 154.

²² "Yeni lider Çin oldu", *Samanyoluhaber*, 10 January 2010, http://samanyoluhaber.com/h_341139_yeni-lider-cin-oldu.html. Accessed on 14 January 2010.

²³ Gabriel B. Collins, Andrew S. Erickson, Lyle J. Goldstein, and William S. Murray, *China's Energy Strategy: The Impact on Beijing's Maritime Policies*, Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, USA, 2008, p.324.

British control in 1997. China also claims Taiwan as a province²⁴. Finally, militarily, China has one of the biggest armies in the world. Its active-duty troop number approximately 2.3 million and its defense budget is approximately 35.1 billion dollars.

2.2.2. Japan

After its devastating defeat in World War II, Japan succeeded in becoming the second most powerful economy in the world and a staunch ally of the US. Its GNI per capita is 38,210 dollars²⁵. The most important point is that it has a very considerable role in the international economy which it is a major aid donor and a source of global capital and credit²⁶. The Japanese Population is 127.2 million and its major religions are Shintoism and Buddhism. Its area is 377,864 sq km²⁷ and its capital is Tokyo.

²⁴ Jae Ho Chung and Tao-chiu Lam, *China's Local Administration: Traditions and Changes in the Sub-national Hierarchy*, China Policy Series, Oct 29, 2009, p. 132.

²⁵ World Bank, 2008.

²⁶ David Leheny and Kay Warren, *Japanese Aid and the Construction of Global Development: Inescapable Solutions*, Routledge Contemporary Japan Series, New York and London, November 12, 2009, p. 216.

²⁷ UN, 2009



Map 3: Japan

Politically, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was in power for much of the country's post-war history, and Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama and his centre-left Democratic Party of Japan won the election in August 2009. Japan has a constitutional monarchy with the emperor as a symbol of state, and a parliamentary form of government. The Japanese civil law system is heavily influenced by British and American law. As for its political party system, in 1994, no party had a majority in the election, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) had a sizable plurality, followed by the Social Democratic Party of Japan (SDPJ). Other parties included: the Sakigake (Harbinger) Party, the Shinseito (Renewal Party), the Komeito (Clean Government Party), and the Japan New Party²⁸. In Japanese foreign relations, there has been tension with China and South Korea over Japan's wartime past.

²⁸ J. A. A. Stockwin, *Governing Japan*, Modern Governments, Wiley-Blackwell, USA, April 11, 2008, p. 187.

2.2.3. India

The Republic of India is the second most populous country (its population is 1.2 billion²⁹) and it emerged militarily and economically as a major power in the 1990s³⁰. It has nuclear power and it has a fast-growing and powerful economy that has a large and skilled workforce, but there is widespread poverty.

The capital of India is New Delhi and its area is 3.1 million sq km. The most-populated city in India is Mumbai (Bombay). Its major languages are Hindi, English and at least 16 other official languages, and its major religions are Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism.

In politics, Pratibha Patil became India's first female president in July 2007 and Manmohan Singh became the prime minister in May 2004.

²⁹ UN, 2008.

³⁰ Baldev Raj Nayar and T.V. Paul, *India in the World Order: Searching for Major-Power Status*, Contemporary South Asia, Cambridge University Press, UK, December 23, 2002, p. 38.



Map 4: India

In foreign relations, India has an ongoing dispute with Pakistan over the Kashmir region. There have been three wars between India and its arch-rival Pakistan since 1947. But important developments to the peace process were started in 2004³¹. However, the Mumbai bombings of November 2008, which Indian police blamed on Pakistani militants, has caused new tension between India and Pakistan.

³¹ Ibid., p. 219.

2.2.4 South Korea

The Republic of Korea, the capital of which is Seoul, has 48.3 million people and its area is 99,313 sq. km.³² Buddhism and Christianity are the Major religions in South Korea.

A multi-party political system was restored in 1987. South Korean President Lee Myung-bak, the previous the CEO of Hyundai Construction and a former mayor of Seoul, took up office on February 2008. Lee Myung-bak is the country's first president with a business background. And his Grand National Party won control of parliament in the elections in April 2008. His policy of “Economy First” led him to victory in the last election.

From an economic perspective, South Korea has transformed into one of the world's major economies and a leading exporter of cars and electronic goods³³. Now the South Korean economy is the third largest in Asia and the 13th in the world. Korea joined the WTO in 1995 and the OECD in 1996³⁴. South Korea and Korean companies are the biggest producers of finished steel in the world³⁵.

³² UN, 2009.

³³ Young-Iob Chung, *South Korea in the Fast Lane: Economic Development and Capital Formation*, Oxford University Press, USA, Jul 20, 2007, p. 13 and 48.

³⁴ Ibid., p.245.

³⁵ Bernard D'Mello, “South Korea: Pointers to a New International Division of Labour”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, September 21, 1985, pp. 1592-1597, p. 1594.



Map 5: South Korea

Korea became independent on August 15, 1945 from the Japanese and the Republic of Korea was founded on August 15, 1948. It received UN-backed support from the US after it was invaded by North Korea two years later. The Korean War ended in 1953 without a peace agreement, leaving South Korea theoretically at war for more than fifty years. Koreans like Turks because of their support during the Korean War (1950-1953). Relations with its northern neighbor remain a major concern in Seoul, particularly over the North's fragile economy and its nuclear ambitions. South Korea

has resisted international calls for sanctions against the North and since the late 1990s it has pursued a "sunshine" policy of engagement. Missile tests by Pyongyang in 2009 further heightened tensions between North and South Korea. The Demilitarized Zone between South and North Korea is the world's most heavily-fortified frontier. The US has maintained tens of thousands of soldiers in South Korea. As a result, Korea is now a divided nation³⁶.

2.2.5. Indonesia

The capital of the Republic of Indonesia is Jakarta, and Indonesia has a population of 230 million, 85% of which is Muslim. Its area is 1.9 million sq km. In Indonesia, the official language is Indonesian, but there are 300 regionally spoken languages, so ethnically, it is highly diverse. Indonesia has the world's largest Muslim population³⁷. Indonesia has thousands of islands. That is to say, Indonesia is made up of approximately 18,000 islands. The most important ones are Kalimantan (the Indonesian section of Borneo), Sumatra, Java, Celebes, Bali, the Moluccas, Western New Guinea and Timor³⁸.

³⁶ Ibp Usa, Korea, *South Foreign Policy and National Security Yearbook*, Int'l Business Publications, USA, Jan 1, 2009, p. 24-28.

³⁷ UN, 2009

³⁸ Tineke Hellwig and Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Indonesia Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (The World Readers, USA, April 2009, p. 43.

After Japan's occupation ended, independence was proclaimed in 1945 by Sukarno who is the independence movement's leader. But Indonesia has seen great turmoil having faced the Asian financial crisis, the fall of President Suharto after 32 years in Office (Long-term leader General Suharto came to power in the wake of an abortive coup in 1965), the first free elections since the 1960s, the loss of East Timor, and independence demands from restive provinces ending up in bloody ethnic and religious conflict. Suharto fell from power after uprisings in 1998, and Post-Suharto Indonesia has made the transition to democracy. The first direct presidential elections were held in 2004, but additionally the country faces demands for independence in several provinces where secessionists have been encouraged by East Timor's 1999 success in breaking away after a traumatic 25 years of occupation.

Now the Indonesian President is Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who is a former army general. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono won Indonesia's first-ever direct presidential elections in September 2004 and he was re-elected in July 2009.

Indonesia is a member of the G-20 and it is the only Asian member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) outside of the Middle East. In 1962, Indonesia joined the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and became a net importer of oil in 2004. The Indonesian economy³⁹ mostly

³⁹ In 2008, GDP per capita (PPP) of Indonesia stands at US\$14,215, ranking her 2nd in Southeast Asia.

depends upon energy production⁴⁰. Throughout 2006, Indonesian oil production averaged 1.1 million barrels per day which made it a slight net importer of oil for the year⁴¹. The state-owned oil company, Pertamina, maintained its retail and distribution monopoly for petroleum products until July 2004, but Indonesia's oil sector is dominated by several international oil companies (IOCs). The single largest oil producer is Chevron; the others are Exxon Mobil, BP, Conoco Phillips, and Total⁴². Chinese are dominant in the Indonesian economy. Indonesia has very rich gold and diamond deposits. The most important problem in Indonesia is bribery and corruption.

2.2.6. Malaysia

The capital of the federation of Malaysia is Kuala Lumpur. Malaysia has 27.5 million people and its area is 329,847 sq km. Malaysia is a federation of 13 states and three federal territories. Malaysia has a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. Its major languages are Malay (official), English, Chinese dialects, Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam, and its major religions are Islam, Buddhism, Taoism, Hinduism,

⁴⁰ Bruce Glassburner, *The Economy of Indonesia: Selected Readings*, Equinox Publishing, UK, Mar 21, 2007, p.26.

⁴¹ Indonesia's oil reserves stood at 4.84 billion barrels (769,000,000 m³) while natural gas reserves increased to 89 trillion cubic feet.

⁴² The state-owned oil company Pertamina maintained its retail and distribution monopoly for petroleum products until July 2004, when the first licenses for retail sale of petroleum products were granted to BP and Petronas of Malaysia. However, Pertamina maintains a dominant position in Indonesia's downstream sector, operating all eight of the country's refineries. The government is still promising to open the sector to full competition. Ibid., p. 47-9.

Christianity, and Sikhism. But the Malaysian majority population is Muslim and ethnic Malay, comprising 60% of the population.

In terms of government, Malaysia is a constitutional monarchy. Malaysia obtained independence on August 31, 1957 from the UK. The head of state is Sultan Mizan Zainal Abidin, who was installed as Malaysia's 13th king in December 2006. The king's role is largely ceremonial in Malaysia⁴³. Under the Malaysia's constitutional monarchy, the position of king is rotated every five years between each of the nine hereditary state rulers. The Prime minister is Najib Abdul Razak, a British-trained economist, who was guaranteed the post of prime minister in March 2009, when he became the leader of the United Malays National Organisation, the main party in the National Front ruling coalition⁴⁴.



⁴³ Abdul Rashid Moten, *Government and Politics in Malaysia*, Cengage Learning Asia, Singapore, Dec 31, 2007, p. 13-6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Map 6: Indonesia and Malaysia

Malaysia is among the world's biggest producers of computer disk drives, palm oil, rubber and timber. But economically, Malaysia is a middle-income country. Malaysia is an oil and gas exporter. Malaysian oil production was 727,200 bbl/day for 2008 and it is number 27 in the world. Natural gas production was 57.3 billion cubic meter for 2008, 16th in the world⁴⁵.

2.2.7. Pakistan

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan has a population of 180.8 million and its area is 796,095 sq km. The capital is Islamabad and its largest city is Karachi. Islam is the dominant religion in Pakistan and its major languages are English and Urdu (officially), and Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto and Balochi. Pakistan occupies an area where two of the world's major religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, are in the same region.

Historically, Pakistan was born out of the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947. The disputed northern territory of Kashmir has been the flashpoint between

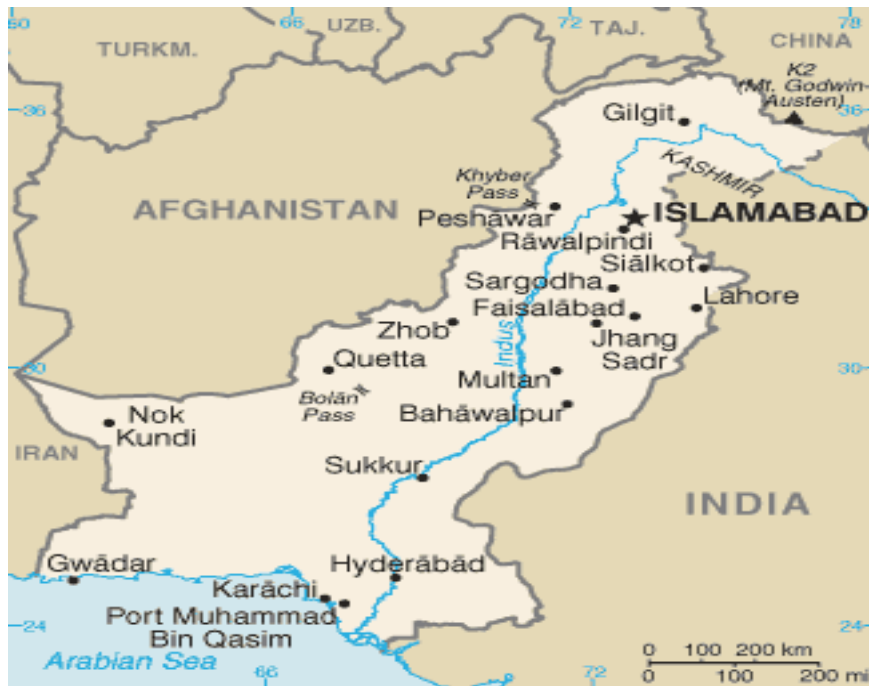
⁴⁵ R. S. Milne, *Malaysia: New States in a New Nation*, (Studies in Commonwealth Politics and History, No. 2), RoutledgeCurzon, New York and London, Mar 28, 2004, p. 235.

India-Pakistan. Tensions with India over Kashmir have resurfaced regularly ever since the partition of the sub-continent. Pakistan came under military rule again in October 1999 when General Pervez Musharraf launched a coup. The coup leader, General Pervez Musharraf, pledged to revive the country's fortunes, but faced economic challenges as well as an increasing polarization between Islamist militancy and the modernizing secular wing of Pakistani politics⁴⁶. Pakistan's place on the world stage shifted after the September 11, 2001 attacks in the US. Musharraf eventually relinquished his army post in November 2007, but at parliamentary elections in February 2008⁴⁷. Now the major political parties in Pakistan are the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz (PML-N), the Pakistan Muslim League - Quaid-i-Azam (PML-Q), the Awami National Party (ANP), the Jamiat Ulema-i- Islami- Fazlur Rehman (JUI-F), and the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). Today the head of state is President Asif Ali Zardari who won the presidential race of September 6, 2008 by a big majority. The prime minister is Yousaf Raza Gilani who is a respected figure within the PPP, and the foreign minister is Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Hussain Qureshi.

Abdul Qadir Khan is known as the architect of Pakistan's nuclear program and therefore he is a national hero for many Pakistanis. It could be said that he is the only man who can gather together all Pakistani factions in today's complex situation.

⁴⁶ Brian Cloughley, *A History of the Pakistan Army: Wars and Insurrections*, Oxford University Press, USA, Jul 1, 2006, p. 22.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 298.



Map 7: Pakistan and Afghanistan

2.2.8. Afghanistan

Afghanistan's full name or conventional long form is the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (the local long form is Jomhuri-ye Eslami-ye Afghanistan) and its area is 652,225 sq km. Afghanistan has 28.1 million people and its capital and largest city is Kabul. Pashto and Dari (Persian) are its major languages and Islam is the major religion in Afghanistan. Geographically, Afghanistan is a landlocked and mountainous country. Afghanistan is located in Southern Asia, north and west of Pakistan, east of Iran. Afghanistan has a very significant strategic position for global geopolitics. In this respect, its strategic position sandwiched between the Middle

East, Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent along the ancient "Silk Road" means that Afghanistan has long been fought over due its strategic value.

Due to this strategic importance Afghanistan has become the center of competition among great powers⁴⁸. For instance, it was at the centre of the so-called "Great Game" in the 19th century when Imperial Russia and the British Empire in India vied for influence. Then, it became a key Cold War battleground occupied by Soviet troops in 1979. But after the great power interference, Afghanistan never had peacetime. That is to say, following the withdrawal of Soviet forces, Afghanistan has been in protracted civil war. In fact, Afghanistan has suffered from such chronic instability and conflict for its total history to some extent.

Generally, Afghanistan's destiny has dramatically changed with the 9/11 terror attacks. After the Taliban's refusal to hand over bin Laden, the US initiated aerial attacks over Afghanistan for their sheltering of Osama bin Ladin. After the US and coalition forces' attacks were sanctioned by a UN resolution, the Taliban administration fell shortly after in 2001. But the conflict has never ended⁴⁹. In March 2009 US President Barack Obama unveiled a new American strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan to combat.

⁴⁸ Larry P. Goodson, *Afghanistan's Endless War: State Failure, Regional Politics, and the Rise of the Taliban*, University of Washington Press, USA, Oct 2001, p. 164.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

Following the Taliban's demise, a new Afghan constitution was adopted of in 2004⁵⁰. The Taliban rule ended in 2001, then Hamid Karzai, a Pashtun leader who studied in India and France and was exiled in Pakistan for much of the Soviet occupation and during Taliban rule, came to power as a interim leader in late 2001 for a five-year term. Then, he won the Afghanistan's first direct presidential elections in October 2004. Lastly, Karzai was chosen for a second five-year presidential term in the August 2009 elections. Now the president of Afghanistan is Hamid Karzai.

Afghanistan's legal system is based on a mixture of civil and Sharia law. Afghanistan's economy is recovering from decades of war and conflict. Now Afghanistan stands with international assistance, which means Afghanistan is highly dependent on foreign aid. Afghanistan is an extremely poor country in general. The most important problem is that Afghanistan is world's largest producer of opium.

⁵⁰ Robert I. Rotberg, *Building a New Afghanistan*, Brookings Institution Press, USA, Feb 27, 2007, p. 200.

3. ASIA IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

In this chapter, the focus will be on the Asian dimension in Turkish foreign policy, particularly in the context of the new Turkish foreign policy vision in the era of the AK Party. So that specific context of the Asian dimension will be examined in this chapter. Then, bilateral relations with the selected South Asian states will be scrutinized in the following chapter. Due to master dissertation restrictions and the abundance of studies on the Central Asian dimension, this work will try to emphasize the South Asian dimension.

3.1. A General Look at the Asian Dimension in Turkish Foreign Policy

Turkey's relations with Asia cannot be considered as developing satisfactorily. Due to geographic reasons, Turkey has to develop its relations with Asian states. In the era of the AK Party, Turkey appears to properly perceive the importance of Asia, like it properly perceived the importance of the Caucasus and Central Asia in the 1990s, after the dissolution of USSR, when Turkey implemented an active foreign policy there⁵¹. Now Turkey, with its multi-dimensional foreign policy concept, gives importance to Asia. But there is a difference from the 1990s, in which Turkey addressed the need for a new foreign policy for the Turkish Republic. Turkey needs

⁵¹ Mustafa Aydın, "Türkiye'nin Orta Asya-Kafkaslar Politikası", Mustafa Aydın (ed.), *Küresel Politikada Orta Asya: Avrasya Üçlemesi I*, Nobel Press, Ankara, May 2005, p. 102.

to consider many more geographical regions in Asia, such as South Asia, despite the fact that South Asia is geographically far from Turkey. But in the globalized world, distances are not restrictive for the development of relations. The development of relations with South Asia is very essential for Turkey in terms of economic and political reasons, and most importantly, for Turkey's becoming a global actor and acquisition of power⁵². If Turkey desires to be a global actor and to have the power, it should take South Asia into consideration, in which new emerging powers and new dynamic economies have developed. For that reason, Turkey's importance for Asia and also Asia's importance for Turkey should be in the forefront in the eyes of policy makers in Turkey.

In view of desiring to become a global actor, Turkey should improve her performance and develop her relations with new rising powers and economies in South Asia. This is because great powers compete for supremacy⁵³ in Asia and also this address predominantly enhances Turkey's status in the international system. The Asian dimension constitute a valuable asset in Turkish foreign policy. Thus, Turkey is a "Eurasian" country with respect to her history and geography.

⁵² Richard Falk, "Davutoğlu: Turkey's finest Foreign Minister of republican era", *Today's Zaman*, 2 Sept. 2009, <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/news-185835-davutoglu-turkeys-finest-foreign-minister-of-republican-era-by-richard-falk.html>. Accessed on 23 February 2009.

⁵³ G. V. C. Naidu, "Great Power Relations, Regional Multilateralism, and International Relations of East Asia", *Slavic Eurasian Studies*, 21, No.16-2, pp.153-169, http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no16_2_ses/07_naidu.pdf.

On the other hand, consideration of South Asia has been the forgotten option and dimension in Turkish foreign policy owing to distance, until now. If Turkey has been making its future plans as being a global actor and being powerful in the new Turkish foreign policy vision, Turkey needs to take a strategic decision to participate in South Asian politics and deal with South Asian states much more intensely. South Asia will be the newly emerged interest area in the era of the AK Party with a new foreign ministry⁵⁴.

Furthermore, Turkey does not have a coherent foreign policy toward Asia. In the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there are different units for Asia. For instance, there are the Central Asia, South Asia and East Asia and Pacific units in the ministry⁵⁵. Due to this reason, it is very difficult to find a coherent foreign policy towards Asia. On the other hand, the AK Party and its parliamentarians are interested and have indicated their interest to be politically active in Asia. The AK Party program shows an interest in Asia as shown here:

“Relations with China and the dynamic economies of Southeast Asia shall be taken up in a multi-dimensional manner and efforts will be made for Turkey to develop closer ties with these countries”⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ Bülent ARAS, “Davutoğlu Era... p. 134.

⁵⁵ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sub.en.mfa?e55ad6a5-1b09-4788-a51c-2c1cae96fd0d>. Accessed on 16 March 2009.

⁵⁶ Ak Party Program, Foreign Policy Section, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/gnsayfa/program.pdf>. Accessed on 02 January 2009.

The other point of note with respect to the Asian dimension in Turkish foreign policy is that there is not a concrete preference for working with Muslim countries in the region. Turkey did not try to develop relations with regions of Muslim countries in an expected way, although the Muslim states in the region could help Turkey to participate in Asian politics and become an actor in the Asian political arena⁵⁷. In addition, Turkey could try to become a member in the regions' organizations with the help of Muslim countries. In Turkish foreign policy and in the eyes of Turkish policy-makers, Asia means a lot in economic terms. The region has taken attention with its dynamic, larger and new rising economies⁵⁸. These economic and commercial dimensions are indispensable for Turkey, but they are not sufficient. On this account, Turkey has to develop a foreign policy towards Asia in a way that is multi-dimensional, such as including not only economic and commercial issues, but also political, security and energy issues. To clarify this coherent and multi-dimensional foreign policy as a strategy towards Asia, the following may be named as key points:

For economic strategy,

Turkey should develop economic diplomacy and trade development strategy towards Asia by promoting Turkish products in Asia, lobbying for improved market access in Asian economies, and introducing acceptable tariffs. In the meantime, Turkey has to balance the trade deficit with Asian countries, especially with China.

⁵⁷ "Turkey's FM in Malaysia for D-8 meeting", *World Bulletin*, 2 November 2009, http://www.worldbulletin.net/news_detail.php?id=49338. Accessed on 15 June 2008.

⁵⁸ Amitav Acharya, *Asia Rising: Who is leading?*, World Scientific, Singapore, 2008, p. 214.

Turkey's trade with the Asia-Pacific states stands at about \$23 billion. Turkey exported goods and services for a value of \$ 3 billion to this region last year, while importing value was \$ 20 billion⁵⁹.

For energy strategy,

Most of the Asian states are both energy producers and consumers. Therefore, Turkey, being a transit and consumer state can develop its relations in the field of energy, such as participating in joint energy projects and integrating energy markets with those countries. Particularly, on the issue of pipeline routes, Turkey should prefer cooperation instead of competition. Turkey has a potential to be both an East-West and North-South energy corridor⁶⁰. In this way, Turkey has a natural balancer-role in Asian energy politics. For instance, Turkey could become a balancer between China and Russia, and China and the Central Asian states as a partner in energy project⁶¹. In addition, there is competition for Asian energy resource routes in Asia and Europe. Therefore, Turkey could be a balancer, directing where Asian energy sources go.

For political and security terms,

Turkey has a potential to contribute to Asian security and to solve the related problems with its sincere relations and its independent role. Turkey's relations with India and Pakistan could help to solve the chronic problems between these two

⁵⁹ According to Minister of State Kursad Tuzmen, who said this in 2007, the main aim is to increase Turkish export volume to the Asia-Pacific states from \$2 billion in 2004 to \$ 8 billion by 2010. "Sun rises in the East via TUSKON Trade Bridge", News Clippings, June 18, 2008, <http://president.fncci.org/news/detail.php?ID=17>. Accessed on 28 November 2008.

⁶⁰ "Turkey: Eyeing Central Asian Energy Ties" *Stratfor*, September 3, 2008.

⁶¹ Kessler, Carol, "Energy Cooperation in NE Asia: Is it Time?", *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the ISA*, San Francisco, Mar 26, 2008.

states⁶². And also, Turkey has a facilitator role concerning China and its problematic Xinjiang province relations⁶³. Furthermore, Turkey's good relations with Japan and South Korea have a potential to promote security and cooperation in Asian politics.

3.2. Particular Role of NGOs / INGOs in Turkish Foreign Policy toward Asia

Asia made very significant progress towards regionalization after the Cold War. International organizations in Asia are much more powerful than those in other continents and they are also very dynamic in the international political economy.

The main international organizations functioning in Asia are the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation⁶⁴ (APEC), the Asian Development Bank⁶⁵, the Asian Centre for Human Rights⁶⁶ (ACHR), the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia⁶⁷ (CICA), the Eurasian Economic Community (EAEC or EurAsEC), the Asia

⁶² Saban Kardas, "Turkey Supports Pakistan in its Fight Against Extremism", *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 6 Issue: 197, October 27, 2009. http://www.jamestown.org/regions/turkeytest/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=35657&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=390&cHash=5d881. Accessed on 29 January 2009.

⁶³ "Minister Davutoğlu conveys Xinjiang concerns to China", *TurkishNY*, 14 July 2009, <http://www.turkishny.com/old/en/english-news/11553-minister-davutoglu-conveys-xinjiang-concerns-to-china.html>. Accessed on 07 October 2008.

⁶⁴ APEC, is the premier forum to support sustainable economic growth and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region. It has 21 member states and it established in 1989 and its secretariat is based in Singapore. <http://www.apec.org/>, Accessed on 03 January 2009.

⁶⁵ <http://www.adb.org/>. Accessed on 03 January 2009.

⁶⁶ <http://www.achrweb.org/>. Accessed on 03 January 2009.

⁶⁷ CICA is the version of OSCE in Asia. CICA has great member countries such as China, India, Russia, South, Iran. <http://www.s-cica.org/page.php>. Accessed on 03 January 2009.

Cooperation Dialogue⁶⁸ (ACD), the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation⁶⁹ (BIMSTEC), the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation⁷⁰ (SAARC), the Indian Ocean Commission (COI), the Indian Ocean Rim-Association for Regional Cooperation⁷¹ (IOR-ARC), the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), the Summit of Turkish-speaking countries (STSC), the Turkic States and Communities Friendship, Brotherhood, and Cooperation Council (TSCFBCC), and the East Asian Summit (EAS).

Concerning Turkish foreign policy in INGOs, Turkey has been playing a leading role and is co-founder of the ECO⁷², STSC and TSCFBCC. Turkey can play the leading role of a "continental connector" and "civilization connector" between Europe and Asia with its present contacts with NGOs and INGOs in Asia⁷³. With this role, Turkey is able to assert its membership in Asian regional organizations. New Turkish foreign policy is based on strategic depth and linking continents and civilizations together. This is considered to be part of the role for NGOs and INGOs in Asia, in Davutoglu term. Turkey's participation in Asian regional and international

⁶⁸ <http://www.acddialogue.com/>. Accessed on 03 January 2009.

⁶⁹ <http://www.bimstec.org/>. Accessed on 03 January 2009.

⁷⁰ <http://www.saarc-sec.org/>. Accessed on 03 January 2009.

⁷¹ <http://www.eppo.go.th/inter/IOR-ARC/ior-arc.html>.

⁷² Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) is a regional intergovernmental organization for the purpose of facilitating economic cooperation between its member states on the basis of their common needs in the light of the changes taking place on global economic scene. The member states of the ECO are Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. The ECO was formally established by Iran, Turkey and Pakistan in 1985. <http://www.ecosecretariat.org/>. Accessed on 12 January 2009.

⁷³ "The Path to Alliance of Civilizations through the Asian Community", AsianPa, <http://www.asianpa.net/asianpa/conferences/indonesia/introduction.pdf>. Accessed on 17 February 2009.

organizations can contribute to Turkey's active involvement in Asian politics. Moreover, The number of Turkish representative offices abroad, such as Embassies, Consulate Generals, Consular Agencies, Bureaus of Foreign commerce of Turkey in the Asian continent is 29 in total.

3.2.1. SCO and Turkey

Turkey with Prime Minister Erdogan is interested in SCO ⁷⁴. SCO has developed on the way of becoming a very strong regional organization, with the participation of great powers and economies such as China and Russia, and is on the way to having other powerful states like India and Iran included as its members. In this context, the existence of a strong union and great powers' interest in Asia with its rich natural gas and oil resources will provide a shift from a unipolar world system to a multipolar one for the European Union (EU) and Asian states and Turkey⁷⁵.

Figure 3 : President Gul, President Nazarbayev, President Aliyev

Turkey has also begun to participate in the energy interests in Asia and it indicates a political will to develop energy and trade ties with both Asian states and organizations in Asia in the era of the AK Party. Turkey, under the influence of PM

⁷⁴ SCO was formed as the Shanghai Five in 1996 and then with the participation of Uzbekistan it became SCO. China and Russia are locomotive of the union like Germany and France in the EU. What is more, India, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Mongolia became observers in the organization. Also of note, the US request for membership was rejected in 2005. <http://www.sectSCO.org/>.

⁷⁵ Mehmet Ögütçü, Is the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation the 'rising beast in the East'?, *Today's Zaman*, 22 August 2007, <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=120034>. Accessed on 24 March 2009.

Erdogan, has begun to keep a watchful eye on SCO membership and activities in the region and consequently is willing to increase its influence in global politics. During PM Erdogan's Moscow visit in 2005, in which Erdogan held a meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin, Erdogan unexpectedly expressed Turkey's interest in arranging cooperation with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Hereupon, Putin declared that this is a positive signal showing Turkey's interest in establishing contacts with the SCO⁷⁶.

3.2.2. ASEAN and Turkey

Turkey wishes to develop economic and political relations with the ASEAN⁷⁷ within the framework of the agreement of friendship and cooperation made during former Foreign Minister Babacan's term. As a matter of fact, Turkey had presented a letter of intent to Thailand for ASEAN membership in 2008. In this organization, Malaysia⁷⁸ will be a supporter of Turkey in order to succeed in getting a membership in ASEAN⁷⁹.

⁷⁶ "Moscow invites Turkey to Shanghai forum on Afghanistan", *Today's Zaman*, 21 February 2009, <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=167536>. Accessed on 29 March 2009.

⁷⁷ ASEAN was established on 8 August 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand, with the signing of the ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration) by the Founding Fathers of ASEAN, namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Now it has 10 member states: Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam. <http://www.aseansec.org/>. Accessed on 03 January 2009.

⁷⁸ Phar Kim Beng, "The Strategic Benefits of Turkey's Admission Into East Asian Summit", *SETA Policy Brief*, No.3 November 2007, http://www.setadc.org/pdfs/Policy_Brief_No_3_Kim_Beng_Pharm.pdf. Accessed on 22 December 2009.

⁷⁹ Phar Kim Beng, "Turkey should join East Asian Summit by 2010, says Malaysian lobbyist", *Sunday's Zaman*, 9 September 2007,

Moreover, Turkish State Minister Kursad Tuzmen said Turkey expressed its views to sign free trade agreements with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) member countries, indicating that serious initiatives may be launched within the scope of Asia-Pacific strategies.

The fact that Turkey has applied for membership in the ASEAN, as a “dialogue partner” first, and the ASEAN is expected to report its result about the membership issue of Turkey in 2010 is worthwhile. Turkey aims to sign free trade deals and agreements with ASEAN members. For instance, Tuzmen said Turkey was planning to organize the visit of a trade delegation to Indonesia to invite trade delegations from Indonesia, to organize a fair of Turkish export products in Jakarta, and to establish consultancy mechanisms between the companies of two countries. Tuzmen said Turkey expressed its views to sign free trade agreements with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) member countries. As a result, it can easily be declared that Turkey is now an observer country in the ASEAN, and this fact shows Turkey’s interest in Asia.

3.2.3. EAS and Turkey

On the other hand, Turkey can join the East Asian Summit. The first East Asian Summit⁸⁰ (EAS) was convened in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. This event was held back-to-back with the ASEAN Summit and the ASEAN Plus Three Summit. East Asia is now comprised of some of the most dynamic economies and militarily powerful countries in the world. The most notable of which are China, South Korea, and Japan, plus all the ten member states of the ASEAN. Firstly, becoming a member of the EAS brings no cost to what Turkey tries to achieve. In other words, Turkey does not have to give up its goal of being a part of Europe by joining the EAS. On the contrary, Turkey can play the leading role of a "continental connector" between Europe and Asia by becoming a member of the EAS. Turkey should participate in the EAS, while de facto integration is already occurring in East Asia.

In conclusion, Turkey has economic, energy and political-security interest in regional international organizations in Asia. Thus, Turkey can develop its relations with Asian countries by participation and integration with INGOs and NGOs in Asia. In this respect, multilateral organizations have a facilitator role for becoming involved in Asian politics and promoting relationships. At the same time, Turkey has a balancing and civilizational role between Asia and Europe and among different religions and

⁸⁰ The East Asia Summit (EAS) is a forum held annually by leaders of 16 countries in the East Asian region. EAS meetings are held after annual ASEAN leaders' meetings. The first summit was held in Kuala Lumpur on December 14, 2005. EAS members consist of ASEAN and ASEAN Plus Three and India, Australia and New Zealand. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/eas/index.html>. Accessed on 21 December 2009.

civilizations. Turkey is a charter member in the D-8, ECO, TURKPA, STSC, TSCFBCC, OIC, BSEC, and Blackseafor. Turkey took over the CICA, poised to become like the OSCE in Asia. The presidency in Kazakhstan in 2010 may enlarge Turkey's influence in Asia, too⁸¹. In addition, Turkey can intervene in Asian domestic politics by means of memberships to organizations, which will not mean the interfering in internal affairs, particularly in the Sincan event. However, Turkey, as an active member in NGOS located in the West, could be an active member also in the East since the institutionalization of such organizations in Asia is not completed yet.

⁸¹“Nazarbayev: "Türkiye'nin CICA dönem başkanlığından ümitliyiz"”, *Gözlem Gazetesi*, 23 December 2009, <http://www.gozlemgazetesi.com.tr/haber/15234-nazarbayev-turkiye39nin-cica-donem-baskanligindan-.html>. Accessed on 05 January 2010.

4. TURKEY’S RELATIONS WITH THE (SELECTED) ASIAN STATES

4.1. Turkey-China Relations

4.1.1. Political Relations

The history of relations between Turks and Chinese people goes back to ancient times before Christ (B.C.). Therefore, both nations know each other very well. That is to say, relations between China and Turkey can be traced back as far as 2,000 years ago. The Great Wall of China and the Silk Road indicate that both trade and conflict in relations have been developed together and side by side between the Turkish and Chinese nations⁸². This means that both nations made war and made trade in their ancient relations.

In 1971, Turkey recognized the state of China (is the official name is the People’s Republic of China, PRC) and so established diplomatic ties as a result. In that time, there was a détente in the Cold War which provided for the establishment of diplomatic ties and a multi-dimensional foreign policy for both Turkey and China. Nevertheless relations between Turkey and China over the past thirty years have

⁸² John C.K. Daly, “Sino-Turkish Relations Beyond the Silk Road”, *China Brief*, The Jamestown Foundation, USA, 2007.

been uneasy, mainly because of Turkey's alleged support of Uyghurs, who are the Turkic-Muslim separatists in China's Xinjiang province. At the same time, Turkey supports the "One China" policy and recognizes the PRC as the sole legal representative of China⁸³. But Turkey should at least abandon to use the "One China" term in discourse because Turkey has clearly proved its stance on the territorial integrity of China.

Both of the countries were careful to follow peaceful foreign policies for peaceful relations, which are based upon mutual trust and respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. Until 2003 Turkey-China relations could not develop at the expected level because of distance, mutual distrust, internal questions and the Uyghur problem.

Energy and trade are the two pillars of both countries' common interests that promote relations. That is to say, China's way to reach Central Asian energy resources passes through Turkey. China's developing relations with Turkey can help China to reach Central Asian energy sources via Turkey. In addition, China can enter the Middle East and the Gulf with the help of their relations with Turkey's⁸⁴. On the other hand, Turkey can join great energy projects in cooperation together with China

⁸³ Mehmet Ögütçü, "Turkey and China", *Perceptions*, Vol.I, Sep-Nov. 1996, pp. 377-398, Salomon Rusdeal (edit), *New Trends in Turkish Foreign Affairs: Bridges and Boundaries*, IUniverse, 2002, p. 382.

⁸⁴ "Turkey and China are unfamiliar with one another", *Sabahenglish edition*, 22 June 2009, <http://www.sabahenglish.com/economy/7918.html>, Accessed on December 2009.

because the great Chinese economy and surplus could finance the great cost of the energy project.

There are some important agreements between Turkey and China. Some of them are “security cooperation” agreements, like the one signed on February 2000, in which each side agrees to take measures against separatist activities affecting the territorial integrity of the other side. This agreement is about Uyghur issue that is likely to tarnish Chinese-Turkish relations for many years to come. In addition, the “Framework Protocol on Cooperation in the Field of Energy” of April 2000 and the Implementation Plan for the Travel of Chinese Citizens to Turkey of December 2001 are agreements that act as levers to develop relations in terms of energy and the tourism area. However, the “Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Turkey and Ministry of Public Security of the People’s Republic of China on the establishment of a Joint Work Group” signed on September 2003 and the agreement named “Cultural Exchange Programme between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and People’s Republic of China for 2006–2009” signed on May 2007 indicate deepening relations⁸⁵.

Furthermore, bilateral visits have advanced between Turkey and China in the era of the AK Party. For instance, Abdullah Gul, as a Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited China in February, 2005 and as a President in June 2009 twice. Furthermore, State Minister Tuzmen visited China on September 2006, accompanied by 160

⁸⁵ “T.C. Dışişleri Bkanalığı, Türkiye-Çin Siyasi İlişkileri”, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-cin-halk-cumhuriyeti-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mf>. Accessed on June 2008.

businessmen. President Gul's visit to China highlighted Turkey's hopes for the future development of relations and the enthusiasm of Turkish and Chinese companies for doing business with each other⁸⁶. For instance, during his visit, Gul was accompanied by a crowd of Turkish businessmen, and afterwards, CEOs of 21 Chinese companies visited Turkey in 2009. President Gül stressed⁸⁷ Turkey's "One-China" policy and repeated the emphasis that Xinjiang is an integral part of China. But after this highly successful reciprocal visit, the Uyghur problem tensed relations unexpectedly on July 2009.

Turkey's engagement with China is vital to Turkey's interests in China and Asia. Relations have major importance on energy and trade in particular. China is becoming a new economic superpower and giant energy consumer⁸⁸. Eurasia, the Middle East and the Gulf are the cooperation areas between Turkey and China in terms of energy on account of strategic assessment.

The most important key country for Turkey's South Asian policy is China. Turkey can work with China to develop its relations in Asia, and also to participate in regional organizations in Asia. Relations with China could help to promote

⁸⁶ "Turkish president to discuss strengthening of Turkish-Chinese relations in Beijing", *Trend News*, 18 June 2009, <http://en.trend.az/news/world/wnews/1490184.html>. Accessed on 15 November 2009.

⁸⁷ President Gül referred in his speech on 28 June 2009 at Xinjiang University in Urumchi that the Uyghur people in Xinjiang would form a bridge of friendship between China and Turkey. And President Gül stressed on that Turkey wanted to see Uyghur people as happy and prosperous citizens of China in order to establish mutual trust." Hu Jin-tao engages in talks with Turkish President Abdullah Gul", *China News Wrap*, <http://chinanewswrap.com/2009/06/26/hu-jin-tao-engages-in-talks-with-turkish-president-abdullah-gul/>. Accessed on 07 December 2009.

⁸⁸ Mehmet Ögütçü, "Turkey and China", *Perceptions*, Vol.1, Sep-Nov. 1996, <http://www.sam.gov.tr/perceptions/Volume1/September-November1996/TURKEYANDCHINA.pdf>.

Turkey's future economic and political interests in the long-term. Turkey-China relations are not only bilateral relations, or state-to-state relations. This relationship has a civilizational dimension because these two countries have great and ancient civilizations.

However, there are some problems in Turkey-China relations which have caused the rise and fall in relations. The most important one is that Turkey did not have a comprehensive and cohesive policy toward Asia for many years. Although Turkey played a very active role in Central Asia in the 1990s, this policy was limited to only Central Asia and just to the beginning of 1990s. On the other hand, developing relations with China is not an alternative to working with the EU or the US. This is necessary for a multi-dimensional foreign policy.

The other problem, which is also the biggest problem, between Turkey and China is Uyghur question, which has been the cause of troubled relations and tension. Turkey's position on this issue is that, in the context of China policy, Turkey is considering Xinjiang as an integral part of China. In the context of Turkey's relations with China, the Uyghur region has a particular significance⁸⁹. Turkey's historical and cultural connection with, and interest rising thereof, in this region is recognized. Whereas the presence of Turkic-Muslim minorities in China's Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region may be seen as an asset to re-invigorate or to develop relations

⁸⁹ Rosita Dellios, Nadir Kemal Yilmaz, "Turkey and China: A Study in Symmetry", *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies*, Vol.2, No.1, 2008, , pp.13-30, p.26. <http://www.sh-mideast.cn/pdf/08113-30..pdf>, Accessed on October 2009.

on solid grounds. The Uygur people of this region are seen as a bridge between Turkey and China⁹⁰. Turkey wants to see the Uygur people in the Xinjiang province as loyal citizens of China, instead of seeing them as suffering cruelty and not having human rights. Thence, a constant dialogue between the two states is needed in order to create an atmosphere of mutual trust. Furthermore, Turkey and China have taken another step toward upgrading their military cooperation on March 2009. In fact, Turkey, for the first time since 1997, signed an arms deal with China. Also, the two countries reportedly upgraded military cooperation in 2005⁹¹.

4.1.2. Economic Relations

The volume of trade between Turkey and China exceeded \$10 billion in the year 2006. Turkish exports to China amounted to \$1.43 billion in 2008. Turkey's imports from China were \$15.6 billion in 2008⁹². But there is a problem with respect to economic relations, which is the increasing imbalance in bilateral trade in favor of China. For example, in 2008 China obtained a huge surplus to the amount of \$15 billion trade with Turkey⁹³.

⁹⁰ Barış Adıbelli, "Can the Uygurs serve as a Bridge in the Future of Turkey-China Relations?", *EurasiaCritic*, August 2009, <http://www.eurasiacritic.com/articles/can-uygurs-serve-bridge-future-turkey-china-relations>. Accessed on 02 December 2009.

⁹¹ Eyüp Ersoy, Turkish - Chinese Military Relations / Spinning More Moving Less, USAK, Ankara, 2008, p. 12.

⁹² "Turkey to boost relations with China", *Chinadaily*, 24 June 2009, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-06/24/content_8316925.htm. Accessed on 12 July 2009.

⁹³ Nadir Kemal Yılmaz, "Turkey's FDI Policy and Chinese Foreign Direct Investments in Turkey", *Global Business Review*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 19-44 (2008), p. 24.

In conclusion, Turkey's China policy is the One China policy. Turkey's expectations from China are its becoming a trade partner, its having cooperation with energy, an increase in Chinese investments in Turkey, increased tourism from China, the building up of joint-ventures in other countries particularly on energy, and the entering of more Turkish products into the Chinese market. Moreover, Turkey sees China as a strategic alternative for the Turkish defense industry. It considers that Chinese relations could play a balancer role against the US and EU relations. Also, relations with China provide a multi-dimensional foreign policy for Turkey. With the help of Gul's visit to China, the two states have established mutual trust in relations again.

4.2. Turkey-Japan Relations

4.2.1. Political Relations

At first glance, there is sympathy between Turkey and Japan which comes from the Ottoman era. Turkey and Japan have sincere relations because Japan has a city that hosts the martyrs of the Ottoman frigate Ertuğrul⁹⁴. There are no controversial issues between Turkey and Japan in political relations today. Both countries share the same ideals and common values and have similar approaches towards international matters

⁹⁴ The Ertuğrul, which departed from İstanbul on July 14, 1889, upon the decree of Abdülhamid II, continued its travel by visiting the ports along the route. The vessel was welcomed by the Muslims living in the visited places. Large groups head to the frigate to see what is inside. Eleven months after departure the frigate arrives in Japan. The date is June 7, 1890, when the vessel arrives in Yokohama port in Japan. This was also a sign of diplomatic relations between Japan and the Ottoman state. The vessel was overcome by a strong storm near Kushimoto. It was dashed into the rocks. Nearly 600 crew members, including Adm. Osman, died in this tragic incident. Even though the fate of the Ertuğrul was truly sad, it represented the start of Turkish-Japanese relations.

to some extent. For Turkey, Japan represents a successful combination of a great civilization and tradition with remarkable economic and technological achievement, thus creating a suitable atmosphere for further developing and diversifying bilateral relations based upon mutual trust and cooperation, in every field⁹⁵. As a matter of fact, there is a Turkish admiration of the Japanese that is firstly due to their success in the 1905 Japan-Russian war, and secondly because of Japanese economic improvement and development during the Meiji restoration⁹⁶.

Concerning bilateral relations between the two countries, mutual high level visits have increased in the era of the AK Party. First, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gul visited Japan on December 2003 which helped to increase the popularity of Turkey in Japan⁹⁷. Then, Prime Minister Erdogan, together with a large delegation which included the Minister of State, in charge of economy, Ali Babacan, the Minister of Transportation, Binali Yıldırım, the Minister of Health, and the Minister of Culture and Tourism, and accompanied by ten members of parliament and around 150 businessmen, visited Japan in April 2004⁹⁸. With the help of this visit, the development of friendship and mutual trust at a personal level between Prime Minister Erdogan and Prime Minister Koizumi was achieved and this visit

⁹⁵ Umut Arık, *A century of Turkish-Japanese relations : Towards a special partnership*, Turkish-Japanese Business Council : DEIK, İstanbul, 1989, p. 54.

⁹⁶ *Turkish-Japanese relations--prospects for development*, Siyasi ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı, İstanbul, 1986, p. 17.

⁹⁷ "Turkey-Japan: 80 Years of Friendship and Cooperation", *Interview with Japanese Ambassador Tomoyuki Abe*, http://www.tr.emb-japan.go.jp/T_04/Interview_Tomoyuki_Abe_2004.pdf; <http://www.turkjapan2003.org/>. Accessed on 07 August 2009.

⁹⁸ "Visit to Japan by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan of the Republic of Turkey (Evaluation and Overview)", MOFA, http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/middle_e/turkey/pmv0404.html. Accessed on 23 July 2008.

provided the construction of much stronger bilateral relations in that time and in the future. Also, State Minister Besir Atalay visited Japan in 2005, and one year later, State Minister Kursad Tuzmen visit in 2006. Lastly, President Gul who was the first ever Turkish president to pay an official visit to Japan, visited on June 2008⁹⁹¹⁰⁰. On the other hand, there were some visits from the Japanese side, including visits from Prince Tomohito of Mikasa in 2004, Vice Foreign Minister Ichiro Aizawa, Finance Minister Sadakazu Tanigaki, Prince Tomohito of Mikasa. Prince Akiko in 2005, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi in 2006, Vice Foreign Minister, Itsunori Onodera, Former Minister for Foreign Affairs and Taro Aso's visit in 2007¹⁰¹. One of the most important points is that Turkey and Japan signed a Visa Exemption Agreement in 1957 at a very early date. This event indicated that Turkey and Japan are regarded as countries friendly to each other.

For the Japanese, the formation of the image of the Turks goes back to their first contact which happened in the 17th century¹⁰². Turkey has been considered a part of the Middle East until now for Japan¹⁰³. But Japan's view on Turkey has fundamentally changed with Minister of Foreign Affairs Davutoglu's proactive

⁹⁹ "Visit to Japan of His Excellency Dr. Abdullah Gül, President of the Republic of Turkey", http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/event/2008/5/1180123_934.html. Accessed on 02 April 2009.

¹⁰⁰ "JOINT STATEMENT Between the Republic of Turkey and Japan On the Occasion of the Visit by H.E. Mr. Abdullah Gül, President of the Republic of Turkey to Japan", T.C. Tokyo Büyükelçiliği, <http://www.turkey.jp/tr/Ortak%20Bildiri.html>. Accessed on 08 January 2009.

¹⁰¹ "Gul to visit Japan", *Dünya Gazetesi*, 2 June 2008, <http://www.dunyagazetesi.com.tr/haber.asp?id=10955>;

http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/middle_e/turkey/index.html. Accessed on 19 March 2009.

¹⁰² Hiroshi Nagaba, "Japan and Turkey Historical Process for Diplomatic Relations", *Perceptions*, Vol. 2, Sept.-Nov. 1997, <http://www.sam.gov.tr/perceptions/Volume2/September-November1997/JAPANANDTURKEYHISTORICALPROCESSFORDIPLOMATICRELATIONS.pdf>. Accessed on 19 December 2009.

¹⁰³ http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/middle_e/turkey/index.html. Accessed on 16 May 2009.

diplomacy, both in the UNSC and in regional and global affairs in recent times. In bilateral relations, Turkey and Japan could be defined as natural allies and reliable partners¹⁰⁴. That is to say, Turkey perceives Japan as a natural and expected ally and a trustworthy partner in global affairs because they have mostly similar approaches towards global matters and they share common values, such as peace, stability, prosperity, democracy and human rights.

The most important problem was the vast geographical distance between the two countries, but this barrier became insignificant with the globalization of today.

On the other hand, tourism is a very important tool for understanding and exploring each culture, society and state, mutually. In this respect, Turkish and Japanese governments have designated 2010 as Japan-Turkey Tourism exchange year¹⁰⁵. This is a good opportunity for achieving closer interactions between the Japanese and Turkish people. In other words, tourism is the key field on which Japan and Turkey should focus for improving their relationships in various aspects.

¹⁰⁴ Sermet Atacanlı, “Turkey, Japan: Natural Allies, reliable partners”, *The Japan Times*, October 29, 2009, <http://classified.japantimes.com/nationalday/pdfs/20091029-turkey.pdf>. Accessed on 27 July 2009.

¹⁰⁵ “2010 To Be Japan Year In Turkey”, 25.12.2009, *Haberturk*, <http://haber.turk.net/ENG/2370979/-2010-To-Be-Japan-Year-In-Turkey>. Accessed 08 February 2009.

4.2.2. Economic Relations

Turkey's primary focus in bilateral relations is on improving economic relations. In this regard, Turkey wants to attract more Japanese foreign direct investment (FDI) to Turkey and increase trade volume.

Japan is the World's largest aid donor, and Japan provides much of this aid to Turkey. It invests in Turkey because in the Middle East, Turkey is the only democratic country. Turkey is a developing country with a stable government so it is a good investment. Japan is the 3rd largest trade partner for Turkey in the Far-East. The trade volume reached 3.4 billion dollars in 2006 and 3.9 billion dollars in 2007, whereas, trade volume was just 2 billion dollar in 2003. The trade deficit was 2.9 billion dollars in 2006 and 3.4 billion dollars in 2007¹⁰⁶.

Additionally, Japanese direct investment in Turkey amounted to 2 billion dollars in 2006, which makes Japan the 8th largest investor in Turkey. There are currently approximately 100 Japanese companies operating in Turkey, including, among others, Toyota, Honda, Bridgestone, Nissan, Mitsubishi, and Itochu. Japan has been an important credit provider for large-scale infrastructure projects in Turkey. Japan

¹⁰⁶ "Turkey's Commercial and Economic Relations With Japan", Republic of Turkey, Ministry of foreign Affairs, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-commercial-and-economic-relations-with-japan.en.mfa. Accessed on 27 November 2009.

has extended technical and financial assistance to Turkey over a period of forty-five years for the encouragement of socio-economic development¹⁰⁷.

Consequently, there is no problem between the two states at all and therefore there is a very big reservoir of goodwill on both sides for each other. The Turkish and Japanese Governments are currently exploring opportunities for fruitful cooperation also in construction, energy, and maritime and transportation sectors with great enthusiasm in achieving bilateral activities. Furthermore, Japan does not have a strong army; therefore, Japan wants Turkey's partnership because Turkey has strong military power. However, to specifically understand the reasons for Japanese aid to Turkey, one must first analyze Japan's aid policy and then specifically her aid policy towards the Middle East and Turkey. Japan supports Turkey's economy, but one should not forget that economy and politics are related issues. Now both countries are developing their trust and in the future Turkey should be a strong partner for Japan, politically, economically and socially.

¹⁰⁷ "Japan, Turkey agree to boost trade, political ties", USA Today, June 6, 2008, http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2008-06-06-japan-turkey_N.htm, Accessed on 21 December 2009.

4.3. Turkey-India Relations

4.3.1. Political Relations

First of all, the Turkish and Indian nations have rich and diverse historical connections. Historically, their relations can be traced back to the first century B.C¹⁰⁸. Diplomatic relations between India and Turkey were established in 1948.

Both countries share common values, such as secularism and democratic principles, as well as interests regarding the Turkic peoples of East Turkestan as brotherly. In this regard, both the Turks and especially the Indians view the Chinese as the aggressor on Human rights in East Turkestan. In this respect, India could be a balancer in East Asia for Turkey. Turkey can use its relations with India for the development of relations with China on this matter. The “China fact” is a constructive element for India-Turkey relations. Due to the latter's key strategic support for India's enemy, Pakistan, relations between the two countries have sometimes been coldly strained. In recent years nevertheless, India and Turkey have decided to put aside differences, and seek closer political, economic, and military connections. India now characterizes the relations between the two countries with warmth and cordiality.

¹⁰⁸ A.K. Pasha, *India and Turkey : Past and Emerging Relations*, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, India, 2006, p. 21.

Yet there is a divergence between the two countries which is about the Kashmir issue. Turkey's position on the Kashmir issue had remained as one of the factors of irritation in relations because of Turkey's close relations with Pakistan. Therefore, Turkey has a dilemma in this issue. Turkey could play a facilitator and mediator role in Kashmir issue between Pakistan and Turkey. This possible success in Asian politics could bring a very peaceful and diplomatic power role to Turkey. Today Turkey has implemented a policy which refrained from discussing India's relationship with Pakistan and the Kashmir dispute.

Likewise there is pragmatism in Turkey-India relations. Especially economic and energy factors have become subservient to pragmatism. There is a pragmatist way of relations between the two states when it comes to economic and energy opportunities . India is becoming a giant energy consumer country in the world. Turkey, close to energy basins, could provide India very significant opportunities in the energy field. Furthermore, Turkey can benefit from India in science and technology since India is a developed country in terms of science and technology. The most important project for the two states is the Medstream pipeline¹⁰⁹ which seems to be the new energy security project that India and Turkey have been working on. As a matter of fact, in

¹⁰⁹ The Medstream Pipeline Project, developed between Turkey and Israel, is a multi-dimensional project including oil, natural gas, electricity, water and fiberoptics. The Samsun-Ceyhan by-pass oil pipeline is considered as the first leg of the Turkey-Israel Multi-Pipeline Energy Corridor. India is involved in the oil dimension of the project. In this respect, the Indian Oil Corporation Limited is pursuing negotiations with the consortium elaborating the Samsun-Ceyhan pipeline. The project, aiming at transporting the oil via the Ashkelon-Eilat (Israel) pipeline, to India through the Red Sea with oil tankers, is called Ceyhan-Red Sea Project. Turkish policy makers believe that this project could contribute to India's objective of source diversification. To sum up, this project, which would create an Energy Corridor among the three countries involved, would enhance the trilateral economic cooperation and provide economic benefits to energy and the energy infrastructure in Turkey, Israel and India.

2005, Turkey and India signed a memorandum of understanding for cooperation in the field of oil and natural gas¹¹⁰.

In bilateral relations the process of rediscovery began again in the era of the AK Party. In 2002, Parliament speaker Bulent Arinc made an official visit to India and met with Indian President Abdul Kalam. Then in 2003, Prime Minister Vajpayee held extensive talks with Prime Minister Erdogan when he visited India in 2008, in which they discussed the current situation in Iraq and Afghanistan, and as a result of this visit, Turkey and India signed agreements on setting up a joint working group to fight terrorism. Furthermore, they enhanced cooperation in science and technology, and information technology. Vajpayee stressed in this visit the fact that India and Turkey share the common values of secularism, religious tolerance and democracy, and both states are growing industrial societies¹¹¹.

In 2008 Turkey and India signed an “agreement for mutual exemption of visa requirement for holders of diplomatic relations”.

¹¹⁰ K. Gajendra Singh, “India and Turkey-Israel Nexus”, *South Asia Analysis Group*, Paper no. 802, 26. 09. 2003, <http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/%5Cpapers9%5Cpaper802.html>, Accessed on 04 January 2010.

¹¹¹ “India-Turkey relations in the 21st century”, *Turks.us*, September 20, 2003, <http://www.turks.us/article.php?story=20030920002222695>. Accessed on 02 January 2010.

4.3.2. Economic Relations

India and Turkey have a natural interest in seeing a more equitable spread in the benefits from free trade in goods and services. In 2007, trade between the two countries was at \$2,647 million. Turkey-India trade has increased by over 300 per cent in the last five years (2003-2007)¹¹². The Turkey-India trade volume has almost tripled between 2003 and 2007, from \$795 million to \$2.6 billion. In 2008 the trade volume increased by 3 billion dollars¹¹³. The two countries aim to increase this figure to 6 billion USD by 2010. India's exports to Turkey during 2007-08 increased by 32 per cent to 1.8 billion dollars, while India's imports at 1.7 billion dollars surged by a whopping 409 per cent during this period.

As a result, Indo-Turkish relations did not achieve their potential yet. Both Turkey and India are democracies with fast-growing, stable, liberal and globalized economies. There is a vast potential for Turkish-Indian cooperation in the energy sector. The other potential cooperation area is in combating terrorism. India and Turkey rediscovered this potential in the Indian relationship in the era of the AK Party. There are no direct bilateral problems between India and Turkey, which means, a room for more cooperation between the two states can be provided. Turkey-India relations are on an upswing. Historically and culturally, Turkey has been no stranger to India and vice-versa. And they can facilitate relations. Finally, Turkey

¹¹² The Hindu Business Online, 8 February 2008, <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/2008/02/08/stories/20080208511905>. Accessed on 27 June 2008.

¹¹³ <http://www.newkerala.com/news/fullnews-7580.html>. Accessed on 04 January 2010.

and India can increase the value of their relations to the level of a strategic partnership in terms of geostrategic, geopolitics and geo-economic calculus¹¹⁴.

4.4. Turkey-South Korea Relations

4.4.1. Political Relations

Turkey and South Korea made their first contact in the era of the Ottoman Empire. Turkey recognized the Republic of Korea on August 11, 1949. Turkey's participation in the Korean War in 1950 placed the relations between the two states on an exceedingly well-built and constructive basis. These bonds of friendship are cherished by the two nations as well. It has provided Korean sympathy for Turks. Thus, Turkey considers the Republic of Korea as an economically and technologically advanced country, emerging as a hub in East Asia. What is more, Turkey and Korea also have cooperative relations in international organizations and share similar views towards major international issues¹¹⁵.

For bilateral relations the mutual high level visits exchanged in 2004 have contributed to the enhancement of bilateral relations. Prime Minister Erdogan visited

¹¹⁴ Subhash Kapila, "Turkey-India Strategic Partnership: The Indian Imperatives", *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Dış Politika Forumu*, Ağustos 2008, http://www.dispolitikaforumu.org/component/option,com_docman/task,cat_view/Itemid,99999999/gid,38/. Accessed on 22 December 2009.

¹¹⁵ Selçuk Çolakoğlu, "Turkey-South Korea Relations", January 31, 2008, <http://scolakoglu.blogspot.com/2008/01/turkey-south-korea-relations.html>. Accessed on March 18, 2008.

South Korea on February 8-10, 2004. After that, the Cultural and Scientific Exchange Program for 2005-2008 was signed on September 23, 2005 and the Memorandum of Understanding on Exchange of Military Intelligence was signed on November 28, 2005. Lastly, the Agreement on Tourism was signed on October 4, 2006¹¹⁶. After these developments, Roh visited Turkey which is the first visit from South Korea at the level of presidency. On the other hand, Turkey signed the Altay Tank Project¹¹⁷ with South Korea on July 28, 2008, which is to the value of \$400 million. It has provided a cooperative relationship between the Turkish and South Korean militaries. Finally, Prime Minister Han Seung-soo visited Turkey on December 1-2, 2008.

4.4.2. Economic Relations

Korea is the second largest trade partner, after China, in the Far East for Turkey. The trade volume between the two countries reached 3.7 billion dollars in 2006 and 4.5 billion dollars in 2007. Korea's direct investments amounted to 325 million dollars, which makes it the 11th largest investor in Turkey. Currently, 114 Korean companies operate in Turkey. Furthermore, the Turkish-Korean Business Council, established

¹¹⁶ T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı, Türkiye-Güney Kore Siyasi İlişkileri, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-guney-kore-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa>. Accessed on February 23, 2009.

¹¹⁷ "Turkey Signs Deal With S. Korea for Altay Tank Project", *Defense Industry Daily*, 3 August 2008, <http://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/Turkey-Signs-Deal-With-S-Korea-for-Altay-Tank-Project-05012/>. Accessed on April 07, 2009.

under the auspices of the Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey, convened in Istanbul in September 2007¹¹⁸.

Consequently, Turkey-South Korea relations have begun to move from sympathy to a strategic level in recent times. The economy, science and technology are the main and potential areas in bilateral relations. 50 years of diplomatic process between the two countries is an impulsive force for the development of bilateral relations.

4.5. Turkey-Indonesia Relations

4.5.1. Political Relations

There are historical and cultural bonds between the Turkish and Indonesian peoples that go back to 16th Century in the era of the Ottoman Empire. These deep-rooted and well-built links of friendship constitute a firm ground for the further development of the bilateral relations of the two states¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁸ T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı, Türkiye-Güney Kore Ekonomik İlişkileri, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-guney-kore-ekonomik-iliskileri.tr.mfa>. Accessed on May 24, 2008.

¹¹⁹ "Turkey and Indonesia do not know each other well", *TimeTurk*, June 29, 2009, <http://en.timeturk.com/turkey-and-indonesia-do-not-know-each-other-well-21764-haberi.html>. Accessed on 18 December 2009.

Indonesia¹²⁰ hosts the Secretariat of the Association of the South East Nations (ASEAN) and is an important country¹²¹ for Turkey in this regard since Turkey wants to join this organization. Therefore, Indonesia can help Turkey in joining the ASEAN. There are no disputes between Turkey and Indonesia. Bilateral relations are progressing on the basis of mutual respect and understanding. But it is not sufficient because they have an immense potential for the development of relations for energy and economic fields at the strategic level. Prime Minister Erdoğan visited Indonesia on February 5-7, 2005 and this meeting opened new opportunities to advance relations.

4.5.2. Economic Relations

Turkey and Indonesia have enjoyed rapidly developing economic relations since 2002¹²². The overall trade volume increased three fold from 355 million dollars in 2002 to (a rise of 40 per cent) 2 billion dollars in 2006, which makes Indonesia today the 6th largest trade partner for Turkey in the Far East¹²³. Turkey and Indonesia

¹²⁰ R. James Ferguson, "The Transformation of Indonesia (1997-2007) and its Regional Significance", *Journal of Australia and the Asia Pacific*, 2007, <http://209.85.229.132/search?q=cache:6Bk19xfy9cMJ:www.international-relations.com/wbip/Auspac-Lec3-2007.doc+indonesia+asean&cd=26&hl=tr&ct=clnk&gl=tr>. Accessed on December 28, 2008.

¹²¹ "Implications of growing Indonesian assertiveness on Asean", Aliran, September 17, 2009, http://www.aliran.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1030:the-implications-of-growing-indonesian-assertiveness-on-asean&catid=86:2009&Itemid=47. Accessed on December 14, 2009.

¹²² Jeffrey D. Sachs, Susan M. Collins, *Developing Country Debt and Economic Performance: Country Studies- Indonesia, Korea, Philipinnes, Turkey*, National Bureu of Economic Research, Vol. 3, Cambridge, 1989, p. 17-8.

¹²³ "Turkey, Indonesia to boost bilateral trade", *NewEurope*, 8 November 2009, <http://www.neweurope.eu/articles/Turkey-Indonesia-to-boost-bilateral-trade/97454.php>. Accessed on 14 April 2009.

aimed to increase the trade volume between the two countries to 5 billion US dollars within the next three years¹²⁴. What is more, the two states determined a new target of €10 billion in trade to be reached by 2014. In this regard, 14 Turkish companies have invested in Indonesia, mainly in the mining and manufacturing sectors. These companies already invested €70 million during the last three years. Turkey and Indonesia could cooperate in the food sector, ship construction, automobiles, and the textile and textile machine sectors. And they could also increase joint investments in these areas.

Just as Indonesia considers Turkey a door to Europe and the Middle East, Turkey should also consider Indonesia a door to Asia-Pacific countries for Turkey.

4.6. Turkey-Malaysia Relations

4.6.1. Political Relations

Turkey first established diplomatic relations with Malaysia in 1964. Malaysia, which is a prominent member of the Association of the South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and which plays a pivotal role in the regional organizations in East and South East Asia, is very important for Turkey because Turkey wants to join this organization. Therefore, as a Muslim country, Malaysia can play a crucial role for

¹²⁴ “Turkey-Indonesia Trade Volume To Reach \$5 Bln In 3 Years”, *Developing8*, September 22, 2008, <http://www.developing8.org/2008/09/22/turkeyindonesia-trade-volume-to-reach-5-bln-in-3-years/>. Accessed on 23 December 2009.

Turkey's joining the ASEAN. Turkey wanted to co-opt Malaysia in Southeast Asia and in the ASEAN¹²⁵. Meanwhile, Turkey is ready to contribute to Malaysia in its relations with the countries of the Middle East. Besides, the two countries are cooperating closely in international organizations such as the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and in the D-8 Group.

In the bilateral relations framework, Prime Minister Erdoğan visited Malaysia in June 2003 and on February 7-8 2005 two times. This meeting created new opportunities for a deepening in bilateral relations¹²⁶. Furthermore, Foreign Minister Davutoglu visited Malaysia in 2009 and called for closer cooperation with Malaysia in the economic, political and cultural fields¹²⁷. In those visits, Turkey tried to enhance relations and explore new cooperation areas with Malaysia. Turkey and Malaysia share historical and cultural affinities that are the basis for deepening relations. However, in Turkish domestic politics the “Is Turkey becoming a Malaysia?” question is debated from time to time in terms of its Islamization trend. But this debate is artificial¹²⁸.

¹²⁵ “Turkey Calls for Closer Ties with Malaysia”, *CRIenglish*, 2009-11-03, <http://english1.cri.cn/6966/2009/11/03/1722s526707.htm>. Accessed on 17 Decemeber 2009.

¹²⁶ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-political-relations-with-malaysia.en.mfa. Accessed on 02 January 2010.

¹²⁷ “Davutoğlu Kuala Lumpur'da”, *USAKgündem*, <http://www.usakgundem.com/haber/44553/davuto%C4%9Flu-kuala-lumpur-39-da.html>. Accessed on 05 December 2009.

¹²⁸ “Malezya Büyükelçisi: Türkiye Malezya olmaz”, *Radikal*, July 28, 2008, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/Default.aspx?aType=Detay&ArticleID=889928&Date=28.07.2008&CategoryID=81>. Accessed on 12 April 2009.

4.6.2. Economic Relations

Turkey and Malaysia have experienced steadily growing economic relations over the last decade. The annual turnover increased to 994 million dollars in 2006, from a modest figure of 242 million dollars recorded in 2000. This makes Malaysia today the 7th largest trade partner for Turkey in the Far East¹²⁹. In 2007, the trade volume exceeded 1.3 billion dollars, with an increase by % 34 from the 994 million dollars of the year before. Turkey's export and import figures were 82 million dollars and 1.2 billion dollars respectively. There are currently 15 Malaysian companies operating in Turkey. The total foreign direct investment of those companies amounted to approximately 1.5 million dollars in 2007.

Consequently, Turkey and Malaysia are eager to renew their friendship and to further enhance the existing good bilateral relations and cooperation. It is in both countries' interest to take concrete steps to increase the volume of bilateral trade and expand the scope of bilateral co-operation through efforts like trade fairs, investment missions and other activities in the coming days as soon as possible.

¹²⁹ Malezya Ülke Etüdü, İstanbul Ticaret Odası, <http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache%3AeFL6hEfQ-9cJ%3Awww.ito.org.tr%2FDokuman%2FUlke%2FMalezya.pdf+malezya+t%3%BCrkiye+ili%5%9Fkileri&hl=tr&gl=tr&sig=AHIEtbQBxkkqnRXiLPfzfgQoTo3WE-Ajdg&pli=1>. Accessed on 02 January 2010.

4.7. Turkey-Pakistan Relations

4.7.1. Political Relations

Diplomatic relations were first established on August 1947 between Turkey and Pakistan. Subsequently Turkish-Pakistani political relations have further developed on the basis of brotherhood and solidarity since 1947, when Pakistan became an independent state. The Turkish and Pakistani peoples enjoy brotherly relations which date back several centuries. They have always been in close contact throughout history and mutually influenced each other socially and culturally. Pakistan has always been a staunch friend and an outstanding partner for Turkey since the Turkish War of Independence. Therefore, old ties, or in other words, deep ties, came from Indian Muslims' aid during the Turkish War of Independence.

Moreover, Turkey gives great importance to its relations with Pakistan. Both countries have a strong political will to further develop and diversify their relations. Pakistan is a key country significantly contributing in the efforts directed at bringing stability to its region. Turkey supports Pakistan's fight against terrorism and extremism. Turkey and Pakistan also count on each other's support in international politics on the issues that concern their national interests¹³⁰. The two countries enjoy a broad convergence of views on many regional and international issues. For

¹³⁰ Frederic P. Miller, Agnes F. Vandome, John McBrewster (Ed.), *Foreign Relations of Pakistan: Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations, Pakistani-Turkish Relations, Iran-Pakistan Relations, Pakistan-Palestine Relations, Pakistan-Saudi Relations, Pakistan-United States Relations*, Alphascript Publishing, Mauritius, September 2009, p. 145.

instance, Pakistan has reciprocated by expressing support for Turkey's policy on Northern Cyprus.

In multilateral relations and institutional cooperation, Turkey and Pakistan are founding members of the Economic Cooperation Organization and part of the Developing 8 Countries (D-8) organization and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). Trade, business, investment, defense production, tourism, educational and cultural co-operation are shared. The perceptions and interests of Turkey and Pakistan converge on Turkey's approach to embracing all aspects of Pakistan, and have borne out sincere and useful contacts, reiterating Turkey's unwavering support¹³¹.

What's more, a trilateral meetings process initiated by Turkey has begun between Turkey, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Turkey also attaches utmost importance to the trilateral mechanism established among Turkey, Pakistan and Afghanistan on the basis of the Ankara Declaration announced following the Tripartite Summit held in Ankara on April 29-30 2007¹³². President Abdullah Gül has paid an official visit to Pakistan on December 2-3, 2007, in order to display Turkey's solidarity with Pakistan at the highest level in a troubled period.

¹³¹ Istiaqh Ahmad, "Turkey and Pakistan: Bridging the Growing Divergence", *Perceptions*, Vol. 5, September-November 2000, p.6.

¹³² "Ankara's Role On The AfPak Front: Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Ankara, Turkey", *APS Diplomat News Service*, Vol. 71 Issue: 9, August 31, 2009, p. 6.

Following the formation of the new Government in Pakistan in March 2008, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ali Babacan, visited Pakistan on April 18-19, 2008. Babacan met his counterpart Mahdum Sah Mahmud Kureishi, and was also hosted by President Musharraf and Prime Minister Gilani. Babacan paid a visit of condolence to Asif Ali Zardari, the Co-Chairman of the Pakistani Peoples Party as well. Babacan, who was the first Foreign Minister to visit Pakistan after the formation of the Coalition Government in Pakistan, reiterated that Turkey's position of standing by Pakistan in every field will remain unchanged.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi and Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu declared, on August 27, 2009, that Turkey and Pakistan decided to establish a strategic cooperation and coordination structure between the two foreign ministries and that a joint economic forum would convene as soon as possible¹³³. In this meeting, according to the mutual decision, a regular strategic cooperation and coordination mechanism would be established between the two foreign ministries. It is believed that this mechanism would set up a framework for cooperation especially regarding, not only bilateral issues, but also Asian matters. In other words, such a mechanism would aim to make a long-term analysis about global and regional developments and more comprehensive evaluations on issues regarding a mutual future. Pakistan and Turkey have also agreed to strengthen relations in the fields of defense, economics and economic fields. On security and military cooperation, the

¹³³ "Pak-turkey agrees to further strengthen relations", South Asian News Agency, <http://www.sananews.com.pk/english/2009/06/10/pak-turkey-agrees-to-further-strengthen-relations/>. Accessed on 06 Decemeber 2009.

declaration underlined the need for taking measures to broaden security cooperation between the security agencies in their comprehensive campaign against terrorism, illicit arms trafficking and the prevention of financial, logistical and all other support for terrorists. It was also decided to intensify the on-going military cooperation between the Turkish and Pakistani general staffs, particularly in the areas of training and education, besides enhancing trade relations in defense-related industries. Furthermore, Turkey realized the \$100 million-aid package for Pakistan and for the rehabilitation of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). There is a strategic tie between Turkey and Pakistan in that Pakistan and Turkey have maintained long-standing military ties, with Turkey supplying arms, military equipment and training Pakistani officers. Pakistan and Turkey initially signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation in April 1954. Both countries, valued as important states in their regions, joined the U.S.-led Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) aimed to bolster military and strategic cooperation and counter the spread of communism and Soviet influence in the region. Turkey has openly supported Pakistan's stance on the Kashmir conflict and maintained political and military support during its wars with India. Both nations have sought to expand cooperation to fight terrorism.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, accompanied by a large delegation of ministers, bureaucrats and businessmen, paid a visit to Pakistan on October 25-26, 2009, after the invitation of Pakistani Prime Minister Gilani¹³⁴. During Erdoğan's

¹³⁴ "Prime Minister Erdoğan's visit to Pakistan", TRT, 16.11.2009, <http://www.trtenglish.com/trtinternational/en/newsDetail.aspx?HaberKodu=9ab15741-3052-46d6-aa4d->

visit to Pakistan, a new potential for cooperation between the two countries was opened in multiple fields, including agriculture. A memorandum of understanding was signed between the two countries to further develop bilateral relations in the fields of economy, diplomacy, security and politics. Turkey and Pakistan decided to set up a High Level Strategic Cooperation Council and agreements were also signed on education, visa requirements and the opening in Pakistan of a Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA) liaison bureau. The first fruit of these agreements was Pakistan's immediate move to lift visa requirement for Turkish businessmen visiting Pakistan.

4.7.2. Economic Relations

The volume of trade between Turkey and Pakistan was 505 million U.S. dollars in 2006, But Pakistan and Turkey have agreed in principle to increase the level of bilateral trade to US\$ 2 billion in a couple of years from the existing US\$ 700 million in 2009. What is more, Turkey and Pakistan agreed to encourage joint ventures for the establishment of free trade and industrial zones to contribute to the enhancement of employment and investment opportunities in Pakistan.

In conclusion, Turkey and Pakistan have remained close friends for over half a century. Although the two countries do not share a border, relations between Turkey

[c1afeee3b564&title=Prime%20Minister%20Erdo%C4%9Fan%E2%80%99s%20visit%20to%20Pakistan](http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x1afeee3b564&title=Prime%20Minister%20Erdo%C4%9Fan%E2%80%99s%20visit%20to%20Pakistan). Accessed on 04 January 2010.

and Pakistan are exemplary. Although the political relations between the two countries have been very strong, economic relations between them have not yet become satisfactory for either country.

4.8. Turkey-Afghanistan Relations

4.8.1. Political Relations

Relations between the Turkish and Afghan nations go back to the time of Ottoman Empire. As for the state of the Republic of Turkey, the official foundations of the relations between the two states were laid with signing of the Turkey-Afghanistan Treaty in Moscow in 1921. The most important aspect of this treaty is Afghanistan's being the first state to recognize Turkey and its national struggle in the international arena and also for its being the first international treaty of the Ankara government. After that, the relations between the two states gained a strategic depth with the Turkish-Afghani Treaty of Eternal Amity, which was signed in Ankara on May 25, 1928. Turkey, which began to support the formation and development of Afghanistan's government agencies, has continued this support until today and this situation has become customary¹³⁵.

¹³⁵ Turkey's Political Relations with Afghanistan", *Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-political-relations-with-afghanistan.en.mfa, Accessed on February 03, 2009.

Today, at this point, intensive efforts are made at the NATO level in the first place , and also at all international platforms in order to save Turkey from the situation that Afghanistan currently experiences. In this context, the former foreign minister and president of Turkish Assembly, Hikmet Çetin's assignment as NATO's Afghanistan Senior Civilian Representative for two consequent terms upon intensive demands, is proves that NATO needs Turkey's expertise in Afghanistan where she has deep historical and cultural boundaries.

4.8.2. Turkey's Afghanistan Policy

Turkey builds her Afghanistan policy on parameters such as the protection of the country's independence and its territorial integrity and the procurement of security and stability, while saving the country from being the source of radical and fundamentalist trends, terrorism and drug smuggling. Turkey's amicable approach, through which she embraces all groups of the country without any discrimination, makes Turkey a role model to be adopted for her political approach by other religious players in the resolution of Afghanistan's issues. It was observed that military means fall short in Afghanistan and the theses that would enable the reconstruction of the country have lately been adopted in the NATO-Bucharest summit dated April 2008, which was actually too late.

On the contrary, it is striking that in spite of NATO's declaration to apply a civil-military approach, which failed later, Turkey already managed to initiate such an approach with the formation of the Vardak Provincial Construction Team on November 2006. In this way, by focusing on the reconstruction of Afghanistan, Turkey put diversified projects worth 77 million dollars into effect. Besides, she has increased her contribution to the reconstruction of Afghanistan up to 200 million dollars after the June 2008 Paris Conference. Furthermore, since 2001, the overall value of Turkey's contributions in the military field (the training of the Afghan army and police forces etc.) has reached 100 million U.S. dollars already.

4.8.3. The Triple Summit Initiative of Turkey-Pakistan-Afghanistan

The Turkey-Pakistan-Afghanistan Triple Summit conference (realizing that the US had failed in uniting Afghanistan and Pakistan before) and the Ankara process constitutes the regional dimension of Turkey's policy, which she carries out on the socio-economic and security level. At the end of the Ankara process, which was initiated by three countries in April 2007, Turkey began to employ the regional approach in the resolution of problems in the region by gathering Afghanistan and Pakistan together¹³⁶.

¹³⁶ Rakshanda Khan Rakhsy, "Pakistan-Afghanistan-Turkey Summit", *Pakistan Observer*, April 1, 2009, <http://www.tobb.org.tr/eng/haber/010409pakistanobserver.pdf>. Accessed on 16 December 2009.

Thus, it was decided that, among these three countries, a joint-working group should be established, making Pakistan, which is one of the important sources of the problems in Afghanistan, undertake a constructive role for the solution of the problem. The development of cooperation was intended with the organizing of the very first conference of the joint-working group in July 2007. In October 2007, the constitutional structure of the cooperation between Afghanistan and Pakistan was formed under the leadership of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB).

As for December 2008, by arranging the second triple summit conference in Istanbul, a consensus in bringing security into being in the struggles in the fields of military cooperation, terror and drug smuggling was reached between the parties. Intelligence cooperation was determined to be made in the third and the last summit realized on April 2009. The summit's procurement of cooperation in a field such as intelligence strikingly proves the distance covered thanks to the conferences. Moreover, the fact that the US, Russia and Iran made efforts to implement the triple summit conferences, which were initiated under the leadership of Turkey, shows not only that these countries follow in Turkey's wake, but also that Turkey pursues a leader policy in the region. On the other hand, the shifting of terrorism and violence from Afghanistan to Pakistan makes the triple summit and joint working group more functional and vitally important. The fact that Taliban attacks in Afghanistan arise from Pakistan, and the augmentation of US NATO losses have started to increase constraints on Pakistan. In the shifting of instability from Afghanistan to Pakistan,

the cases of not bringing the border of 2,430 km. between Afghanistan and Pakistan under control and terror groups' meeting their safe region needs, which are their sine qua non (prerequisite) on this border. As a result of US pressure, the Pakistan army's launching operations in the region augments the existing instability and terror activities paradoxically in the country.

Because of the risk of the nuclear weapons possessed by Pakistan, which has become a failed and weak state, passing into the hands of the Taliban and Al Qaeda terrorist organizations, the US's following of the Pakistan-oriented nuclear disarmament policy increases instability in the region. Therefore, the nuclear weapons factor is also attracts attention to this shifting of instability to Pakistan. In spite of this, the importance of cooperation between Afghanistan and Pakistan increases and Turkey's role in these issues has an importance, which influences/determines the regional policy and the fate of Pakistan.

4.8.4. Turkey's Contributions in the Field of Security

The constructive activities that Turkey carries out in Afghanistan under the leadership of the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) provide enhancement of visits between Afghanistan and Turkey and they also form the fundamental basis of Turkey's increasing role and efficiency. Her contributions in Afghanistan in the framework of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) are not only highly

appreciated by Afghanistan, the US and NATO, but also by the whole international community. It is expected from the fact that the TAF, which had already taken over ISAF's Kabul Regional Command twice, that it would take over this mission for third time in the following term (August-November 2009). This should work to increase Turkey's importance in the region. In a sense, it can be asserted that ,primarily the local community, and then the Afghanistan administration, NATO and the US also expected that Turkey would take over the command¹³⁷.

As for the reason of this expectation, it is the belief that the TAF, which successfully accomplished all the international peace and assistance activities in which it took part, would augment the security and stability in the country by this takeover of command. The fact that NATO forces hoisted the Turkish flag on their convoys while launching an operation and returning from the operation in order not to be attacked, although it is forbidden, shows the respectability and importance of the TAF in Afghanistan. For this reason, the TAF's takeover of the ISAF command has become the expectation of all the players in the region. This respectability of the TAF results from the years of the War of Independence and the importance attributed to Afghanistan by Ataturk. It is understood that this importance will increasingly continue in Davutoğlu's period.

¹³⁷ Turkish Contributions to Security and Development in Afghanistan", The UN, 22 March 2007, <http://www.un.int/turkey/page167.html>. Accessed on June 05, 2009.

4.8.5. Turkey's Contributions in the Socio-economic Field and Economic Relations

Turkey's contributions in Afghanistan, which have become customary, are enforced in the military, security, economic and social fields. In the military field, Turkey not only plays the role of providing security and stability in the ISAF, with approximately 700-800 military and civil personnel on average under the leadership of the TAF, but also works intensively for the education of the Afghan National Army and Police Forces. The number of trained Afghan policemen and soldiers has reached up to 6,289. In the field of socio-economic development, Turkey has carried out construction, repair and furnishing activities for 41 schools, dormitories, 4 hospitals which enable 1 million patients to be treated, 7 clinics, 2 mobile clinics, water tanks, cold storage facilities, sport complexes, and children's parks¹³⁸. Turkey has spent 200 million dollars voluntarily to carry out these activities¹³⁹. By virtue of this, Turkey contributes to the establishment of a socio-economic order in Afghanistan at a time when there is not a working economy in Afghanistan, but smuggling and drugs dominate the economy.

¹³⁸ Turkey To Open 27th Provincial Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan", The U.S. Department of Defense, November 5, 2006. <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=2026>. Accessed on April 23, 2009.

¹³⁹ Turkey contribution in Afghanistan important: US", *ReliefWeb*, 01 July 2008, <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/KKAA-7G55LL?OpenDocument>. Accessed on June 02, 2009.

Also, while today in the Turkey-originated schools founded in Afghanistan, 56 to the US and students have education, thanks to the exchange students programs, Afghan students are enabled to receive education in big cities such as Ankara and Istanbul. Together with these long term investments for the development of Afghanistan, studies are carried out simultaneously in a number of fields from education to health, agriculture and employment projects. It can be expressed that Turkey sees these studies as historical responsibilities.

Above all, Turkey is appreciated by international society due to her activities on the issue of women rights, one of the important points of the invisible side of Afghanistan that coalition powers are not interested in and the whole world is not aware of. Turkey is organizing literary, carpet weaving and nutrition courses for the rehabilitation of Afghan women and trying to lay a foundation for a healthy society by conducting briefings and awareness-raising studies about the forgotten women's rights in Afghanistan.

Lastly, the trade volume between Turkey and Afghanistan reached 145 million dollars by 2008, and also Turkey became the biggest investor in Afghanistan with her 200 million dollars in investments. Apart from this, 63 Turkish companies invested 1.6 billion dollars by undertaking 157 projects in the field of the Afghan private sector. On the other hand, the corporate basis was laid to develop the economy between two countries with the foundation of the Mixed Economy

Commission (the first period meeting was held on 26-27 of April 2005 in Ankara). Furthermore, the economic field was included in the process of the triple summit and the economic cooperation platform that the chamber of commerce and industry representatives of these three countries could participate in was formed.

In conclusion, Turkey's Afghanistan policy is established on an approach that is based on the fellow neighbor concept, although Turkey and Afghanistan do not share common borders. Turkey's efforts in the establishment of a state in Afghanistan and increasing role of ensuring safety and stability has been approved. As the US Special delegate of Pakistan and Afghanistan, Richard Holbrooke pointed this out by saying: "Turkey is an important factor in Afghanistan." Since the very first years of the Republic, Turkey has supported the building of governmental institutions in Afghanistan. Turkey, having a privileged status in her relations with local Afghans based on trust and brotherhood, gained influence in the region through its cultural and historical ties with Afghanistan. Thus, the inviting of Turkey for the first time to the Afghanistan meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which was held in Moscow, in spite of Turkey's not being a member, can be evaluated as the outcome of these policies. In conclusion, as a term president of the UN Security Council, Turkey's role as an actor in the problem-solving and reconstruction in Afghanistan, which has occupied the international security agenda for a long time, makes Turkey a global actor.

CONCLUSION

Asia had been regarded as an important and critical issue in international agendas after the dissolution of USSR. In the meantime, it was proven that South Asia had a considerable influence over the economic jumping and crisis in the 1990s. China, South Korea, Indonesia, and Malaysia are to be the emerging new economies in the world. The most important point is that South Asia has been rising as an economic power, and in this way, Asia has become a political power center in the global political economy. In other words, the balance of power, not only in economics, but also in politics, shifted into Asia. Moreover, because of Asia's energy resources, the attention of the great powers has been drawn there and became an arena of great power politics.

Turkey and Far East or South Asia relations have been developing, and the number of mutual visits between countries has been increasing as geographic distance barriers are being removed. Turkey's trade relations with Asian countries have increased 25-30% on average since 2003. Thus, Turkey has become a state to have a voice in Asia. Turkey has been involved in global projects in the energy field and other areas, and Turkey has become a wanted actor in global energy projects. For instance, Turkey can take initiative in global projects such as the Nabucco natural gas pipeline project. Moreover, France has proposed that Turkey and itself participate as partners in that project, but Turkey has rejected France's proposal because of its negative attitude in the Turkey-EU negotiation process. As a result,

Turkey has become a global actor in the market and politics of the international energy game.

In addition, Turkish Airlines (THY) is flying to Asia in parallel with Turkish foreign policy. THY has started to schedule regular flights far beyond the boundaries in line with the government political will and foreign policy. Looking at the destinations of THY in Asia may give clues to how broad the expansion of Turkey's area of influence in Asia is.

The destinations of THY in Asia:

- Beijing, Hong Kong, and Shanghai, China
- Jakarta, Indonesia; Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; Karachi, Pakistan.
- Tokyo and Osaka, Japan
- Kazakhstan, Astana, Almaty Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek, Uzbekistan Tashkent; Tajikistan, Dushanbe
- Turkmenistan, Ashkabat
- South Korea, Seoul
- India, Delhi, Mumbai
- Thailand

- Singapore

In addition, the number of Asian countries which are held exempt from visa control has increased, thanks to Foreign Minister Davutoglu's visa exemption policy. The list of countries who are held exempt from visa control are:

Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan.

Furthermore, since 2003, Turkey has developed not only bilateral relations with Asian states, but also multilateral relations with international organizations in the region. For instance, Turkey applied to the ASEAN for observer status. Besides this, Turkey is in contact with international organizations in Asia, such as the ECO, APEC, EAS, SCO, STSC, TSCFBCC, Asian Development Bank, CICA, and ACD. Plus, TURKPA as an inter-parliamentary cooperation organization was founded thanks to Turkish initiative in November 2008.

Turkey has begun to revive the Silk Road which aims to merge continents, such as Asia, Europe and Africa. For this reason Turkey has made a proposal for cooperation with China. This project intends to build a continental railway in order to develop commercial relations and facilitate trade transportation.

The Far East and South Asia have been neglected for almost 50 years, until 2003, in Turkish foreign policy. Since 2003, a dimension of economic relationships has developed, especially as trade volume increased 25-30% average compared to the previous period. In addition, after 2003, the increase in the number of mutual visits (particularly from the Turkish side) towards the region clearly make these efforts, which had been indicated in the bilateral relations section of this research, visible. Turkey, desiring to become a global actor, has to act effectively in Asia first, and then this will almost certainly bring Turkey to the international arena as a global actor. For this reason, Turkey with its prestigious and rare image in Asia, must better take advantage of its historical and cultural ties in Asia.

Looking at the energy perspective, three fourths of the world's proven (71 percent of oil and 72 percent of gas) energy resources are located in regions neighboring Turkey. This thus, gives the natural role of being an energy bridge between Asia and Europe to Turkey, between the producer and consumer countries in that region. In this respect, Turkey implements its key role as a secure transit country and energy hub in its energy policy. Energy projects in and around Turkey influence Turkey's ties with many countries and its role in global politics. The most important point is Turkey's decision on which projects to support will play an important role in determining Central Asian energy routes, which carry an importance for all countries, both in Asia and in Europe. In this way, Turkey ensures its energy security by building up partnerships in the field of energy with rich countries and also giant energy consumer countries in Asia.

In any case, the most important problematic conclusion of the negligence of Asia in Turkish foreign policy and in the eyes of policy-makers is the lack of language knowledge. It is very difficult to find Chinese, Japanese, and Korean speaking specialists, academicians, politicians etc. in Turkey. Turkey has to invest in the establishment of Asian research centers to overcome this problem.

With respect to Turkish foreign policy vision, the AK Party's approach to foreign policy is similar to Özal's method of approach to some extent. Therefore, the AK Party foreign policy in method and practice is built upon Özal's applications. On the subject of Neo-Ottomanism, some similarities can be seen between them. The prominence of advisors and the first step approach in foreign policy is similar to that of Özal's. The difference is that the AK Party foreign policy vision is bigger than Özal's. However, the AK Party moved to a more advanced position than Özal. Particularly, the AK Party has made Özal's unable to suffice in foreign policy. In addition, policies initiated during Özal period are deepened in the era of the AK Party.

In conclusion, the sympathy for Turkey in Asia comes from historical and cultural common points and ties such as the frigate event and the rescuing of Japanese in the Iran-Iraqi war, and the Korea war 1950-53. This sympathy has deeply affected perceptions of Turkey. But Turkey had not succeeded in using this background to develop its relationship until now.

Basically, Turkey has an Asian depth and Asian identity just as much as it has a European, Black Sea, Middle East, Caucasian, and Mediterranean identity. It is a pity that the South Asian dimension in Turkish foreign policy has been disregarded until 2003.

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