TURKEY AND ARAB MIDDLE EAST IN POST-COLD WAR ERA: THE CASE OF SYRIA

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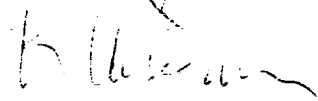Fatih University

August 2003

For my grandfather

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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

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) Develop a cultural perspective on how national images affects the foreign policies of states

ii) Examination of Turkish foreign policy towards Syria with using image perspective.

Hasan Basri Kurt

August, 2003

Abstract

Hasan Basri Kurt   August 2003

TURKEY AND ARAB MIDDLE EAST IN POST-COLD WAR ERA: THE CASE OF SYRIA

This thesis aims to describe the positions of diverse social identities in Turkey concerning Turkey's foreign policy towards Syrian with the lens of images of Arabs. this exploration will be presented within the framework of the theoretical proposition of the Constructivist International Relations (IR) theory with specific references to its emphases the role of identity on foreign policy making process. In the Constructivist theory, a key concept is "national interests" which are constructed socially by the discourses among different national identities. National images examined as a cultural form which intersubjectively shared through to processes of interaction. Thus. history placed a crucial position on constructing national images. Structures of international politics also have affects on constructing national images. In this context I examine images of Arabs in Turkish identity and their affects on Turkish foreign policy (TFP) making.

Keywords: Identity,   Image,   Turkish Foreign Policy, Syria,
Turkish-Syrian Relations,   Theory of International Relations,
Constructivist International Relations Theory.

Kısa Özet

Hasan Basri Kurt   Ağustos 2003

SOĞUK SAVAŞ SONRASI DÖNEMDE TÜRKİYE VE ARAP ORTADOĞUSU: SURİYE ÖRNEĞİ

Bu tez soğuk savaş sonrası dönemde Türkiye'de çeşitli sosyal kimliklerin Türkiye'nin Suriye'ye karşı dış politikasını.Türklerin Arap imajı bakışı çerçevesinde açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çaba içerisinde konsrüktivist uluslararası ilişkiler teorisinin . kimliğin dış politika yapımındaki etkisini vurgulayan teorik altyapısı kullanılacaktır. Konstrüktivist teoride anahtar kavram münferit kimlikler arasındaki söylemlerin bir neticesi olarak kurgulanan "ulusal çıkarlar"dır. Ulusal imajlar etkileşim süreçleri içerisinde karşılıklı-öznel paylaşıma tabi olan kültürel formlar şeklinde incelenecekler dir. Böylece tarih ulusal imajların kurgulanmasında önemli bir role sahiptir. Uluslararası politika yapılarının da ulusal imajların oluşmasında katkıları vardır. Bu çerçevede, Türk kimliğinde yer eden Arap imajlarının Türkiye'nin Suriye'ye karşı dış politikasına etkilerini inceleyeceğiz

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kimlik,   İmaj, Türk Dış Politikası. Suriye,
   Türkiye-Suriye İlişkileri,   Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorisi,
   Konstrüktivist Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorisi

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INTRODUCTION

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 indicated a change in international politics that cold war conditions were rapidly dissolving and a new era opened. Not just the relations between states or international environment but the structures of international politics transformed in a radical way. Mainstream theories of international relations (IR), Neorealism and Neoliberalism, fail to explore the change in international politics that they have utilized with the great respect of cold war conditions. Their essential error on understanding and explaining international politics is that the generalization of cold war conditions as free from alteration throughout the history. Their main arguments collapsed with the end of tension between Soviet and American blocks. Constructivist IR theory raises its validity in spite of the utilization that the interaction between states is not a given nature but constructed throughout processes of interaction. Thus, the sociological approaches and inter-disciplinary methodology strengthened their weight on understanding the international political environment.

Constructivist theories originate a broad understanding of international politics that socialization process of states; include not

only behaviors of states, but also identities of them. Cultural factors, sociological descriptions, and interpretations require an imperative role on understanding of IR. Their main argument is that the structures of international politics are based on shared knowledge rather than material forces. International political structures formed throughout the process of interactions equivalent to the sociological concept of social interaction. Process of interaction construct or reproduce the structures of international politics. As Realists, constructivist scholars offer a central role for states in international politics that is to say, agents.

Turkish foreign policy (TFP) against Middle Eastern Arab states during the cold war constructed with the unconstrained affect of fear from Soviet expansionism. Thus, NATO became the central determinant of TFP after the 1950s. Security dilemma has immense weight on constructing TFP against Arab states, which keep away from the western alliance. Consequently, Turkish security concerns created a kind of ambivalence that construction of Turkish identity was deeply affected by this process. Historically and geographically, Turkey is a part of the Middle East and she has firm historical links with Arab states. However, these historical ties and structures of international politics create ambivalence of Turkish identity. On the

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one hand, colonialism and the mandate system have great affects on constructing identities of Middle Eastern nations. On the other hand, the nation state model, with the remnants of the former structures, improves the level of ambivalence in constructing Middle Eastern politics.

In this study, my examination is the TFP discourse on the image of Arabs in the case of Syrian Historically and geographically, Syria is different from other Arab states. The border between Turkey and Syria witnesses the religious festival greetings twice a year between relatives who have different nationalities, Turkish and Syrian. Damascus and Aleppo have more importance than any other Arab cities in Turkish history. However, relations between two states are not free from prejudice and misunderstanding. The process after the foundation of Turkish Republic was not taking into consideration the construction of the Arab image. In general, just the discourse of betrayal with reference to Sheriff Hussein's rebellion against Ottoman forces during the First World War. On the other hand, structures of international politics have huge consequences on Turkish identity and images of Arabs in the TFP discourse. In this study, I aimed to explore the basic images of Arabs with using the discourse analysis method. I

assume that Turkish images of Arabs are seriously affected by the structures of international politics.

In this study my basic concern is how to describe and examine the Arab image in TFP. I am using the 'discourse analysis model', which was presented by Henrik Larsen. (Larsen, 1997) The materials used are not strictly distinct from traditional usage. However, 'discourse analysis' suggests a broader understanding of political context. It is not limited to government speeches of party programs but contains newspaper articles, cartoons, think-tank reports, academic writings. and also works of fiction etc. These all can be regarded as a part of the political discourse. The main purpose of using that kind of methodology is to abstain from any kind of constriction suggesting that the political sphere is a not a narrow sphere independent but one based on its social and historical context.

CHAPTER 1

CONSTRUCTIVIST PERSPECTIVES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND NATIONAL IMAGES

1.1 Constructivist Challenge to Mainstream Theories

Identity becomes one of the prominent debates of IR after the dissolution of cold war conditions. Inter-disciplinary methodology is continuously enhancing its burden on IR theory Sociological approaches on politics and IR such as critical theory and constructivism become the leading schools. Their central concern is to investigate the contents of culture, identity, and their impact on the international political environment. Contents of identity and culture on IR are examined by using sociological explanations and interpretations. Thus, the conventional writings on international politics lose their significance due to the lesser attention to these subjects.

Mainstream IR theorists' reference to identity in a way has little affect on behaviors of states or the incentives of their behaviors. To define or redefine the state identities during the cold war has no weight for scholars of the discipline. General understanding about identity is that the State, as a unitary actor, shapes the identity within a rationalistic way, just by means of the domestic sources of it. State

identities become closer because of the anarchic order of inter-state relations. . Despite the rationalistic epistemology they use, Neorealists accept that state behaviors were shaped in terms of interest and security in the anarchic order of international politics. They are interested in identity and culture in a narrow perspective and both affect the sub-behaviors of a state. Thus, the concept of interests of states is not explored by means of social interaction.

Whereas, retaining many of the tenets of Classical Realism Neorealist contradict with their predecessors on at least two points. The paramount concern of the state is not power but security in the first place. Realists state power is an end in itself. Decision makers of the states seek power rationally hence this search for power in inter-state relations produces conflict and competition. On the other hand, Neorealists assume that the foremost concern of the state is security. They perceive power as a means that realize the national security. Utilization for providing security is the unique way that power holds any significance. Without advances to national security, power may tend to go in different directions as an end itself that makes states less secure. Despite the fact that neighbors of the subject state seek power against her for protecting themselves and proving their need to survive.

The second and foremost disagreement between Neorealist thinkers and their predecessors is the problem of the level of analysis. Classical Realism's methodology about focusing on individual decision makers, unit level analysis, is not completely refuted but Neorealists search for a broad understanding than the systems level. Their main interest is not about particular conflict or competition but sources of conflict and competition in a broad exploration. Waltz (1979) maintains that the absence of any central monopoly or legitimate power produces the anarchic order in an inter-state system. Security dilemmas conceal any other dimension or factor hence state identities in international systems become closer. No other particular source but security dilemma in anarchic international environment produces and reproduces the behaviors of states.

Neorealist perspectives on international politics generate a condition that states occupy a kind of hyperesthesia that originated from excessive sensitivity to survival in an anarchic order. Overstimulation of states on survival in a given structure expands the influence of structures over the state identities. This situation can be appropriate for cold war conditions, which possess an elevated disturbance between two polar in the company of holding the memories of world wars' immense destruction. Developments in

nuclear technologies and their usage in military industry causes one to give more importance for security issues. However, Neorealist's main error on understanding and explaining IR is that the structures have a given nature. The further stage of this presupposition is that structures, because of their given nature, erase the variation between states and identities of them.

Realists and Neorealists use the identity and culture as epiphenomenal. (Katzeisntein, 1996) It is a secondary source for decision maker's strategic usage. Moreover, apart from their identities or forms of governments, states' behaviors are reproduced by thee structural dynamics of the international system. Their behaviors controlled not by domestic sources of politics, but by structural security dilemma. Structure is not defined on an account of behavioral units but in spite of arrangement of parts. Waltz defines the political structures by the ordering and relative distribution of power not for the attributes of units. (Waltz, 1993)

Neorealist and Neoliberal theories both consent to the very idea of structure that is based on materialistic patterns. Power and interest explains what generates international politics. Neoliberal theory could not offer a definitive perceptive or wider understanding except giving importance to international institutions not in favor of structural

Realism's postulations. (Keohane, 1988) The debate between Neoliberal and Neorealist theories are very limited to the inspiration that gains of states in structures are relative or absolute. (Keohane: Martin, 1995) According to Neorealist approaches, the state of nature in IR is 'state of war'. Waltz argues that structure confines the cooperation that regardless of relative distribution of gains states avoid cooperating with others. (Waltz 1979) On the other hand, Liberal Institutionist theory offers an understanding that the conflicts between states can be solved with the assistance of international institutions and organizations. With great respect to cooperation, Liberal Institutionalism consents to the very idea of cooperation in international politics for sustaining security needs of states and providing international peace.

During the cold war era, war agents of the international politics, states, defined themselves in terms of alliances with one of two polar opposites. World states were divided not exactly but generally in two blocks. Their international affairs mainly depended on leading ideology of cold war. Bipolarity produced a particular condition that structure became the foremost determinant of identity. States represented themselves within their network to Soviet or American blocks.

International politics undeniably embedded the behaviors of Soviet and US blocks during the cold war. No other dimension provides a fertile ground for making international politics. Thus, the identities of states were shaped mostly not by the domestic factors but the determinants of block, in which they were embedded. The overriding ideology of the cold war is much more of a factor through the formation of state identities. Dedicating much more importance to structural factors caused to the lack of domestic ones. Hence, bureaucrats and politicians have an expanded role on the decision-making processes. Neorealist theorists intensify their understanding to explore these conditions. They presume that structures have given natures rather than being a consequence of human agency and have their own nature independent from agents. Thus, they fail to explain the change of the structures.

The dissolution of the cold war conditions in the late 1980's reveal the deficiency of Neoliberal and Neorealist theories in exploring international politics. Structural changes in the international system necessitated a wider understanding on inter-state relations. A basic flaw of the mainstream theories is that they do not investigate the change in the system. The fall of Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 was also an indication of the fall of mainstream IR theories. Their

overriding concentration on the structure disbanded not by the hands of scholars but by history.

Constructivist theories instigate a broad understanding of international politics about the socialization process of states; shape not only the behaviors of states, but also the identities of them. Cultural factors, sociological descriptions, and interpretations acquire an imperative role on the understanding of IR. Their main argument is that the structures of international politics are based on shared knowledge rather than material forces. International political structures produce throughout the process of interactions an equivalent to the sociological concept of social interaction. The processes of interaction construct or reproduce the structures of international politics. As Realists, Constructivist scholars offer a central role for the state in international politics that is to say, agents. However foremost Realist assumption is that states are like units rejected by Constructivists.

The constructivist challenge to mainstream IR theories concentrates on two distinct assumptions. First, international environment, what states make of it, is founded on not just material but also cultural and institutional elements. Realist and Neorealist theories undertake that the international politics and behaviors of states can be figure out

exclusively in terms of economic and military power. The subsequent assumption is that the cultural environment has the capacity to construct not only foreign policy behaviors of states but also the shape the states' identities and interests. (Katzenstein, 1996:33)

Constructivists raised objections to Kenneth Waltz's prominent work, Theory of International Politics. Waltz considers international politics in terms of anarchy and relative distribution of power between states and strictly material structures and concludes that this relationship determines the state behaviors. Neorealists use the cultural factors as epiphenomenal issues. Culture is not a dynamic of inter-state relations at all. However, these relations are demonstrated as a passive structure, which was shaped by material factors. Constructivists respond to Waltzian understanding by saying that the shared knowledge and ideas are more persuasive than any other material force. They attributed that the cultural environment is the basic determinant of political actions. Moreover, material capabilities of the states acquire importance just in the cultural and institutional environments. Economic and military capabilities of states are inconsequential when they are free from social constructions.

Constructivist scholars consent to the sociological use of identity. Interaction between self and other cannot be taken for granted without

identity. At first, self is defined by his own disposition to other. He defines himself through interacting with other. The differences come into agenda and help the sides to produce and reproduce the identity. Self, other, and structure of interaction shape the identities. The constructivist school argues that the structural interaction is social, which includes shared knowledge, material resources and practices rather than just a distribution of material capabilities. First, shared knowledge form the agents' dispositions and nature of the relation. Second, social structures, in part, consist of material resources. Nevertheless, this reference to material structures is different from Neorealist perspective. Material capabilities cannot detach from shared knowledge. Economic and military capacities acquire meaning through the social structures. Lastly, social structures are observed through the process of interaction between agents. (Wendt, 1995)

Most of Constructivist scholars share the central assumptions of Realism that inter-state system is anarchic, needs to be developed in a systemic analysis; the unit of analysis is the state. However, the main trouble between these theories is about what structure is made of. According to Realists and Neorealists, inter-state structure is perfected just by material capabilities. On the contrary, Constructivists imply that interaction between states creates the structure as well as

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social interaction approaches in sociology. Thus, the inter-state structure made of at least "three basic elements: shared knowledge, material resources, and practices." (Wendt, 1995) Interaction between self and other constitute the social reality. Constructivists believe the social interaction is the determined character of the structure. Inter-subjectively shared knowledge is the main component of these structures. Shared knowledge provides the socialization between states in contrast to material distribution of interest. Furthermore, material resources are one of the dynamics of these social structures. In a divergent perceptiveness to Neorealist assumptions about the material capabilities, Constructivists assert that the material resources such as military and economic power are to obtain results in the social structures. Lastly, social structures become visible throughout the processes. Hence, practices are the echo of those social structures.

According to Constructivist scholars, structure of international system is causal rather than material as Neorealists assumed. Structure depends on interaction between states specifically, shared ideas, norms, and values, which agents acquire. As with the social interactions, states also take place in the socialization processes byway of the interaction with other agents of the system. Structure enforces the agents and characterizes them in this process of

interaction. In contrast to Neorealist assumptions, Constructivists constitute that the agents of the system have the ability to determine their own cause. They redefine themselves in the process of interaction and portray their roles. Structures and agents determine their conditions or identities within a framework. Structures nominate agents regarding their identities and interests. On the other hand, agents manipulate the structures through the process of practices.

Contrary to the Neorealist assumption that structures are unconditional entities, Constructivists assume that agents have capability to change them. Thus, the Wendtian argument that "anarchy is what states make of it" becomes the overriding postulation in Constructivist studies. Therefore, agent and structure both historically are constructed in the social processes. Consequently the Neorealist postulation that the structures have a given nature decidedly disposed. (Hopf, 1998)

Neorealists, consent to structural explanations of state behaviors in a given international system rather than state-centric descriptions. In contrast to Classical Realism, which emphasized on "unit" level factors, Neorealism stresses that broad patterns of behavior in IR are the result of interactions within a given international structure. Neorealists use structure-centric explanations. Thus, they keep away

from applying psychology, domestic politics, and regime type in exploring international politics. Waltz's work entitled Theory of International Politics rather than 'Theory of IR' indicates this categorization. (Waltz, 1979)

Neorealism is a theory of international politics rather than any exact foreign policy. Although this School of thought considers the state as the unitary actor, Neorealist understanding is that the structure wipes out the differences between states and they become alike seeking survival at a minimum level and maximize their relative power at a maximum level. Structures of international politics prearrange the states' interests, identities, and capabilities.

Katzenstein cited that the security environment, which states embedded in as the agents, is founded on cultural and institutional forces rather than material. The basic character of that environment is the shape of the state identity. In contrast to the Neorealist argument, cultural and institutional forces encourage the state behaviors. Katzenstein reinforced the idea that the character of the state is constructed through the processes occurring within the international cultural environment, states represent themselves in the processes as an agent and they produce and reproduce the structures of the international politics. (Katzeinstein, 1996)

Constructivist confirmed that layers of the international cultural environment could be dominating on three main topics. First, there are formal institutions and security regimes as NATO and international arms control regimes as NPT. Second, there are world political culture, including international law and norms that provide the states to make their national security policies interacting with other states. Lastly, amity and enmity in international level have influential cultural proportions. (Katzenstein, 1996:34)

1.2 National Images on Foreign Policy

The concept of image principally is a subject of epistemology. An image consists of complete abstraction of physical presence. However, when the object of knowledge is a fact or a phenomenon 'creative' and 'fiction' functions of imagination emerge. (Açıkgenç, 2000: 51) Boulding assumes that the behavior depends on image in a way that experiences and accumulation of knowledge about subjects have a crucial role on interpreting the present situation. This behavioralistic approach presented by Boulding is deficient in understanding the images on an international level. However, images or public images, as he noted, affects not just the behaviors of states but also the identities of them. (Boulding, 1956)

Not only do human beings produce and reproduce images, but so do societies. The essential component of society and culture is a national image that inter-subjectively is shared through the members of it. On the one hand, it is having a community image that their members participate. On the other hand, members of society participate in a world of images, which provides the sense of belonging to a nation. Thus, the images, as cultural forms, are a component of national identity. Interaction between self and other consists of sharing their images about themselves. Societal images have a great influence on private images of man on society with the help of education, skills, and media. One of the main endeavors of society is about the protection of this national image.

The presentation is that a classification about images, which are inter-subjectively shared through the social interaction. First, images of man are the basic level that every human being possesses images which provide her/him an understanding about her/his environment. Small group image is the second one, which close interaction within the members of the group produces images. Thirdly, national images are formed in the course of the training, national education and media. A civilized image is the fourth one that societies cannot restrict based on the images of territorial states. Discourse of Clash of Civilizations

and End of History open the course that civilizations might produce images in a broader sense. Lastly, structures of international politics also produce images. These five kinds of images represented affect each other through different processes of interaction. Some members of society possibly do not share some of the national images. On the other hand, a number of them possibly become a national image in the processes of interaction. In consequence, inter-subjectively created images shape not only the behaviors of the states but their identities, as well.

Historically constructed images have a vital effect on visions and expectations of the future. Hence, images consist of three indispensable factors: history, context, and interest. Image is a construction because of first experiences. Communities have not given structures but these structures constructed through the processes of interactive experiences of a community; whether international or domestic, have a vital prominence for construction of images. Present situations also can not be interpreted without a contextual and varying analysis. Every single situation can be understood relating to the context of it. Lastly, interest also is not prearranged but constructed through the future expectations of states, which are manipulated or employed by images.

Human beings interpret and describe the facts or a phenomenon through the lens of his/her own image about world and society. These images about the universe are constraints for change. Messages, which come from the world and from society, build up and create the image in a broader sense. Karl W. Deutsch cited that people seek 'cognitive consonance' that refers on accommodation between images they held and facts that they are confronted. They reject the information and messages, which do not fit into their images for keeping away from disorientation and alienation. (Deutsch, 1978:56)

Messages affect the image in three ways. First, the image may reject the message. In this case, information, which messages possess, has not changed the image. A great majority of messages might be sorted in this category. The second is that the messages can change the image in a smooth way. Possessor of an image adds some factors or reduces some elements of it. Their main effect on image is regulatory. They make an unclear image a clear one. The problem of certainty of the images is important in the interpretation of man and society. Images are tested throughout the processes of interaction and past experiences. (Boulding, 1956) Falsified images are disqualified within history and experiences. Level of interaction has a role on revealing the certainty of images.

The last point is that the revolutionary change on image may possibly be affected by messages. Conversion is a kind of such radical change on image. When a message strikes the core of the image a revolutionary change occurs. However image of man has great restraints to change. Revolutionary messages are discarded by former images. Rejection of a message and the information in it referred some untrue all illusion. Only the striking messages cause revolutionary changes in images.

In addition to image of man, national image inevitably constructs meta-narratives and "transcripts." While the primitive societies produce their transcripts as verbal rituals and ceremonies in modern society, there are effective forms of those developed. One of the main illustrations of these transcripts is the formation of maps. Forming and using maps also possess great weight on construction of national images. Geography books of every nation present that they are in the center of the world. Other countries and geographical elements were constituted in relation to a country's position not of their own. Boulding asserts that maps are the concise ways to transcription of a national image. He demonstrates that the maps of middle ages illustrate Jerusalem as the center of the world. (Boulding, 1956:66) During the middle ages, the main components of societies were not

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national images only but religious images as well. Religion was the crucial determinant of society rather than territorial integrity.

Additionally, history also has immense importance on formation of national images. Geographers are constrained by the real world that is observed by everyone. Nevertheless, writing history is more open for manipulation of facts and ideas. Geography is abused for national education but history is written and rewritten again. It is entirely open for abuse and manipulation. Not only by national historians but also writers of world history reflect their own civilization's image on historical narratives. As a summary, national education confirms a national collective image and identity which is distorted despite the fact that to provide a collective image of time and space. Socialization processes of human beings offer a secure district for construction of national images for providing human interaction.

1.3 Images at International Level

Structures of international politics whether cooperative or conflicting also produce national images. Constructivist approaches on international system and structures of it, presume that the cultural and institutional environment produce and reproduce the state identities. Not only do the domestic sources affect state identities, but also

environmental sources. Hence, images of states are not free from external influences. (Boulding, 1959)

Traditional writings about belief systems, which consist of images and perceptions of a state, are not clear enough to understand and explain international political processes. In traditional literature, images used for the general characteristic of a nation as part of belief system. However, mainstream IR theorists prefer to focus on individual decision makers of foreign affairs departments' bureaus. Failure of this unit level analysis has been argued previously. They assume that image is principally man-made. However, Realist approaches, as I noted, give attention to individual decision maker as the basic determinant of foreign policy. This assumption about foreign policy making and IR rejects their predecessors. Inter-subjectively shared knowledge is the basic element of this process.

Holsti assumes that decision makers act upon their own image rather than objective reality. Therefore, images play a vital role as constituents of belief system. His main attitude is to investigate the images within the belief system-perception and decision making correlation. (Holsti, 1962) Stereotyped national images have great weight on decision-making processes. Images successively feed the decisions maker's belief system. He contends that the belief system

consists of images of the past, present and future, whether or not compatible with reality. The role of an image in decision-making is two fold. During the establishment of foreign policy goals and adaptation of inclinations, images help to grasp the role of regulating or ordering, at first. Decision makers, as Holsti assumed; behave under the manipulation of his images of world or structure. It is the direct effect of images on foreign affairs. On the other hand, images have a crucial role on selecting and organizing the perceptions of foreign policy. If a perception does not fit on the existing image, of the decision maker it will distorted or refused. This is a value image. Both forms of images used for evaluating the information about structure whether it is cooperative or conflicting.

A belief system is a composition of images and a dynamic process. Interactions between states produce and reproduce, in fact construct belief systems. (Holsti: 1962) However traditional literature on belief system is just interested in individual decision-making level. On the one hand, there is a lack of consideration that individuals' have an effect on changing the entire image of the nation. Charismatic leaders have the ability to change the general steam of states' policies. Nevertheless, this change cannot be generalized. Moreover, even the charismatic leaders cannot be detached from the context that creates

them. On the other hand, structures of international politics have a great impact on states' identities. As an instance, the structure of security dilemma during the cold war makes states oversensitive on survival. Domestic politics and codification also affect this. Fears from communists become an inter-subjectively shared knowledge that affects domestic politics of states. The Bosnian war in 1992 is one of the basic factors of behind the Islamic revivalist movements in Turkey. Richard H. Willis put forward a conducted pool from Fortune Magazine about the German image on the eve of Second World War. The question asked the respondents to point out which was the enemy of United States, the German people or the government. When this poll was re-conducted after the war the percentage of respondents increased six to twelve. (Willis, 1968) Despite the obligation to select one of two choices on eve of World War II, it created an increasing discrimination against German people in United States.

Neorealist and Constructivist theories compliment the conventional Realist assumptions. Constructivist epistemology provides a more prolific space for studying images in international politics. Traditional literature is constrained to study images such as the unit level analysis, individual decision maker, or top political leader. On the other hand, Constructivist approaches giving important weight to identity and

its effects on international politics provide the national images or those images that have great influence on state identities. Constructivists originate at least two levels of analysis for structure. One is for state and other for structure. One of the basic debates between Neorealist and Constructivist schools is agent structure problem in international politics that the latter abolish the conventional understanding. The structure determines the agents' identities. Neorealists assume that the only level for analyzing international politics is the systemic level despite the fact that structures of international politics blurred the state identities. Hence, their main concern is structure not states. Their false use of that structure is the reason for international politics becoming worthless.

The basic concern of this paper is how to describe and examine the Arab image in TFP. In this paper, the 'discourse analysis model' is being used, which was presented by Henrik Larsen. (Larsen, 1992) The materials used are not strictly distinct from traditional usage. However, 'discourse analysis' suggests a broader understanding of political context. It is not restricted with government speeches of party programs but contains newspaper articles, cartoons, think-tank reports, academic writings, and also works of fiction etc. These all can be classified as a part of political discourse. The main purpose of using

that kind of methodology is to abstain from any kind of constriction. The political sphere is a not a narrow sphere independent from its social and historical context. My main objective is not to take a stand but rather to examine the arguments used in texts. For this reason language cannot directly or precisely convey meanings. We have an access just to language as the closest that we might derive the meaning. Thus, my main concern is not to evaluate the taken stances or what is actually assumed. My position related to the text is to study terms and arguments used in texts. Hence, I try to abstain from using failed traditional literature on images, which evaluate the images separate from their context, and lack of attention on political discourses.

CHAPTER II

BURDEN OF HISTORY AND HISTORICAL IMAGES OF

ARABS

TFP towards Arab countries cannot detach from structural changes in international system. Both Turkish and Arabic domestic and foreign affairs mutually affect changes in international system. Structures of international politics have great influence not just on state identities but also on perceptions or foreign policy goals of states. Rule of Ottoman Empire, oppression of colonial powers, trouble of cold war conditions and finally post-cold war conditions have shaped the identities of Middle Eastern countries during the 20th century. Hence, there are at least two layers for examining the Turco-Arab relations those, which on the one hand are bilateral relations between Turkey and Arab countries of Middle East; on the other hand, affect the structural changes and variations in a continuous structure. Those two layers need to be examined simultaneously to reach the true descriptions of the Middle Eastern politics and in this study, particularly, images of Arab in TFP.

2.1 Historical Background

Ottoman authority gave equal rights to non-Muslim citizens of the empire with the Gülhane Hatt-i Humayunu. The basic goal of this declaration was that to enhance the devotions of non-Muslims to the empire. However, Ottoman rulers had not reached their expectations concerning the devotion of non-Muslim lands but some principles of the Declaration used as a privilege against Muslim population. Moreover, the centralization politics of Tanzimat caused deeper contradictions with non-Muslims nations. Nevertheless, the foremost effect of these developments increased discontent of Muslim population against the Ottoman rulers. The principal populations of the Muslim world under the rule of Ottoman Empire were Turks and Arabs. Kurds Chechens, Albanians, Bosnians etc were regarded as Turks. Populations that lived in magreb were regarded as Arabs. as well. Furthermore, there was ethnic separation between these two main populations during the imperial period. (Karpat, 1972)

During the Ottoman period, the concept of Arab used calling for Bedouins. (Berkes, 1975) Literally, the term Arab meant as 'man, who came from desert'. (Namık Kemal. 1996) Ethnic separation became remarkable after the second quarter of twentieth century. Arabs were seen as Kavm-i Necib (Gracious Nation) with reference to the Prophet of Islam in Ottoman sources. The illustrations of Niyazi Berkes are so

generative for understanding the general image of Arab in Turkish identity. He tells the story of his aunt and of his Arab nanny. Berkes notifies that his aunt was a religious woman who had wished to be born an Arab despite to understand the Koran obviously. Furthermore, Arabs originated from the common ancestry of prophet of Islam and this also increased her passion towards being an Arab. She always memorizes the suras from Koran and was willing to learn Arabic. On the other hand, Berkes's family always secretly belittled the Arab nanny. He told that his family considered the Arab nanny as just a house cleaner. According to Berkes, generally speaking our image towards Arabs accommodate a high dualism that on the one hand, they are the people live in our administration on the other hand, we possess against them admiration, respect and a kind of inferiority as well. (Berkes, 1975)

2.2 Effects of Positivist Ideas on Turkish Identity

There was no tension between Turks and Arabs before 1908. Abdulhamid II and his opponents namely young Turks were not ensuring any separation towards Muslim community. Moreover, the reputation of Young Turk was not enclosing the meaning of Turkish nationalism against other components of Ottoman population. Throughout his sultanate, Abdulhamid II employed the Islamism politics

for advancing the trustworthiness of the Arab component of the empire. The crucial element of this ideology was to the devotion to the Caliph who represented Muslims all over the world. Furthermore, Abdulhamid II had put into practice some additional measurements that the role of Istanbul in the social structure became progressively more important than ever before in spite of the goal of providing a common destiny for existing Ottoman population. During this era, Istanbul became an education center for establishing the territorial integrity of empire. Prospective leaders of Arab and Kurdish tribes were educated in Istanbul as a part of general policies of the period of Abdulhamid.

During this period, Arabs, especially Syrian Arabs, engaged both parties, which included followers of Abdulhamid II, and the party of his opponents, Young Turks. Arabs did not belong to strictly one party. Even so, they presented a kind of homogeneity as Turks. Cemiyetü'ş-Şurati'l Osmaniyye (Ottoman Consultation Assembly) is a good example for understanding the Turkish Arab relations during the late nineteenth century. Syrian Arabs and Young Turks from Istanbul founded the assembly. Summit of the assembly was composed Arab, Turk, and Kurd constituents. (Kayalı, 1998:52)

2.3 Congress of Union and Progress Era: A Troubled Transition

The period after 1908 witnessed a great deal of fundamental change on the political structure of Ottoman state. A great number of Ottoman lands were invaded by colonial powers or became seized by the empire. Leaders of Union and Progress, Enver Pasha and Cemal Pasha, applied the politics of centralization of government rather than the liberal idea of decentralization. Ottoman lands in Europe and North Africa had been lost during this period. Ottoman Empire became a Turk-Arab empire speedily. (Scele, 1911) Whereas nationalist thoughts spread throughout both Turkish and Arab sides, Union and Progress applied the politics of Ottomanism and subsequently Islamist policies towards Arab population of the empire. Moreover, nationalist ideologies had not gained a general support from the nationalities of the empire. Especially, after the intervention of Muslim lands in North Africa increased the power of Islamism. It is a fact that applications of Union and Progress were not free from nationalist outlook. However, this nationalist view was determined not to eliminate the Arab components. In other words, leaders of Union and Progress believed the positivist considerations with reference to the nationalism that spread from Europe, especially from France. They preferred to establish a unitary structure based on the Turkish constituents. This positivist nationalistic inspiration advanced through not to externalize

or to run down the Arab factor but to suggest a nation state model for both of them. They believed the superiority of Europe and its ideology that the age of empires close down. The only way for becoming a power is instantly adopt the nation state model of the West. Thus the leaders of Union and Progress running to develop a Turkish nation state in a way that did not develop any inequity between Arab participants of the Empire. (Kushner, 1997) Even though the Turkish nationalism carried on its golden years those ideas and tendencies could not became the position of the general policies of Union and Progress because of the multi national structure of the empire.

Government of Union and Progress had not offered these ideas in an obvious way. Their applications were formed by the threat, which comes from colonial powers of Europe. Moreover, they had kept away from losing the power of the empire. As a result, they operated more Ottomanist and Islamist policies against Arabs. Despite the raises on nationalist ideas in both sides, Turks and Arabs had never conflicted during the rule of Union and Progress. Hasan Kayalı address that this arrangement by means of adducing the proof which the event of Mutran. In1908, Reşid Mutran affirmed a declaration in the name of Syrian Central Committee, which called for the disassembling of Syria from Istanbul government that had written in Paris. Süleyman al-

Bustani who had Christian origin and the representative of the Beirut intensively criticized this declaration. Moreover, British consulate of Damascus notified that this declaration had caused discontent and a negative reaction to the illustrators of it. Some Arab representatives of Parliament opposed notifying the Committee as an Arab congregation and interpreted them as the puppets of France. These reactions against declaration went through the family of Mutran that Nadra Mutran and clearly accused their brothers. (Kayalı, 1998:78)

This particular event apparently portrayed the circumstances of Second Meşrutiyet as both sides willingly kept the general policies, which were adopted by Abdulhamid II. The main motive of this choice based on the initiative to escape from occupation of Colonial Powers. Turkish images of Arabs during this period were not different than before. On the other hand, both sides developed their national identity based on the positivist arrangements of intelligentsia. The story of Sat-i al Husri is also an individual account which projects the general accounts of late Ottoman period. Sat-i al Husri was ethnically Arab, and educated in Istanbul. He became a high bureaucrat in the ministry of education as responsible for founding pedagogic formation in Ottoman education policy. Niyazi Berkes presents him as the great Turkish pedagogue Sati Beg. (Berkes, 1975) However, after the Union

and Progress period he slowly converted from Ottomanism to Arabism (Dawn, 1973)

No more than two years after the second announcement of Kanun-i Esasi with the restraints of Young Turk movement, Arab opposition occurred in the parliament. Whereas the Arab population of empire had been welcomed, this constitutional monarchy with brightness. However, centralization ideology of Union and Progress leader staff as opposed to decentralization had campaigned Arabs as the opposition party against majority of the parliament. While the Union and Progress guarantee the reification of Abdulhamid's bureaucrats in crucial positions, Arab high staffs were exposed the highest stroke in these arrangements. However, this opposition was not based on a negative image, which had been created through the social process. Some Arabs also had taken part in the centralization policies of new ruling elites.

An additional important event in this period was that the appointment of Said Halim Pasha to grand vizierate by Union and Progress as aiming to expand the trustworthiness of Arab components of Ottoman state. Said Halim Pasha had born in Egypt. Even though he originated from a Turkish family, culturally he was an Arab.

2.4 Establishments of National States, Construction of Nationalities

Both Arabs and Turks shared the idea that they have a common enemy – namely western colonial powers. After World War I, France and Britain were on a course to occupy and distribute Ottoman land where majority of the population were Arabs or Turks. Liberation movement against the common enemy creates a form of alliance between both. One other factor was that the romanticism possessed by the image of oppressed nations. During the war of independence. Mustafa Kemal used a number of statements which were concerning to employ the notion of solidarity between nationalities. Arabic counterparts were also participating in the same notion. Lastly, collective history and religion infringed upon close relations between Turkish and Arab liberation movements.

During the dissolution process of Ottoman Empire in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Arab provinces fell under the rule of colonial powers, France and Great Britain. When World War I finished both colonial powers established their colonial governments, with respect to the League of Nations, over most of the provinces of empire where the majority of population have Arab origin. Mandate system established through Arab lands as Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine.

The earliest text which affected the Turkish Arab relations was the Misak-i Milli (National Pact) which was the final adaptation of Ottoman Parliament in Istanbul (Meclis-i Mebusan) concerning the territorial integrity of Ottoman State. The National Pact gave the right to self-determination of Arab people where they were composing the majority of the population in occupied Ottoman lands. This pact was also accepted by the Ankara parliament with guidance by Mustafa Kemal. However, this process should not be interpreted as a chosen act but rather as an attempt aimed to provide independence of Arab nation from Western powers. The basic goal of the National Pact was not to recognize the Arab nationality as different from a Turkish one but, it aimed to provide independence of Arab lands from the Ottoman State that was under occupation by European powers. Turks and Arabs developed this text together for providing the independence of the *de facto* occupied lands during and after World War I. Mustafa Kemal's speech in Erzurum Congress was important to support this declaration, and was adopted by Istanbul Parliament, which was not only concerning to the Turkish liberation but also developed a broader schema that covered all the nations of the empire, with specific references to, Baghdad and Damascus. Mustafa Kemal established an association between those liberation movements and the Turkish one.

(Atatürk, 2001:928) Moreover, after the occupation of Istanbul from allied armies, he asked former Ottoman population, namely Arabs, to provide their support against occupation forces of Europeans that "after the occupation of Damascus, of Cordoba, of Cairo, of Baghdad, Istanbul has fallen under the arms of enemy." (Soysal, 2001:252)

Foreign minister Ismet Inönü, under the immense encouragements of Mustafa Kemal, was not recognized by the mandate system, which was imposed by European powers throughout Arab territories covering Syria, Palestine, and Iraq, at the Lausanne Peace Conference. Thus, Turkish-Arab relations were established on the basis of friendly relations, which externalize any other exterior interference. Discourse of brotherhood, which based on religious and historical bases, also preserved its importance during the foundation of the Turkish Republic.

Three basic dimensions shaped the TFP against Arab countries during the foundation of new Turkish Republic. Both Arabs and Turks shared the idea that they had common enemy in the Western colonial powers, at first. After World War I, the French and British were on course to occupy and distribute Ottoman land where a majority of the population was Arabs or Turks. Especially, during the foundation of Turkish Republic, this factor had more weight on constructing images

of Arabs, in comparison to others. Liberation movement against the common enemy created a form of alliance image between both. The second factor is that the romanticism of being oppressed set up a kind of image that might submit as image of common fate. Lastly, collective history and religion affected the founding of close relations between Turk and Arab liberation movements. Turk and Arab leaders had shared collective past, which provided strong ties between them. As an instance most of the presidents and prime ministers of Syria under the control of France mandate educated in Istanbul Mülkiye Scholl, Harbiye or Istanbul School of Law. (Akşin, 1991) Both sides shared the common ideas based on the joint religion, history, and geography. Hence as a positive attitude towards the future, they shared the image of a common destiny. However those are all horizontal dynamics, so the images, were intervened by a vertical dynamic that structure of international politics. Mandate administration over Syria and most of the other Arab lands had been intervened by the basic configuration of the Turkish Arab relations. Nation-state model for those Middle Eastern countries were not historically adaptable. They were compulsorily created by western powers after the World War.

Two important territorial questions were raised after the Lausanne Treaty, which was important for demonstrating the general view of the

Turkish side of situation, which aroused after the dissolution of Ottoman Empire and made obvious the Turkish images on presentation towards Arabs and Middle East. First issue was about the Sandjak of Alexandretta (Hatay). Second one also covers distinct similarities with former about the Mosul question. According to regulations and treaties, which were applied after the First World War, the administration of Hatay, Syria and Lebanon was taken to France. During the war of liberation in October 1920, the government in Ankara and France concluded on an arrangement concerning the Sandjak of Alexandretta called Ankara Agreement. According to Article 7 of the treaty, Turkish side obtained a kind of autonomy for Hatay that the Turkish Language would be recognized as the official language and Turkish population obtained the right to enjoy cultural rights for protecting their nationality over the territory of Sandjak of Alexandretta. (Soysal, 1983) Thus, a special administration regime was established for the Sandjak of Alexandretta in the Ankara Agreement, which was signed by Turkey and France

The main goal of the Ankara government was to provide the most advantageous position against colonial powers for application of the National Pact. During this process, the Turkish side presented and perceived the question of Hatay as a problem of applying. (Kurat,

1975) Furthermore, Atatürk appointed the name of Hatay with reference to Hittites language. Thus, the Turkish side avoid to relating the question with the Arab side. The basic reason of this was the strong belief to the actualization of the National Pact. Mustafa Kemal clearly dictated in his speech to the Grand National Assembly that the Sandjak belonged to the Turks He also dictated that it was the last unsolved problem was between France and Turkey. For this reason, I do not examine the Alexandretta question as a problem between Turkey and Syria or the Arabs. The Turkish side perceived that the question of Alexandretta stimulated the struggle between Turkey and France during the First World War. However, the discourse of the Hatay question was abused during the cold war for legitimizing the structural conflicts, which arose between Turkey and Syria.

The paramount concern of the new Republic, as declared repeatedly, was to decide on how to develop her society and accomplish her progress in the stance of western civilization. (Aras, 2002) The goal was to reach 'the level of contemporary civilizations' namely, western civilization, which was objected by the founder of Turkish Republic, affected the impetus of TFP in the period between the World Wars. The concept of civilization principally represents not a number of civilizations throughout the world but covers the meanings

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that develop into or converted into civilization which possesses a pure positivistic perspective.

Turkish intelligentsia describe the western civilization with rationality and democratic social order. 'Civilization' was substituted instead of Islam as the principal appraise of modern Turkish Republic and then the concept of 'civilization' came to mean 'western civilization' (Mango, 1968) However this particular goal of Turkish state cannot provide enough explanation about how the image of Arabs was constructed. Even the secularization process has great weight on constructing Turkish identity, international factors have more weight on images about Arabs. Secularization had chosen a system of principles, which were independent from any coercion that Arab enmity or pejorative views to them were not supported at all. Founder of the Turkish Republic, Atatürk, took on board the secular model for 'reaching the level of contemporary civilizations'. However, the colonial structure of international politics restricts the foreign policy choices of regional states. Interest of colonial powers and thus the structural elements such as mandate system have great weight on construction both of Arab and Turkish identities. Therefore, Mustafa Kemal and İnönü prevented their neutral positions against Arab states despite the fact of protecting the territorial integrity of new Republic.

2.5 Construction of Discrepant Images and Identities

World War II caused fundamental changes on the structure of international politics. The basic effect of the war was that the detachments of almost all colonies. France and England resigned their mandatory status over Asian and African nations. The war also pulled down the League of Nations system. When the European powers lost their superiority over the world affairs, two new super powers, Russia and United States, started on charging the breach that emptied by former colonizers. Both new superpowers were free from any prejudice, which they had from former colonies and subject states. Even though Russia had ghastly memories on her region with reference to former Russian empire; she had never acted as a colonizer like the Europeans.

The Middle East and Europe became the battlefields of this new trend rising in international politics. Charging the gap, which was emptied by former superpowers, became the main issue of international politics. This gap can be submitted in two topics. The components of this gap were the newly independent states, which were former colonies of Europeans, and the independent non-allied states. European and Middle Eastern subject of this new structure changed their conventional policies on international and national

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levels. Thus, this new structure of international politics had radical effects on state identities. With the beginning of the economical, political, ideological, and military expansions of the United States and Russia, two new super powers, Turkish policy makers provided adaptation to the new structure. This adaptation process covers the meaning of change on Turkish identity.

Historically speaking, Russian expansionism so the Soviet one was familiar for Turkey. During the dissolution of Ottoman Empire, Istanbul government encountered the pan-slavist policies of Russian empire in the Balkans and expansionist policies in the Caucasus. (Kohn, 1960) These all-historical experiences had a great affect on the construction of Turkish identity. Thus the choice of United States was not an unexpected consequence However, at the beginning, the Turkish government under the immense control of Republican People's Party (RPP) was not to choose the United States side as an attachment of a block but for a limited alliance. Latter developments could not be perceived by the RPP government. They strived to carry on the continuation of the "balance game" which they deeply experienced and inherited from the Ottoman period. (Deringil, 1996) Consequences of the Truman doctrine on TFP in 1947 reveal the signals of a new period. While the Republicans' foreign minister Sadak declared that, it

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had been interpreted as a firm cooperation policy instead of block policy cooperation, but Turkey already launched the American block with the official recognition of the Israeli state. Turkey with the concentrated interaction along with the United States came closer to Israeli thesis. Hence, she officially recognized the Israeli state after nine month of her foundation.

Dating from 1946 Turkey signed several treaties with newly independent Arab states in the course of friendly relations among nations. Relations with Syria deeply affected by the problem of annexation of Hatay but in reconcile of Iraqi prime minister Nuri Sait Pasha, Turkish Syrian relations had been normalized up until to military intervention of Colonel Çiçekçi in 1950 (Fırat, Kürkçüoğlu. 2001:616) . The official recognition of Israeli state under the impact of the Truman Doctrine was the turning point of Turk Arab relations. The declaration of the Truman Doctrine indicates the verification of Cold War. When the 1950s brought the cold war, it stretched out through the Middle East. Hence, Turkey and Arab states digressed from each other. On the one hand, structural changes on international system deeply affected the relations among regional states, and their identities. The Turkish perceptions on the Palestinian question during

the discussion in the UN show this identical change of TFP. (Yavuz, 1998)

In 1948, the Soviet army occupied Berlin. Soviet expansion sprouted out up to the center of Europe. The gap had been filled up mostly by the USRR. This particular event increased the endeavors to found a west European pact against Soviet expansionism through the continental Europe. After some exact developments, the French asked for assistance from the United States for developing a wide-ranging frontier against USRR. Process ended with the establishment of NATO in April 1949. Establishment of NATO was compromise a fundamental change on international politics that the bipolarity, hence the new structure of international politics actualized.

At the beginning, NATO was founded for a limited region and a specific goal to provide the defense of Western Europe from USRR aggressions. However, some states out of region including Turkey wanted to become a part of this defense organization to avoid any possible USRR aggression towards it. At first, the United States suggested a different model for Turkey, which provided her security from any communist aggression. Refusing the NATO membership was Turkey's first move. Consequently, Turkey started new models for providing her security in the region. Republican government did not

portray 'a convergence on Turkey's elimination from NATO. Prime Minister Günaltay declared that the Turkish position was more advantageous than NATO membership according to security perspectives. Moreover, he announced that Turkey had never been endeavoring extraordinary effort for membership. On the other hand, minister of foreign affairs Sadak affirmed reproachfully that the denial of Turkish membership is a great mistake. (Bağcı, 1990) These two controversial statements truthfully portray the continuity and change in TFP, and correspond to the turning point on general understanding of IR in Turkey.

Menderes's independent act of military support to the United States in the Korean War was the signal of the paradigmatic turn in foreign policy. Under the rule of Democrat Party Turkey gave her complete support to the United States. Even the Menderes's foreign minister Köprülü had not been informed dimensions of this military support. New government exposes radical steps for being a part of American Block. Different from their predecessors Democrats chose the block policy. Consequently, Turkish support to the United States concluded with NATO membership. The choice of NATO was not perceived as a considerable development but a fundamental change on Turkish identity, which has been, affected the policies toward the Arab States.

The new structure of international politics reconstructed the Turkish identity through the security dilemma, which mainly arose from Soviet expansionism.

Along with the general changes on Turkey's perception on IR, foreign policy toward Arab states radically changed at the beginning of Menderes government. (Aykan, 1993) Additionally, Bağcı accurately locates this radical change on TFP towards Arab Middle East. (Bağcı, 1990) However, Bağcı has lack of consideration to change in Turkish understanding of IR. Change within the NATO membership is not identified as passivism to activism but a fundamental perceptional change on foreign relations. The new government developed an understanding that Turkey would become a great power by declaring her belongings to the West, particularly to the United States. On the other hand, colonial experiences preserved their horrific passionate over the Arab states and they were not be a member of the United States' block despite to her leading alliances Britain and France. Thus, Turks and Arabs dramatically failed into conflict.

Turkey concerned the regional developments in the Middle East with the lens of NATO. Adnan Menderes announced that the TFP towards Middle East had been perceived through the lens of the western alliance in his third government program that presented in the

Grant national assembly. (Girgin, 1993) The main portrayal of post-war period was that Turkey undertook the role as the courier of the west, which was based on the goal of, bringing close the newly independent Arab states to the West.

The image of Arabs contained a high degree of duality during the Democrat Party era. Whereas the conservative groups became important in the decision-making processes with the rise of Democrat Party, security dilemma and block policies in international layer restricted pure internal construction of state identity and thus, the images about other states. The interest of Turkish state acknowledged through the determinants of the block rather than being self-defined. Moreover, the structure of international politics and the security dilemma during the cold war was the foremost concern of the states that most of the times it dampened the domestic motives. Thus, the Turkish image of Arabs started to be constructed in the course of NATO membership, contains spreading elements, more than a membership to a security organization. Discourses of *Turkish bridge* acquired importance under these circumstances. With the affect of Western discourses, the Turkish identity was an image of underdeveloped Arab states, which was founded on a high degree of judgment about the western values such as democracy and economic

development in the course of liberalism. Brotherhood and goodwill image were used for Arabs with reference to historico-religious backgrounds of both sides. (Bağcı, 1990) However, Democrat Party could not abstain from security dilemma of cold war conditions and Turkish identity constructed because of western alliance during this period.

CHAPTER III

IMAGES OF ARABS IN POST-COLD WAR ERA AND THE EFFECTS ON TFP TOWARDS SYRIA

The Cold War erased the cultural elements that states encompass. Identities of states constructed through the structures of international politics more than any other branch. Images, which states attached to others, also produced throughout the processes of interaction between blocks more vigorous than bilateral relations than the states did. Participants of the two blocks constructed counter images not only against one another's participants but also against the neutral states. Counter images of the blocks were more applicable especially for states under the close threat of Soviet or American expansionisms. Thus, Turkey did not behave with her own unified identity, but an identity that originated from the alliance with the West. On the other hand, in the beginning after the dissolution of cold war conditions, it appeared that Turkish identity rapidly changed throughout the adaptation of post-cold war conditions.

3.1 Projection on Problems of Turkish Identity towards Arab Middle East

There is an illusion that after the cold war states were not directly affected by the cultural and domestic elements of international politics. Neorealist views on identity affected these kinds of inferences. However, identity and culture are not free from change and maltreatments. Both of them have constructed through the history including not only internal but also international and transnational elements. After the cold war, state identities were not the same as the identities before the cold war. Cold war experience changed the state identities. The Turkish state was also affected by the cold war and faced great troubles on adaptation to the new structure of international politics.

The interest of the Turkish state was not self-defined through domestic construction of foreign policy but defined with the being a member of the western club. Turkey failed in to the problem of scrutinizing the general line of politics, occurred two times during the cold war. Invasion of Jerusalem by Israeli troops and Turkish intervention of northern Cyprus portrayed the central divergence from the west block. Both issues have strong domestic motivations, which reflected the Turkish identity that impede the influences of structure of international politics. These also portrayed the ambivalence

between historical-civilization attachments and projected national destinies of the Turkish states.

For instance, TFP towards northern Cyprus is not restricted to the strategic and nationalist proportions. Turkey develops a civilized perspective on the Cyprus issue about the legacy of Ottoman Empire once again takes place, namely disturbance of losing land to the West. Protests against the invasion of Jerusalem were definitely containing elements of religion and civilization. (Aras, 2000) However, even with these kinds of attitudes, Turkish identity contains secular dimensions.

Hence, the elements of western civilizations are more authoritative than other cultural forms on constructing Turkish identity. Moreover, Turkish identity is shaped by the destiny that to accomplish the level of western civilization. Cold war conditions provide more secure situation for realizing that historical mission namely Turkish modernization. Ambivalence on Turkish identity raises difficulties on decision-making process of foreign relations. Reluctance towards the Middle Eastern region caused the problem of lack of knowledge and experience on regional politics. Thus, the impressions of the baseless discourses on decision-making processes conditioned a critical role in Turkey.

3.2 Ambivalence in TFP

With the dissolve cold war conditions, Turkey failed into the problems harshly abstained, from the changes in international political structures. These chances forced Turkey to develop national policies towards the Middle Eastern states. The central trouble of these policies towards Middle Eastern Arab states is that they must be developed without assistance of the west. Furthermore, Turkey troubled a great deal of problems, were mainly based on the crash of interest with the western states. Ambivalence in Turkish identity came in to light that is to say contradiction between the identity of a Middle Eastern democratic Muslim populated county and a secular western orientated county. These became the foremost trouble of Turkish state in early 1990s. Changes on the structures of international politics and simultaneous developments in domestic politics reasoned that Turkey offers some additional concern to regional affairs that she had never done before.

Dissolution of cold war caused a vacuum in TFP that the concern of United States, which depends on the cold war conditions, discharged. During the cold war Turkey's relations towards Middle Eastern states orientated to the membership of the 'West Club'. NATO had a crucial role on Turkish perceptions and Turkish interests identified within the

block policy. Turkish identity completely constructed through the 'shield' of NATO that it externalized any other dimension. Only two exceptions occurred over the forty years that invasion of Northern Cyprus and tensions with Greece have influential affects on constructing Turkish identity throughout the cold war.

Those radical changes on the international politics originated from the dissolve of cold war conditions revealed the insufficiency of the TFP on the Middle Eastern issues. Post-cold war conditions exerted that Turkey had not ability to create her own policies towards Middle East. Turkey started to seek some new roles through the Middle East, which based on carrying the western values through the Arab Middle East and newly independent Central Asian Turks republics. However, Turkish identity was not compatible for developing policies without western assistance. In this context Iraqi invasion of Kuwait provide a chance for Turkey that she advanced the 'strategic partnership' of United States again.

3.3 Gulf War: New Chances, New Challenges

Changes on the structures of international politics caused a resembling situation over the Middle East. Dissolve of American's dense interest towards the Middle Eastern countries, which had based

on Soviet expansionism in the cold war era, reasoned a vacuity on the Middle East's tenuous international politics. TFP failed into a sentiment that it left alone in 'the Middle East Swamp'. Fragile boundaries of the Middle Eastern states had been broken in Kuwait, at first. Iraqi occupation of Kuwait resuscitated the concern of United States to Middle East.

Turgut Özal, as a president, perceived that United States rebirth concern to the Middle East might offer an occasion that the reemergence of the Turkey as a 'strategic partner' in the Middle East. Özal's perspective demonstrated the conventional identity of Turkish state, which had kneaded with western orientation. Birand's well-known book 'The Özal' illustrated the Americanism of Turgut Özal in an obvious addressing. (Birand, 2001) However, consequences of American victory were not stand profitable outcome for Turkey. PKK question raised its stress, which will have been acting a crucial role on construction of Turkish identity throughout the post-cold war era.

The most important effect of Gulf War for Turkey was that the expanding power of terrorist groups in northern Iraq, namely PKK terrorism against southeast Turkey. Kurdish groups attained an advantageous position in northern Iraq for their political and military acts. Turkish security concerns rapidly changed that the PKK threat

developed into the primary issue for Turkish side. Between 1991 and 1993, PKK reached its maximum power that Turkey was compelled to declare war against it. The war against PKK terrorism shaped Turkish security concerns during the 1990s

After the end of Gulf War Turkey attempted to provide her national security with developing more close relations with regional states. Foreign Minister Alptemuçin visited to Syria, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia at February 1991. Territorial integrity of Iraqi state and water issues and border security was the central issues of Turkish Syrian negotiations. Both sides agreed on the territorial integrity of Iraq and consent to idea that the self-determination of Iraqi nation. Moreover, Turkey and Syria was in accord to providing regional security. Hence stability in region accepted as the foremost concerns of both countries. On the other hand, Turkish patterns on water issues were not recognized by the Syrian side, which will have caused to disband of former agreements in the future.

3.4 Period of Uneasy Relations with Syria

Syrian support of PKK was known by Turkish side in 1991. Turkey endeavored to reduce the Syrian support by way of developing diplomatic negotiations with her. Turkish Syrian coming had based on

common interest of both' sides on Iraq issue. Syria was not desire a strong Iraq in the region. Turkish side defined her interest as not strong but stable Iraq in the region. However this process did not continue so long and Turkish side combined her interests with the American interest over the Iraq. Özal portrayed the politics of Americanism with providing the security interest of Turkey. He pretended a crucial role on making TFP as a president, which was unusual for Turkish political tradition, accept, Atatürk and Inönü periods. He made directly interventions on the foreign policy issues without any consideration to government, parliament, and military. However, Özal's overriding concern to the international affairs confronted a strong opposition. Özal tried to develop relations with Kurdish leaders Barzani and Talabani in northern Iraq. On the other hand, opposition parties, foreign office and military, supported an alternative that was the martial solution on PKK question. PKK settled down in northern Iraq and supported or discharged by Iraqi government and Kurdish tribes. During this process Turkish military assigned three operation against PKK inside the Iraq's *de jure* territory and tried to develop closer relations with Syria despite to provide territorial integrity of Turkey. These three operations assigned in

1991, aimed to demolish PKK camps throughout the de facto, Kurdish land.

In 1992, Turkey presented some proofs to Syria which objective the Syrian back and discharges of PKK terrorists. Moreover, Foreign Minister Ismet Sezgin put forward some proofs that the ringleader of the PKK Abdullah Öcalan was living in Damascus. After the negotiations between two states, both sides signed a security protocol. According to this protocol both states will develop cooperative actions against terrorist groups and will provide the security of Turkish Syrian border. After this protocol, Syria closed the Dev-Sol and PKK camps in Bekaa Valley. Three mounts later from the visit of Ismet Sezgin, new Turkish foreign minister Hikmet Çetin declared the Turkish perspectives related to the case of Syria, which can be summarized as joint solution on the security and water issues. Turkish side combined these issues for persuading the Syrian side. Turkish side expects from Syria offering a rapid measurement to PKK terrorism. During this process, Turkish side viewed that the Syria was willingly support to terrorist groups for gaining an advantageous position on water issue and northern Iraq.

Syria's close relations with Turkey ended after the recognition of the United States policies on founding of a Kurdish state in the

northern Iraq. Ankara's conduct about recognition of American plan over the Middle East was not an exception. Turkish concerns in the region concentrated on the membership of the western club, which radically had been affected by Turkish identity since the Menderes governments. TFP makers perceived the establishment of a Kurdish state was an irresistible process, which was advanced by the support of United States. Moreover, Turkey granted diplomatic passports for major Kurdish leaders in the northern Iraq. Turkey's policy change on founding a Kurdish state demolished the fresh negotiations with Syria. Turkish, Iranian, and Syrian foreign ministers met in Ankara in November 1992 for discussing the de facto Kurdish state in the region. TFP demonstrates a kind of ambivalence in his identity between west and her own. Western block supports the foundation of a Kurdish state in the region. Turkey's 'strategic partners' contradicted in post-cold war era.

Western oriented interest definitions preserve their worth in post cold war era. High diplomacy with Syria cannot examine as a wider cooperation or partnership on the Middle Eastern issues. Turkey also used the high diplomacy with Iran on the same issues. Fear from foundation of a sovereign Kurdish state in northern Iraq compromised a huge place on Turkish identity. Especially after the struggle with

PKK and humanitarian and economic remainders of this struggle affects the construction of Turkish identity in post-cold war era. Thus, the close relations between Turkey and Syria during this period were based on the compulsory conditions that were provoked by the consequences of the Gulf War. Moreover, Turkish foreign relations with Syria developed under the immense constraints of third states that, western powers, directly or indirectly supports the foundation of a Kurdish state in the region. Therefore, Turkey faced a kind of ambivalence on her western oriented definition of interests. In sum, diplomatic relations with Syria in early 1990s could not be identified in terms of founding an alliance in the region or a radical change on conventional TFP. Nevertheless, those all diplomatic affairs have vast affects on construction of images of Syria in post-cold war era.

Presidency of Süleyman Demirel was a turning point on PKK question. Martial solution became the foremost concern of new government, which was under administration of Tansu Çiller. Çiller government declared war against PKK terrorism. Thus, the armed forces increased their power on political issues especially foreign affairs of Turkish state. Israel became the leading partner of Turkish state during this process. United States backed alliance between Turkey and Israel was a result of Turkish images of Arabs that they

are underdeveloped. Turkish Israeli cooperation had perceived as unfriendliness by the Middle Eastern Arab states. The spreading coalition between Turkey and Israeli changed the balance of power in the region. Throughout her spreading cooperation with Israeli, Turkish side did not take into consideration that conflict between Arab states and Israel. In that case, Syria officially recognized the PKK as a terrorist group in spite of limiting Turkish Israeli alliance. However, Syria's conducts after the Turkish application of the martial solution on PKK question abolish the rising relations between Turkey and Syria. Turkish military acts against PKK terrorism in northern Iraq contradicted with Syrian interests in the region. Hence, Syria continued to support PKK terrorism Turkish side perceived that Syria refrained from friendly solution on water issues with support to PKK.

Syria's close relations with Turkey ended after the clarification of the United States policies on founding of a Kurdish state in the northern Iraq. Ankara's conduct about recognition of the American plan over the Middle East was not an exception. Turkish concerns towards the region concentrate on the membership of the western club, which radically affects the Turkish identity since the Menderes governments. TFP makers offered that the establishment of a Kurdish state was an irresistible process, which had supported by United States. Moreover,

Turkey granted diplomatic passports for major Kurdish leaders in the northern Iraq. Turkish, Iranian, and Syrian foreign ministers met in Ankara in November 1992 for discussing the de facto Kurdish state in the region. TFP demonstrates a kind of ambivalence at his identity between west and her own. Western block supported the organization of the Kurdish state in the northern Iraq. Turkey's 'strategic partnership' failed in post-cold war era. On the other hand, Turkey perceived the foundation of a Kurdish state in northern as a threat against her territorial integrity. Turkish National Security Council offered the establishment of a Kurdish state in the region as the leading threat against national security up until the 1998. The priority of Turkish state was the breakdown of PKK terrorism in the region and establishment of a Kurdish was secondary. Therefore, Turkey pursued a dualist policy during the dissolution of cold war, which aimed to provide conflicts between regional states and western states.

Foreign minister Deniz Baykal declared that water problem would not been solved even if Syria had not ceased up her support to PKK. Image of terrorist state against Syria became transparent during this period. Turkey consigns a diplomatic note to Syria about the refusal of Abdullah Öcalan in 1996. Moreover, Turkey improved her cooperation capacity with Israel during this process. Turkish perceptions on bring

forwárd to Israel factor against Syria demonstrated her lack of interest on regional developments. As an instance Turkish Israeli Military Cooperation Treaty caused reactions against Turkey from Arab states, which construct their cultures of national security on Israeli threat. Close relations between Turkey and Israeli were distinguished with anxiety by the Arab states as Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Turkish image falsified with the failure of envisaging to the responses of the other Arab states on Turkish Israeli alliance in the region.

Turkish policy makers was not work out the identities of the Middle Eastern Arab states that can be referred as the continuity of lack of interest on regional developments. Western oriented policies caused the adaptation of western oriented images of Arabs, which increased their influence on foreign policy decision-making processes. At the first half of the 1990s, interest of Turkey constructed all the way through the recapturing the American support by means of developing close relation with Israeli. This processed with lack of consideration to identities of Arab states. During this process, images of Arabs could be identified with the concepts of being out of history, which contains underdevelopments, uncivilized and impuissance.

Erbakan government revealed the ambivalence of Turkish identity, which reasoned from crash between Islamic and secular modes.

Erbakan mainly applied Islamist policies on foreign policy. This independent statement reasoned to predict that the uneasy relations with Arab states became to put in an order. On the other hand, Turkey did not unaware from divergence between administrative elites and nation of Arab countries. It has well known that the new prime minister has strong ties with Islamic movements throughout the Muslim world. Moreover, the approval of divergence between Arab nation and government elites of Arab states in Turkish perceptions, provide a secure ground for Erbakan's acts. However, this particular identity attached to Erbakan government caused a deeper problem, which is about the structure of nation-state in the Middle East. Mainly foreign relations with Arab countries during the Erbakan government did not put in an order but caused societal conflicts between Turkey and Arab states. Erbakan's images of Arab were not different from conventional Turkish types but his Islamic ideology and relations with Islamic movements increase the strength of the image of innocent nations. Erbakan period did not cause a deviation on convention identity of TFP. Choices of Turkish state and interest definitions were not break off from western alliance despite the strong resistance of military staff and Turkish intellectuals.

In April 1997, Turkish General Staff declared the National Military Strategic Concept, which delineates the religious fundamentalism and PKK terrorism as the number one threat to the national security of Turkish state. Moreover, this document purposely mentioned to Iran as the supporter of religious fundamentalism and to Syria as the supporter of the PKK terrorism. Turkish General Staff underlined that political, economic and even military power will be worked out against both of Syria and Iran in spite of the stop their support of these threats against Turkish national security. After the disbanding of Erbakan government new, Prime Minister Ecevit put into practice firm policies against Syria.

Thereafter, 1998 witnessed decisive developments on the PKK issue. Despite the lack of authority in the northern Iraq, various Kurdish tribes and organizations found a prolific condition to develop and to expand their influences over the Iraqi territory where the north of 36th parallel. Turkey and Iran, as accommodators of a high degree of baffling Kurdish population, fixed some military acts against this state of anarchy in spite of keeping away from any possible terrorist movement against them. On the other hand, both of Turkey and Iran tried to develop a high degree of alliance for protecting their territorial integrity with the region's central tribes are on power. this kind of

treat against Turkish and Iranian territorial integrity will be realize with the foundation of a sovereign Kurdish state in the future. Both states develop a range of policies on Kurdish issue despite to avoid from wider detachments in the region. Turkish and Iranian military interventions in the northern Iraq actualized when these diplomatic and political performs was incapable.

Irani invasion of the northern Iraq in March 1998 changed the balance of power in the region. Barzani militias get closer to Turkey despite to save from invasion of Iran. This particular event resulted with the arrest of Sakık who was the second man of PKK. One step further Turkey addressed this intense concern on PKK question to the Syria who granted economic and martial means to terrorist groups which provoked actions against Turkey. Syria used these terrorist actions for increasing her power in the region. Turkish alliance with Barzani and Talabani caused that the Syria lost her initiative over the region. Turkish Land Forces commander, General Atilla Ateş, declared that Turkey had capacity to reply any sedition comes from Syria in September 1998 during his visit of Hatay. He had a preferred announcer, as a member of National Security Council and as the second man of Turkish armed forces. He preferred the province of Hatay in spite of the Syrian political discourse on it and covered a

strict message against Syria including war against her. Immediately after to this clear speech President Süleyman Demirel and president of Turkish General Staff, Kıvrıkoğlu, gave speeches related to Syrian support of PKK. These messages contained more menaces than given even before. Turkish sides clearly threat the Syria with war even if she did not cease to her support to PKK. (Baykan, 1999) In this context Turkey, increase the number of soldiers through the Turkish Syrian border. Furthermore Turkey called her Syrian ambassador to Ankara and the diplomacy ended at the first week of September 1998. Turkish newspapers titled that the war winds in the Middle East. Türker Alkan noted that these stresses between Turkey and Syria could not be interpreted as a bluff but it is accurate. (Alkan, 1998) This high tension between Ankara and Damascus overflowed not only through the Middle East states but also through the Europe. Egypt and Iran attempted to reconciliation and started the shuttle diplomacy between Turkey and Syria.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

Dating from 1980's, a clear separation between government elites and people of Arab states had exposed in Turkish discourse of Arabs. Not only the conservatives but also left wing parties and military elites of Turkey ensure the separation between administrators and ordinary

people of Arab states. At least four central dimensions affect founding that separation. Firstly, Arab states, even under the regime of revolutionist Marists establishments as Syria or conventional emirates as Gulf States and Saudi Arabia, have non-democratic governments. Governors of these states have never used democratic means for taking into consideration to public opinion. (Elibol, Arıkan, 1994: 95) Secondly Islamic revivalism spreading from different countries of Muslim world and translation of the basic text of the Islamic revivalism to Turkish have a crucial role on constructing an image of Arab people different from administrator elites of them. Especially writings of the members of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement as books of Hasan Al-Banna, of Sayyed Qutb, and of Sa'eed Hawwa, translated to Turkish. those all translations have crucial affects on Islamic revivalism and intellectual life in Turkey beginning from 1980's. (Güngör, 1981)

Thirdly, Palestinian question have a central position on constructing the ambivalence identity against Arab states. Palestinians, as a victimized nation, are separated from other Arab countries. Then this separation caused the recognition of variations between Arab states as rich and poor despite the petroleum producing. (Karaman, 1991) In general ideologies of Arab states which are at the first classification, revolutionist ones, based on secular nationalism. However, Palestinian

question introduced a high degree of religious elements. Moreover, failure of those secular pan-Arabism ideologies on Palestinian question caused to rise of opposition parties against them through the Middle Eastern states. Separation between the nation and the elites in Arab countries reasoned an image of victimized nations. Lastly, distribution of petroleum revenues not only in domestic financial system but also between Arab states have important role on constructing this differentiation between ordinary Arab people and government elites. (Davutoğlu, 2001)

According to Turkish side those all sheiks and emirs exploit their countries prosperity for their own amusements. Then, they deprive of their nations from those all petroleum incomes, which have to be used for national developments of those countries. Therefore, those sheiks and emirs are the oppressors and a barrier for developing friendly relations owing to close with Turkey. Turkish intelligentsia even the Islamist ones did not abstain from insulting for exploring these circumstances. Consequently, Turkish side constructed the images of tyrannical ruler and despot towards governors of the Arab States.

CONCLUSION

Concept of international politics presents a political level, which constructed through the process of inter state relations. It is more comprehensive than international relations or foreign policy of any individual state. This conceptualization covers a wide range comprehension that it covers making and assembling politics in international level, which also contains its special, features different from domestic one. Recognition of the idea of the international politics consequentially cause to the recognition of political structures in the international level. International politics is a proposition that interactions in international level have its own dynamics and these are different from conventional understandings of politics. Taking into consideration to idea of international politics rather than international relations or foreign policy caused to consent the scheme that international politics is a diverse area, which have its own structures and agents. Moreover, advancing the concept of international politics necessitates to developing a new model of interaction for the agents throughout to the structures of international politics and interactions between them.

Kenneth Waltz, father of Structural Realism finds out this extension in the discipline that IR of states truly embedded to the structures of it. However, Waltzian understanding of international politics offers that the structures of the international politics have given natures free from effects which are instigated from the agents of it. Constructivist understandings on international politics prefer to use a social interactionist model, which is based on interactions between agents, as the primary constituent of politics in international level. According to Constructivist scholars, structures of international politics are social constructions due to interaction between agents, which have different identities. Furthermore, this social interactionist model offers a change or a reconstruction for state identities and consequently for the structures of international politics. Foreign policy of any state arranged through sources of her identity which is constructed by not only domestic processes but also international structural ones. Both domestic and international factors construct the identities of the states. Thus, Constructivist scholars' main exploration is about the state identity rather than preferences of states. Interest and security concerns of states are investigated with reference to their identity.

Images concerning to other agents are one of the essential contents of state identities. Images constructed in the course of interaction

between self and other. This primitive interaction affects the reading of interest. Images which are attached to others conclude the possible relations towards her. Structures of international politics and domestic factors are the determinants of these images. Images constructed throughout the social interaction and construction of international politics.

Historical, cultural, religious, and geographical dimensions figure TFP towards Syria on the one hand. Those dimensions together with the effects of the structure of international politics construct the identity of Turkish state. Cultural and historical elements are subject to change and directly distressed from the structures of international politics. History is open to maltreatments originating from identity. Moreover, writing history is a continuous process that huge variety of new findings interpreted through the line of state identity. Thus, scholars rewrite history on the course of identities of states.

Turkey's foreign relations with Arab states deeply affected from structures of international politics and Turkish identity changed during this process of interaction. Structures of international politics caused changes on images of Arab in TFP discourse. Throughout the history, Turkish people have close relations with Arab people despite the geographical nearness and religious brotherhood. During this process

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of interaction, both sides construct images towards other. Dissolve of age of empires caused radical changes in international political structures, which directly influence the identities of both sides. During the classical period of Ottoman Empire Arabs were as Kavm-i Necib. However, mandate system over the Middle East and nation-state model under the stress of cold war conditions caused far-reaching changes on images that are projected of by both sides. Structures of international politics shape the form of interaction between them. Consequently, images of Arabs in Turkish identity repeatedly reconstructed during the twentieth century. The focal characteristic of TFP towards Syria is that the ambivalence in Turkish identity. Turkey, as the successor of the Ottoman Empire and have a great majority of Muslim population, is a characteristic Middle Eastern state. On the other hand, Turkey experienced a secular state model, which differentiates her from other Middle Eastern states. These historical elements of Turkish identity caused various troubles in her identity and Turkish images of Arabs. This ambivalence in identity reasoned the contradictory images, which can be read in the discourses.

Dissolve of cold war conditions caused necessary changes on the security concern of states that they are not depend the bipolarity no more. National policies became more crucial despite the

purposelessness of conventional alliance formation of the bipolarity. Superpowers' withdrawal from their conventional penetration areas caused a huge devastation on the central perceptions and preferences of regional powers as Turkey. Thus Turkish identity fall dawn to the turbulence as most of other middle scale states failed it. Basic perceptions and preferences of Turkish state reconstructed. National security concerns of Turkish state reshaped without patronage of NATO. Alienation to the Middle Eastern issues increased the degree of commotions that reconstruction of the Turkish identity in post-cold war inevitably fall into the ambivalence. In addition to geographical and, historical dimensions the PKK and the possibility of the foundation of a Kurdish state in the northern Iraq are the central subjects of the Turkish Syrian relation in post-cold war era. However, despite the lack of any joint images Turkish foreign relations with Syria could not be developed in a mature line. Relations between to states present an ebb and flow or a high degree of ambivalence reasoned from construction of identities in cold war era.

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