

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

Course: **PhD**  
Course No: **WA 621N**  
Course Title: ***Foreign Policy of Turkey***  
Course Type: Optional  
Course Teacher: Prof. Aswini K Mohapatra  
Credits: Two  
Contact Hours: Two per Week  
Evaluation Methods: Sessional Assignments & Semester Examination.

**Course Objective:**

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

**Learning Outcomes**

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

**Course Content**

**Unit I: Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA)**

Theoretical Perspectives: Realist, Neo-classical realist and Innenpolitikers  
Operational Environment: international and regional setting; domestic state-structure; power resources; role of media, interest groups and civil society  
Decisional Unit: decision-making structure & process; perceptual orientation of the decision-makers

**Unit II: Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy**

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

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

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

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

### **Unit IV: Bridging Role: Second Cold War Phase**

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

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

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

### **Readings:**

Alaranta, Toni (2022), *Turkey's Foreign Policy Narratives: Implications of Global Power Shifts*, Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing

Alden, Chris and Aran, Amnon (2017), *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches*, London: Routledge

Aydin, Mustafa and Ismael, Tareq Y. (2003), eds., *Turkey's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: A Changing Role in World Politics*, London: Routledge

Brecher, Michael (1972), *The Foreign Policy System of Israel: Setting, Images, Process*, London: Oxford University Press

Casier, Marlies and Jongerden, Joost (2010), *Nationalisms and Politics in Turkey: Political Islam, Kemalism and the Kurdish Issue*, London: Routledge

Cornell, Svante (Winter 2012), "What Drives Turkish Foreign Policy?", *Middle East Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 13-24

Couloumbis, Theodore A. (1983), *The United States, Greece and Turkey: The Troubled Alliance*, New York: Praeger

Dal, Emel Parlar (June 2012), "The Transformation of Turkey's Relations with the Middle East: Illusion or Awakening?", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 245-267

Davutoglu, Ahmet (2008), "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", *Insight Turkey*, vol. 10, no.1, pp. 77-96

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

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

Halabi, Yakub (2009), *US Foreign Policy in the Middle East: From Crises to Change*, Burlington: Ashgate

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

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----- (1994), *Turkish Politics and the Military*, London: Routledge

Heper, Metin (Spring 2003), "The Victory of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey", *Mediterranean Politics*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 127-134

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Ehteshami, Anoushira and Elik, Suleyman (December 2011), "Turkey' Growing Relations with Iran and Arab Middle East", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 643-662

Ercan, Pınar Gözen (2017), *Turkish Foreign Policy: International Relations, Legality and Global Reach*, London: Palgrave-Macmillan

Erik, Cornell (2001), *Turkey in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Opportunities, Challenges, And Threats*, London: Routledge

Gunes, Cengiz (2011), *The Kurdish National Movement in Turkey: From Protest to Resistance*, London: Routledge

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

Gunter, Michael (2018), *Routledge Handbook on the Kurds*, London: Routledge

Gurel, Sukru S. (1993), "Turkey and Greece: A Difficult Aegean Relationship" in Allan M. William and Canan Balkir, eds. *Turkey and Europe*, London: Frances Pinter Publishers Ltd, pp. 161-189

Hill, Christopher and Light, Margot (1994), "Foreign Policy Analysis" in Margot light and A. J. R. Groom eds., *International Relations: A Handbook of Current Theory*, London: Frances Pinter, pp. 156-173

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

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

Jonathan, Alford (1984), "Greece and Turkey; Adversary in Alliance", *Adelphi Paper*, no. 12, pp. 91-119

Jongerden, Joost (2021), *The Routledge Handbook on Contemporary Turkey*, London: Routledge

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

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

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

Kastoryano, Riva (2013), ed., *Turkey between Nationalism and Globalization*, London: Taylor & Francis

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

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

Kuniholm, , Bruce R. (1980), *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

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

Larrabee, E. Stephen (July-August 2007), "Turkey Rediscovered the Middle East", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 86, no. 4, pp. 102-114

Lewis, Bernard (1968), *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London: Oxford University Press

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Mastny, Vojtech and Nation, Craig R. (1996), *Turkey Between East and West: New Challenges for A Rising Regional Power*, London: Routledge

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

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----- (January-March 2001), "Turkey's Quest for a Regional Role in Central Asia", *International Studies*, vol. 38, no.1, pp. 29-52

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

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

Neack, Laura, Jeanne A. K. Hey and Patrick J. Haney (1995), *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in its Second Generation*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall

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

Oktav, Ozden Zeynep (2011), *Turkey in the 21st Century: Quest for a New Foreign Policy*, Surrey, England: Ashgate

Öniş, Ziya & Yalikul, Maimaiti (2021), “Emerging partnership in a post-Western world? The Political Economy of China-Turkey Relations”, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 507-529

Ozgun, Tufekci (2019), *Routledge Handbook on Turkish Politics*, London: Routledge

Pearson, Robert, W., Tol, Gonul, Stein, Aaron and Hintz, Lisel (Summer 2018), “Turkey’s Emerging Role in the Middle East”, *Middle East Policy*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 5-26

Robbins, Philip (March 2013), “Turkey’s ‘double gravity’ Predicament: The Foreign Policy of a Newly Activist Power”, *International Affairs*, vol. 89, no. 2, pp. 381-397

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

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

----- (October 1993), "The Overlord State: Turkish Policy and the Kurdish Issue", *International Affairs*, vol. 69, no. 4, pp. 657-676

Robinson, Kali (August 2022) “Turkey’s Growing Foreign Policy Ambitions”, *Backgrounder*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/turkeys-grwoing-foreign-policy-relations>

Rosati, J. A., Hagan, J. D and Sampson, M. W. (1994), eds., *Foreign Policy Restructuring: How Governments Respond to Global Change*, Columbia: Columbia University of South Carolina Press

Rosenau, Jmaes N. (1971), *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*, New York: Free Press

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

Tachau, Frank (Spring 1985), “Turkish Foreign Policy: Between East and West”, *Middle East Review*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 21-26.

Uslu, Nasuh (Autumn-Winter 2010), “Searching a Beneficial Way Out from the Impasse: The Cyprus Problem and Turkish Foreign Policy”, *Perceptions*, Ankara, vol. 15, no. 3-4, pp. 79-112

Vali, Ferenc (1971), *Bridge Across the Bosphorus: The Foreign Policy of Turkey*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press

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

Yilmaz, Eren Alper (Winter 2021), “Turkish Foreign Policy in a Neorealist Framework: Bilateral Relations with Its Allies since 2016”, *Middle East Policy*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 144-158