

TURKEY'S STRATEGY IN THE CHANGING WORLD

Dr. Atilla Sandıklı



Istanbul 2009



**WISE MEN CENTER
FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

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İstanbul / 2009

Bilgesam Publications No: 3

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PREFACE

If the Turkish history is examined, it will be recognized that there have been welleducated wise men behind the achievements in the past. However, at the present it is increasingly difficult for a group of wise men to perceive developments truly and on time and design alternative policies due to the multidimensional progression of incidents and the complexity of questions. Gathering of wise men with dissimilar world-views and specialized on different disciplines and of young and energetic researchers in flexible programs is necessary to watch developments closely; to make realistic predictions and to plan alternate strategies.

Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies (BILGESAM) was founded to have future projections by following developments in the homeland and the world; to make scientific studies to resolve political, economic, technological, environmental, and socio-cultural problems at domestic level; to gain foresight for Turkey's foreign relations; and to provide decision-makers with policy proposals and practical recommendations in line with national interests. The vision and objectives of BILGESAM, its working method, basic attributes and organizational structure are presented at <http://www.bilgesam.org/en>.

BILGESAM considered it would be useful to create a document that predicts potential developments in the world within the next 5-10 years, describes Turkey's vision, and sheds light on primary problems of the country. Thus, "Turkey's Strategy in the Changing World" has been prepared referring the reports and analyses of BILGESAM and views of its members. This study is a strategic document

which evaluates international systemic and regional changes; presents Turkey's vision; clarifies impediments to the improvement of relations with the EU, US, and Russia; points at the obstacles to a more progressive Turkey and utilization of national dynamics along with establishing peace and stability, and prevention of terror in the region; and finally articulates advices for the solution of all these questions.

I hope the document will contribute to modernization process of Turkish Republic as well as the national peace and prosperity, and it is my wish that the study benefits both our public and state.

Dr. Atilla SANDIKLI
President of BILGESAM

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TURKEY'S STRATEGY IN THE CHANGING WORLD

1. Globalization and Changing International System

At the last quarter of 20th century, Cold War ended and technological advances in general with significant progresses in communication in particular have generated the phenomenon of globalization. The developments in financial markets and in real economy not only spread through geographical boundaries of nation states but also influence economic, technologic, and socio-cultural spheres decisively. National and international spaces as well as local and global domains are increasingly intertwined. Further beyond the interdependencies among states there are emerging new fields of cooperation and of common interests between societies.

Democratic values and awareness on human rights are becoming universally shared norms as their applications expand conspicuously. Pluralist democratic regimes that respect human rights and that achieve a just income distribution provide better welfare systems for their publics. These regimes, in the long term, contribute stability and peace at domestic, regional and international levels. Accordingly, geopolitical weight of the states maintaining such regimes increases.

In world politics, there are emerging more actors which stand active and are able to shape international developments. Alongside the sovereign states, various non-state units are turning into the bases of power and authority. Policy areas for UN, NATO, OSCE as well as other international organizations are proliferating. These interstate establishments are gaining autonomous identities and continuances over time and they provide legitimacy ground for state actions by preparing necessary basis for multilateral policies.

At the same time, the inability of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) such as UN, WB, WTO and IMF to be adequately effective during momentous crises is construed by the view that these institutions could not adapt to the changes in international system. In order to increase the influence of these institutions, thus various propositions including fundamental adjustment lines for the structure and functioning of them are on the agenda. There are also signs that portend growth of a new multilateral system. Moreover, nation states by forming coalitions appear volunteer parties for conflict resolutions due to the ineffectiveness of UN and NATO in settling international disputes.

Beside IGOs, multinational companies (MNCs) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are operating in all fields largely outside the control and competence of states and they are becoming active participants of social, cultural, economic, and political relations beyond national boundaries. These institutions (MNCs and NGOs) are capable of shaping public opinions worldwide utilizing the most advanced technology and thus enjoy the sway of constraining public policies. Likewise, individuals are progressively more prominent actors of international relations since they are able to make a claim in international institutions and they by private initiatives may have an effect on the undertakings of MNCs and NGOs.

Outside the range of legal activities, terrorist organizations have been resorting to illegitimate violence to attain their political goals. These organizations, exploiting the facilities of globalization are increasing their financial, technological and management capacities and by the cooperation with other terrorist groups at global level they are improving the impact of their actions.

All of these developments undoubtedly contribute to the relativity of nation states. In other words states are no longer the only economic, political and military power bases and areas within the control, competence and activity of states have been waning. Numerous issues and questions which irreversibly transcend the national boundaries appear beyond the domains of state authority. Nevertheless, these developments do not represent disappearance of states but the structural changes in the world politics. States still continue to be key actors within the process of these structural changes. Societies also need further for states that are more active and influential at transnational realms due to the globalization.

It seems impossible for states to avoid or obstruct the globalization process by revealing its negative effects. The only option for states is to manage the byproducts of this process. Therefore, states that are both able to benefit from globalization and preclude detriments of its outcomes can perform well. Achievement of such performance requires consolidated legal infrastructures along with a dynamic system of justice and transparent functioning of public institutions.

In the next decade or fifteen years period, the world will be more integrated though its appearance is expected to be quite divided owing to the multiplication of actors and identity demands by ethnic groups. These two opposite propensities –integration versus division- will be shaped by values, norms and beliefs as well as by structural factors, economic and military powers in particular. Coercion and violence will transpire as relative instruments while constructive elements of smart power in the forms of legitimacy, persuasion, financial attractiveness and ability of managing globalization will be more significant.

Increasing initiatives of EU through more independent policies alongside the USA, the growth of Russia though not to the level of its former strength, the buildup of Japan, China and India as continental power bases and the rise of regional powers refer to the necessity for a multi-polar international system. As requirements of a multi-polar system, it is anticipated that the impact of larger organizations like G-20 beside G-8 will expand and crucial revisions in the administrative structures of UN, WB, WTO and IMF will take place. Within this framework the significance of Turkey -a key regional power appearing in the most important area of the world- in the international system will increase steadily. Election of Turkey for the temporary membership of UN Security Council stands as an indicator of the expectation.

2. Turkey's Vision

The indispensable vision of Turkey persists for ascending to the position of a peaceful, confident and prosperous model country which enjoys qualities of the advanced state of civilization.

The vision which is dynamic and clear of ideological fixations guides Turkish nation in this rapidly changing world. As the vision instructs, it is aimed to reach the criteria of a pluralist democracy and to retain respect for human rights, secularism and rule of law in accordance with contemporary norms. Focus of the insight will be on sustaining and improving the standards for social harmony and legal way of life that have been adopted thanks to the long-lasting evolution of human practice. The vision necessitates a steady economic growth consistent with the principles of free market, integration with global economy and the expansion of well-being into the general public. The reason and inherent unity of the state, preservation of the Republic, and the upgrade

of national strength are among the basics of the insight as well. For the realization of the vision, it is also crucial for Turkey to form solidarity and cooperation with the countries favoring common values and interests, and thus to maintain peace for the homeland, region and the world.

3. Foreign Policy

3.1. The Process of Accession to the EU

Building a consensus on the strategy for EU membership appears inevitable in Turkey's leap forward in course of the vision by extricating itself from spirals of ideological and political crises. However, the executive is not the only accountable body for developing and instituting such a consensus. The charge as a common historical responsibility covers each and every organ of the state, the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA), all the political parties and the whole range of NGOs. For Turkey, the goal of accession to the EU is not a romantic desire but a rational choice originating in historical consciousness and from future perspectives.

The strategy of EU membership ought to be transformed into a process of consolidating national unity and togetherness instead of a period engendering possible fault lines in the society. Government has to remain determined to reconcile the notions such as national unity, "single state-embracing citizenship" model, and laicism with the philosophy of collective destiny of the Union and thus to build the common future with the EU on this ground.

In order to assure mutual confidence between Turkey and the EU, parties must adhere to the contractual liabilities reciprocally. Turkey has a duty to harmonize its own judicial system with the norms of the Union and to settle practices concerned

in line with the EU standards, completely. The European project of integration including Turkey should exercise its influence on peace, security, economic development and democratization also within our neighborhoods as it has been doing in the continent.

The progression during the course of the process ought to be based on common ideals of peace, free will for accession, and the culture of compromise venerating the historical as well as cultural significance and diversity of Turkish identity. In this context, Turkey had better be able to stand as an active player of the European integration. The relationship between the accession process and the European project should be built upon joint deliberation, cohesion, and understanding of combined effort rather than mutual antagonisms and attitudes of collision. Out of the relationship, it is essential to reach the goal of working together for consensual solutions instead of being against each other.

In this scope, the urgent task emerges as assessment and updating of priorities and intermediate objectives by constantly following developments in Europe and the world. For proper implementation of these priorities and intermediate objectives, establishment of an effective coordination mechanism seems crucial and a straightforward process not prone to tensions but to the ground of compromise is important. Reflecting the actual impression of the process to the people should be given primacy so that the progress is understood by the general public accurately. Therefore, contribution from all the strata of society is needed during the accession process on each step of which scientific approach ought to remain as guiding principle avoiding hasty regulations.

Turkey, as it enjoys comparative advantages for settling peace, instituting stability, ensuring energy security and transport within Central Asia, Middle East, Caucasus, Black Sea, Caspian, and Mediterranean regions, has to operate effectively involving in these policy areas. Accordingly, the occasion that positive outcomes of these policies will provide Turkey with substantial political gains in EU accession process should be considered.

One of the key explanations for the deceleration of accession process is that particular states in the EU struggle to impede the process and some of these states even present privileged partnership as an alternative formula. For that reason, full membership goal of the ongoing negotiations ought to be emphasized in every instance as the process is continued resolutely.

That Greece and the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus (GCASC) manipulate the actions of EU organs to Turkey's disadvantage appears another factor affecting the relations between Turkey and the EU negatively. They have initiatives particularly on changing the questions relating to Aegean Sea and Cyprus (extension of the Treaty of Ankara and opening of the ports) into Turkey-EU disputes and designate schemes for solutions in this platform. Against these initiatives, Turkey should devise its foreign policy strategies consistent with tenets of realism, rationalism, and equality paying also attention to flexibility principle. Through such a strategy, it is necessary for Turkey to divide the process into phases and to gain time by preserving and improving existing affiliations while avoiding irreversible damages on existing relations.

For the purpose of blocking anti-Turkey campaigns organized by Greece, GCASC, and Armenian lobbies in the EU organizations, the government and the opposition

need to work together. As paramount principles of foreign policy, dialog and direct contacts should be employed primarily and key individuals and groups within the agencies of the Union have to be informed about facts concerning the disputes. Besides, relationships with the EU member states ought to be strengthened at bilateral level.

Considering that some countries of the EU plan to ask Turkey's membership to their peoples, impression of Turkey must be ameliorated by lobbying activities focused on the public opinions of member states. Within this framework, all of important individuals and private groups (intellectuals, businessmen, unions of employers and workers, representatives of NGOs) should visit their counterparts in Europe and tell them the truth alongside the official views of Turkey. They should also present and form the modern image of Turkey into the public opinions of these countries. Likewise, the Turks who are inhabited in Europe and whose representative abilities matter ought to be organized for lobbying in favor of Turkey within the member states.

3.2. Turkey-US Relations

Of all the challenges that Turkey must overcome to forward in line of its vision, lack of mutual confidence in bilateral relations with the US denotes the one of major others. In 2003, US Forces were not allowed to pass through the southeast of Turkey because the qualified majority necessary for license was not met in the Grand National Assembly. The anti-Turkey resolution of Armenian genocide recognition, which is pending but might be taken to the agenda anytime soon in the House of Representatives, has damaged the confidence between two states though the willingness for decision is more related to domestic concerns. In similar veins, US invasion of Iraq following the allegations on the presence of WMDs in this country has spurred the anti-American sentiments in Turkey. Despite the Turkish foreign policy in favor of

territorial integrity of Iraq, suspicions about US connivance of an autonomous or even an independent Kurdish state in northern Iraq represents an important breaking point. That the terrorist organization of Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) attacks into the Turkish lands nesting in northern Iraq is another question riling Turkey.

However, following PM Erdoğan's initiatives in Washington in November 2007 US officials began to supply real-time intelligence to Turkish army and this cooperation symbolized the reconsolidation of bilateral relations. The blunt statement that "PKK is an enemy for Iraq, Turkey and the USA" uttered by President George W. Bush as the President Gül was visiting America in the January 2008 repaired damaged relationship between two states to a large extent. Subsequently, it is observed that the image of America in the eyes of Turkish people has been to a degree ameliorated.

For the next period, the issue that whether reactions by Turkey and US to Iranian nuclear program will be similar remains a potential disagreement between two countries. Claiming to have global charges and supporting Israel unconditionally, the USA may pursue policies incompatible with the favorites of Turkey which must be wary of balances in its neighborhood as a regional power.

Nevertheless, the alignment of Turkey with US should be maintained and strengthened to a larger extent due to the fact that two countries enjoy similar visions and common benefits. Economic interests and security concerns above all entail such an alliance between the two. At this point, responsibility for preserving and developing the relationship continually is on the shoulders of both Turkish and American politicians as well as intellectuals.

3.3. Turkey-Russia Relations

During the Cold War the quality of relationship between Ankara and Moscow has been for the most part reliant on interactions between the Western block mainly the US and Russia.

Initially, relations between two states have been based on the ground of an obvious rivalry while afterwards there appeared areas of cooperation with relatively less opposing attitudes.

After the establishment of Russian Federation bilateral dialogues have intensified and unlike faltering developments in political and security realms, economic relations have increased rapidly. Since Turkey is a member of NATO and Russia tended to keep former Soviet areas, namely the Caucasus and the Central Asia as its special sphere of influence, bilateral political and security relations have not improved sufficiently compared with commercial links. Meanwhile, as Russia expanded its economic power and consolidated its authority inside, tones of rivalry in its foreign policy preferences began to be more apparent.

With respect to economic relations, it is generally claimed that Turkey and Russia are two countries complementing each other. In addition to consumer products, Turkey exports service as Turkish contractors travel to Russia for various projects and a large number of Russian tourists visit Turkey each year. Considering the products including semi finished products, oil, gas and coal that Turkey imports from Russia, it seems that there is complementation in bilateral economic relations.

However, this is not adequate to say that economic relations function without troubles. Particular questions may at times exacerbate in the long run bringing about critical snags in political relations. Moscow does not regard economy as a field independent of politics and thus deems the utilization of economic issues for political gains applicable. For that reason, it is crucial for Turkey to pursue necessary investment and trade policies to stay away from being extremely dependent on Russia. Diversifying energy resources can be included in this range of measures. Turkey should seek to avoid relating economic issues to political relations and convey this viewpoint to Russia in every instance. For the inclusion of Russia within institutions and agreements concerning international free market regulations, Ankara ought to foster and support Moscow vigorously. In doing this, it is better for Turkey to concoct the guidelines together with other states sharing the same considerations.

Owing to the economic reasons rapprochement between Russia and Turkey prevails while various difficulties are manifest along with a number of common interests available. The foremost difficulty appears as Moscow holds its predilection to see the former Soviet states in its sphere of influence. Russia endeavors to legitimize this vision by “near abroad” doctrine rejecting the fact that the geography of those states is also contained within Turkey’s sphere of influence. In this respect, intensifying ties of Turkey with the former Soviet Republics in Caucasus and Central Asia are the source of distress for Russia which cannot eliminate the disintegration fear. The distress is currently on the rise since demographic trends in Russia are developing to the disadvantage of people with Russian origins. However, Turkey had better to consider sensitivities of Russia in spite of that it is unthinkable for Turkey to stay

indifferent to those countries and not to forge further relations with them by admitting the “near abroad” doctrine.

Two states must have a mutual understanding against separatism because they both confronted the movements challenging their national unities in different periods. The positioning of Moscow for the separatist trends (including terrorist organizations) in Turkey is connected with Ankara’s attitude to the secessionism in Russia. In this respect, there is no way apart from preserving the principle of reciprocity in a strict manner.

Being ready to resort to force in internal and external conflicts, Russia still is a big country enjoying nuclear power and having large conventional military capacities. Therefore, despite its good relations with Moscow, Turkey has to remain within the NATO defense system seeking to control Russia in terms of security matters. With same concerns, it is necessary for Turkey to balance Russia’s strategic power and initiatives in line with its “near abroad” doctrine by bolstering the enlargement of NATO.

That the eastward openings of Turkey take place through the Caucasus and to a certain extent across Iran is obvious at present. Russia strengthening its ties with Iran out of Caucasus, in particular with Armenia aims to block the defense-politics-economy system of Western states counting Turkey to expand toward Asia. In order to prevent this strategy from proceeding, multifaceted policies ought to be followed by Ankara. It is essential to encourage NATO members for the maintenance of independence and territorial integrity of Georgia and to spend more effort to settle Azerbaijan-Armenia dispute and for improving Ankara-Yerevan relations. It is also

indispensable to consolidate interactions with Teheran despite the existence of regional rivalry between Turkey and Iran and incompatibility of their regimes. In addition to these, Turkey should work toward achievement and continuance of at least tacit assistance by Central Asian states for the functioning of the East-West corridor.

In assessing the strategic aspects of Turkey-Russia relationship, the significant and decisive role of Turkey-EU relations certainly requires emphasis. To the extent that Turkey integrates with the Union, Ankara's relations with Moscow will be balanced and its friendship with other states in the region will gain impact. Therefore, for maintaining its strategic balance with Russia, the most viable means in favor of Turkey emerges as persistently sustaining the efforts for the EU membership.

Turkey has a duty to be determined for complying with international law in its foreign relations especially with Russia because obedience to international law will embolden Ankara's hand both among friends and against rivals.

In recent years, there has been an increasing competition between Turkey and Russia on the transportation of oil and natural gas from Caucasus, Central Asia and Iran to the world markets. Russia has been planning to capture a strategic upper hand by controlling a vast amount of energy sources that Western states inevitably need to consume. Through this policy, Moscow will reinforce its influence on energy producing countries and gain more from transit routes passing through its soil. In addition these transit ways in Russia, there are alternative energy transport routes going across Turkey. Because Moscow does not wish for a Turkey becoming an East-West energy corridor, it tries to impede this process by various strategies. Among

these one may count the Kremlin's policies to export its oil to international markets out of different conduits bypassing Turkey and to block the BTC pipeline-related enterprises by countries on which it can exert pressure. Furthermore, as some rumors reveal

Russia plots circumstances under which the security of pipelines in Turkey might be questioned seriously.

Since the problem is not only about Turkey, Ankara has to tell the European states would-be major energy consumers, the importance of its presence as an independent energy corridor and to gain their support for the object. It seems risky of being too dependent on Russia if its inclination in limiting energy transfer to some neighbors by political motives and the severity of its actions in Georgia are taken into consideration. On the other hand, potential areas of cooperation with Russia on the projects of energy transport routes across Turkey should not be thwarted. The basic notion needs particular attention is the assurance of that Russia conducts economic and political affairs as divergent realms.

3.4. Relations with New Power Bases

The East Asian countries at the helm of which being China, India and Japan are taking the course of an enormous growth in terms of economic, political and military capacities. In the post-Cold War era, for instance, Beijing utilizing the opportunities of globalization in a realistic and rational way has extensively reaped the benefits of changing conditions. China began to affect global balances critically not just in international trade and investment but in formation of geopolitical roles

of states and the areas such as energy security, environmental pollution, and community development policies. India as another major developing country has made a considerable progress and Japan endures being the center of attention in the East Asia with its economic significance at global level.

Through the process of regionalization, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Shanghai Co-operation Organization (SCO) as new organizations came to the fore in Asia. The influence of institutions namely the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) including the USA, Russia, China, Japan as well and the Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM) gathering Asian and European countries, to a certain extent increased. The initial integration movements for improving economic and trade relations have subsequently contained political and security dimensions.

As a corollary of rapid developments the need for energy in East Asia grew tremendously and thus China, Japan and India became active parties of the rivalry over energy sources and transport routes. Accordingly, concentration and initiatives of these countries on the regions of Middle East and the Central Asia started to expand. Commercial policies and energy enterprises by those states toward the two regions boosted the geopolitical weight of Turkey being an outstanding actor in its neighborhood.

Since disregarding these changes and their impacts in its region is unconceivable for Turkey, the task of Ankara appears as to advance the links with major East Asian countries in proportion with the pace of their dynamism. In order to upgrade level of friendship with these states the rapprochement must take place by furthering the tempo of present interactions. Likewise, affairs with countries in Africa and Latin

America ought to be given more intensive treatment. All of the initiatives should be realized not as alternative to the relations with the US and the EU but in a way to accompany these affiliations and to utilize indirect benefits when geopolitical position of Turkey allows doing so.

3.5. Relations with the Neighborhood

The Caucasus

The Caucasus due to its geographic location being the opening door into the Central Asia represents a strategically significant region for Turkey. With accomplishments of the projects, “Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Oil Pipeline” in 2006, “Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum Gas Pipeline” in 2007, and “Baku-Tbilisi-Kars Railway” in 2008 the value of the region to Ankara has considerably raised.

Russia deems that its interests are disputed as Turkey turns into an energy corridor and transport route on the East-West axis and is exceptionally irritated by the related westward sliding of the region. Its excessive intervention in the Caucasus, which undermined the status quo of the area, demonstrates that Moscow henceforth will take active and stringent actions to the developments on its periphery rather than passive reactions as it used to give previously.

The basis of Turkish foreign policy toward the region is formed by three major principals the first and the foremost of which stands for the maintenance of sovereignty and territorial integrity of Caucasian countries. Providing their integration into western institutions with political and economic aids, and improving as well as preserving cooperation, stability and peace in the region appear as the other two basic insights. The question of breakaway regions to be precise Nagorno-Karabakh,

South Ossetia and Abkhazia remains the main obstacle to establishing peace and stability in the Caucasus. Ankara should persist for peaceful settlements of the conflicts afflicting the region in accordance with international law and contribute political steadiness and economic welfare of the countries. Therefore, it is worthwhile to initiate institutions like Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform under which the necessary ground for dialogue among the Caucasian states seems possible to remedy the long-lasting problematic relations.

Watching closely the status of the dispute in South Ossetia, Turkey must instigate debates in diplomatic circles about the studies of Minsk Group to remove the obstruction in Nagorno-Karabakh and put new plans and proposals on the desk. Policies in dealing with Armenian Diaspora and toward Yerevan ought to be designed in different ranges rather than adopting a single frame. Since Armenia as an enclosed country of the region relies on the Diaspora in both political and economic matters, it is essential for Ankara to broaden the channel of communication at bilateral stage gradually by sponsoring the confidence building. In this context, Turkish President's visit to Armenia on the occasion of a football match represents a step forward that must be supplemented by further overtures.

The Middle East

The launch of Israeli-Syrian indirect talks, the attempt by Tel-Aviv to a cease-fire with Hamas and exchange of captives with Hezbollah, and reconciliation of government crisis in Lebanon can be considered as hopeful signs for peace in the region. Readjustment of US approach to Iran even with tactical reasons, positive response of Teheran to this

attitude change and the Sunni Bloc's return to federal government in Iraq are also promising developments for the future of the Middle East.

From its independence onward, The Republic of Turkey in line with a rationalist and a realist foreign policy has sought to forge friendly relations with all countries of the Middle East to sustain permanent peace and stability in the region. Thus, accomplished to sidestep potential threats likely to affect its safety, Turkey has stayed as a reliable and respected state of the region. It can be observed that Ankara in recent years has been prompt to transform the regional environment fraught with crises and volatility into the atmosphere suitable for peace and cooperation. Turkey achieved success in settling armed conflicts as well through pursuing multidimensional policies vigorously and remaining attentive to the happenings in the Middle East. Similarly, Ankara has been working toward a compromise formula acceptable to the parties on the subject of the nuclear program of Iran for a period of time. It is evident that all of these initiatives will contribute to the approval and the power of Turkey in the region.

As an outcome of population growth, climate change, rapid urbanization and industrialization in general, the question of water shortage is anticipated to emerge as one of the most serious issues of the Middle East in the near future. In this respect, waters of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers that have occasionally strained Turkey's relationships with Syria and Iraq in the past might elevate on the agenda in the forthcoming years. Therefore, necessary precautions and planning must be put on the ground through following the studies for international "Law of Waters" circumspectly.

The Balkans

The peace established by Dayton Accords in the Balkans in 1995 after a period of political instability in the post-Cold War era, has been elusive. The instance that Kosovo declared its independence has triggered new tensions in the region while the situation of the six districts mostly inhabited by Serbs in the north of the country is still precarious. Pertinently, Bosnian Serbs will probably unite with Serbia claiming their right to self-determination when conditions are ripe for doing so. The independence of Kosovo also alarmed Macedonia where one-fourth of the population is comprised of ethnic Albanians. It is worried that the ethnic Albanians living in the vicinities of Albania and Kosovo will secede from Macedonia as well. Under present circumstances, political stability in the Balkans is maintained in the shadow of arms whereas the “soft power” of EU in shaping the future of the region matters substantially.

For instituting lasting stability and consolidating cooperation in the Balkans, Turkey plays a pioneering role in regional organizations chiefly in “The South East European Cooperation Process” and contributes productively to international initiatives like “Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe”. Improvement of the status for permanent peace and stability in the area benefits both the Balkan countries and Turkey for which the value of the region means connection to and integration with the EU.

Establishment of a durable stability in the Balkans might gain momentum through the accession of non-member countries of the region to the EU. From among

the countries in the region, Greece, Slovenia, Bulgaria, and Romania are currently members of the Union as accession talks are continuing with Croatia and Turkey. In case of required conditions, the EU confirmed that accession negotiations of Macedonia also will begin. Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia too have expressed their will either explicitly or implicitly to be a member of the Union. In order to surmount the problems of micro-nationalism and ethnic clash which had influenced the region gravely in the 1990s and to sustain political stability, non-member Balkan states should join the EU. Within this framework Turkey's goal for accession the EU is of greater importance.

Greece and Cyprus

Turkey and Greece are two neighboring countries that exist in the same geography and enjoy common interests and attributes while the present status of relationships between the two does not proceed at satisfying levels. There have been a number of interrelated factors affecting bilateral relations in a negative way. Some of these factors stem from the nature of the geography in which two states live together and the condition of the ethnically Turkish population in Greece and the Cyprus. Beneath other factors damaging the relationship between two countries, it is possible to count the breaches of existing international treaties by Athens. First of all, revisionist policies of Greece appear as underlying causes of the dispute in the Aegean Sea where the status quo was formed by the Treaty of Lausanne and the Paris Peace Accord. Interpreting the 1982 UN Law of the Sea Convention in its favor, Greece has been taking initiatives and seeking for windows of opportunity to alter the balance in the Aegean to its advantage. Athens regularly attempts to extend its territorial waters, continental shelf and airspace, and to populate the islands with indeterminate

state of belonging and has been arming the islands close to Turkey in violation of the Treaty of Lausanne and the Paris Peace Accord. All of these efforts indicate that Greece desires to make the Aegean Sea a Greek lake in contrast to the tenacity of Turkey to preserve the status quo.

Despite the bloody coup plotted by the Athens-backed Greek Cypriots to topple the order the London and Zurich agreements placed in Cyprus, the military intervention of Turkey and the subsequent atmosphere of peace and stability following the establishment of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), Greek Cyprus insists on contending Turkish Cypriots minority of the Island. To prevent the past events from happening again, Ankara and the TRNC demand a federal system based on the equality of two states in Cyprus with Turkey being an effectual guarantor pursuant to the London and Zurich agreements. Considering that Greek Cyprus rejected the Annan Plan which Turkish Cypriots accepted, it is clearly visible that the party favoring a balanced and a permanent peace in the Island is the TRNC.

Turkey like for other regions is an advocate of peace and stability in the Aegean and Cyprus so Ankara had better utilize every single chance to advance the relations with Greece. The focus should be on intensifying top-level dialogs and devising solid projects for facilitating bilateral cooperation and peace since making headways in relations will take place to the advantage of both parties. These achievements if realized are going to boost confidence and thus friendship among two states smoothing the pathway of dispute settlement. On the whole, improvement of the relationship between Turkey and Greece will contribute to the peace and stability throughout the region.

For the purpose of dissuading Greece from taking steps along the lines of its revisionist ambitions, Turkey needs to develop and to maintain the deterrent power

at its disposal. Taking account of the fact that Greece and the Greek Cyprus are members of the EU and have initiatives to make above-mentioned matters questions of the Union, it is understood that Turkey's accession process is crucial. Required measures for the issue were remarked in the related section.

4. Security

4.1. Potential Developments in Northern Iraq and Turkey

In the post-invasion Iraq, boundaries between the authorities of central government and regional administrative bodies still could not be delineated completely and ministries have been allocated according to ethnic and sectarian differences. The influence of the central government over regional administrations is weak and ministries operate like self-governing organs of the state. Due to the dismissal of the oil code regulating also the regional distribution of budget, needed foreign investments are postponed each time. Though it is proved that Iraq has the third largest oil reserves in the world after Saudi Arabia and Canada, its ability to produce and export the oil will stay limited in the next ten years. Therefore, the possibility of using the revenues to be made from oil production for public welfare will remain low for the case of Iraq.

All ethnic groups and sects brought about numerous armed militias suffering from both intra-factional and inter-factional contradictions and fighting as a result of the general fragmentation in Iraq. Despite critical steps taken for the integration of these militias into legal security forces, there are continuing incidents meaning that safety measures do not suffice. Controlling the entire Iraq seems an arduous task positive outcomes of which can only be reached in the long term with current structure of security forces. National peace is promising largely if endeavors last

until militias are disarmed and integrated into society, which cannot be accomplished overnight. Therefore, under these circumstances, potential developments in northern Iraq might be listed as below.

- Along with the Regional Kurdish Administration, Barzani and Talabani who have the power to shape national policies in Iraq will reinforce the local institutionalization as they consolidate their stance to the extent that internal and external conditions permit. They will persist in implementing projects for the welfare of their people and upgrading the regional administrative capacity even though tensions over Kirkuk are still on the scene.
- Expansion of regional boundaries and heading toward self-determination are likely steps to be taken by Kurdish administration if the central government loses its control over the country or the Constitution in effect is proved abortive. The probability of a civil war out of an escalation of the Shiite-Sunni clash also might generate such motives for the Kurds in northern Iraq.
- They in connection with the policies pursued by Ankara may seek further assistance and confidence from Turkey.

In this context, the challenge Turkey is expected to face is whether these -seemingly durable and threatening in perception- potential developments in northern Iraq can be turned into opportunities for the unity and well-being of our public. Within such framework there are several preventive measures of and perspectives on dealing with the issue.

Possible Provisions for Iraq

- Ascertaining the common ground of benefits shared with regional and global actors particularly the US. Demarcating clearly the line between mutual interests and opposing views vis-à-vis these states and adopting policies in this way.

- Improving economic, cultural, and social relations with the Regional Kurdish Administration through building a sturdy infrastructure for bilateral interactions. For influencing and monitoring the happenings from inside, opening a consulate in Irbil without delay.
- Avoiding racist speeches when the Regional Administration and its officials are addressed and choosing policy options meticulously not to foment Kurdish nationalism.
- Obscuring covert actions professionally and abstaining from demonstration of power upon these actions.
- Having a new approach for Turkmens so that they are not divided in themselves and assessing dangers that may arise out of their militancy. Assuring Turkey's oblique responsibility of protecting Turkmens and of maintenance their security to Baghdad and Irbil.
- For Turkey to stand at the bridgehead in this many-sided struggle of significant interests, enriching state apparatuses such as intelligence activities with adequate material supplies and systems.

Possible Provisions at Homeland

- Beside the armed struggle, to disconnect terrorists from people in the southeast of Turkey preparing a number of precautionary measures for disarming the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) militants during the course of truces to be agreed on and integrating them into society.

- Taking extensive provisions for the disengagement process of civil society from terror. Dealing with inhabitants of the area in a compassionate fashion and averting tension, factionalism and clamor which incite hatred and thus lead to the terror in the region.
- Developing education and health systems and the rule of law pursuant to harmonization packages with the EU to gain the confidence of citizens countrywide. Improving living standards of the people in the region.
- For a lasting solution; reading the direction, quality and degree of the socio-cultural change occurring in the area and controlling the change by socio-cultural integration projects to encourage the sense of belonging and citizenship of inhabitants of the region. Formulating discourses and policies for the purpose of consolidating national cohesion.
- Fostering intergovernmental organizations along with state institutions to contribute to the rehabilitation of the area.
- Creating an entity -with a semi-independent functioning and subject to scrutiny by PM- for orchestration and synchronization of precautions to be taken in economic, political, diplomatic, educational, and socio-cultural spheres. Bringing representatives of armed forces and ministries, agents of civil society, and scientists together in that entity.
- In order to weaken the impact of PKK's delusive propagandas; providing the region with educational facilities and developing strategies to dissuade each individual especially youngsters from joining the terrorists; increasing democratic

freedoms of basic rights; preventing poverty and sustaining minimum living conditions by expanding employment and energizing regional economy; enlightening the representatives of media so that they inform inhabitants of the area about positive developments in the region and do not be the tools of inadvertent propagation of PKK's actions.

- For the achievement of these goals, gaining the support of the EU states is vital since the PKK has been backed by its establishments in several member countries rather than northern Iraq. The dissolution of PKK's establishments causing public security challenges (drug-dealing, underground organizations, illegal immigration, organized crime, etc.) in those countries should be defined as common benefits shared by the member states. Such cooperation may also be smoothed placing the joint actions of security forces under same legal principles.

In devising all of these preventive measures, the core objective is to marginalize the terror to the greatest extent. These measures must be applied promptly instead of using the illusory discourse that "terror to be uprooted" as a pretext for the suspension of necessary precautions. Therefore, keeping the terror down to a bearable level and strengthening the sense of belonging and citizenship of the people living in the southeast Anatolia by increasing their welfare and economic prosperity should be priorities of Turkey.

It is known that the regime dominated by the two leaders in northern Iraq is not a democratic one as public and private lives remain under the influence of tribal order rather than a Western constitutional system and rule of law. With increasingly effective practices of the EU legal norms and assurance of individual rights and liberties in every region of our country, incongruity of circumstances in northern

Iraq may turn into an advantage for Turkey. Magnifying further the disparity between the living conditions in northern Iraq and in Turkey and utilization of the difference will consolidate sense of citizenship among the inhabitants of southeast region as well as their attachment to the state.

4.2. Strategy Development for the Struggle with Terrorism

Terrorism persists as a primary security question of Ankara and the incidents in Turkey's neighborhoods herald that it will probably pose challenges for a long time. The prolonged struggle against PKK together with developments following the US intervention in Iraq precipitated a kind of sociological transformation in the minds of the people living in the southeast Anatolia. As a result, a small number of people have been confused in the region though most of the inhabitants are in favor of togetherness and the unity of state.

In the struggle with terror, the military force-dominated strategy that has been devoid of socio-economic, socio-cultural, and psycho-social dimensions fell short of expected level of success. Despite numerous casualties, expenditure of resources worth billions of dollars, tactical achievements during operations, and the isolation of PKK in certain periods, insufficiency of the strategy could not be recovered. Hence, the strategy applied so far ought to be re-devised in line with the notion of fighting not against the terrorists but the terrorism itself. The new stratagem should rest upon the approach assuming an integrated and a coordinated usage of the aforementioned facilities (economic, socio-cultural, educational, psychological, diplomatic, etc.) not neglecting the security aspect.

As basics of the strategy in the struggle against terror it is Turkey's duty to entrench its democracy in political harmony, to fulfill the rule of law completely, to promote and to practice universal values in the field of human rights, to regard religious, linguistic, and cultural diversities as sources of richness ensuring free exercise of these differences. For implementation of the new strategy, Turkey had better embrace dissimilarities as a requirement of togetherness, eliminate regional disparities in the course of economic development, provide its people with satisfactory living conditions pursuant to the principle of social state and create equal opportunities for educational, political, and economic enterprises. The strategy ought to be able to boost the sense of belonging of all nationals irrespective of distinctive identities (religious, sectarian, and ethnic) and to achieve cooperation and solidarity among the citizens in an atmosphere of tolerance.

Considering international dimensions of fighting against terror, any kind of support (political, financial, training, weapons, and explosives) PKK finds from abroad must be hindered for an absolute isolation of the organization. To attain this goal, there appears the need for intensifying diplomatic initiatives and being active on international platforms.

The security and operational aspects of the struggle with terror should be carried out by professional groups specialized to fight terrorism rather than regular troops of the army.

Formation of an organization of commandos, gendarmes, police officers adapted to living and fighting in the conditions of terrorists is essential for an actual combat unit to take part in the battle against terror. In need of ground and aerial operations,

deterrence or under alike circumstances, the elements apart from the Gendarmerie, and the units of commandos and helicopters in the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) might be utilized temporarily.

Fight against terrorism can be counted in the domains of not a few ministries if its international relations and security dimensions as well as socio-economic, socio-cultural and psycho-social aspects are taken into account. Therefore, for an execution of war on terror which is both coordinated and influential, the task must remain under the authority of PM.

A government body directly headed by PM like a “High Council of War on Terror” will harmonize ministerial liabilities and maintain cooperation between intelligence agencies and security forces coordinating their functions.

5. Domestic Politics

5.1. Establishment and Consolidation of Democracy

Present-day questions, dangers, and dilemmas of the democracy in Turkey are more related to establishment and consolidation of democracy than the basic step of transition to democratic rule. The likelihood of Turkey standing confident for the future and enjoying a robust democratic system along with fair governance might come into reality provided that democracy as “the only determining rule of the game” is recognized by all institutions in the country. Thus, communication and coordination among these institutions would be possible parallel to their espousal of democratic principles and justice as primary responsibilities.

Efforts to establish and to consolidate democracy in social life in Turkey can succeed only if participation and consensus are promoted. Because, a “Participatory and Consensual Democracy” is a form of governance that assumes separation of powers and institutional coordination as its point of departure and lets people involve in the decision-making process by seeking democratic compromise to reconcile social demands and problems. In this scope, for achieving a participatory and consensual democracy, political and constitutional reform initiatives to meet the Copenhagen criteria at the initial phases of Turkey’s accession process to the EU and nongovernmental activities ranging from environmental issues to human rights along with social movements represent significant starting points. These developments have built foundations suitable for restructuring the representative democracy in Turkey utilizing measures of participatory and consensual democratic systems. Today, the task appears as the establishment and consolidation of democracy -as a “political system”, “political culture” and a “means to solve societal problems”- for enjoying the quality of a participatory and consensual democracy.

5.2. Developing a Sense of Citizenship and Belonging

Since its foundation, Turkey has officially adopted Atatürk nationalism, which relies on the ties of citizenship and a shared homeland in the French fashion. Due to several reasons, nonetheless, there have been oscillations in practice between such a conception of nationalism and one that prioritizes ethnic ties in the German fashion. This has prevented a homeland-based sense of Turkishness from being internalized as the founders of the Republic envisioned; and fostered feelings of exclusion among citizens from certain ethnic or confessional backgrounds.

Parallel to this; social change engendered by globalization; and the social outcomes created by an increasing understanding of democracy and human rights have necessitated new openings beyond the classical conception of nation-state. Recently, it has been argued that globalization is threatening the nation-state in two respects. Firstly; a dual pressure is exerted on the nation-state from above and below; on the one hand by the centralization of supranational organizations like the EU, and on the other, by the decentralization provoked by the increasing recognition of minority and ethnic identities. Secondly, multi-identities emerge as a new challenge. Today, individuals are in a position to experience and espouse a variety of identities and senses of belonging simultaneously.

It is probable that any approach that denies right of existence to different senses of belonging, loyalty and attachment; and considers them as identities that are necessarily in contradiction with the national identity; would enfeeble the nation-state. Therefore, attention should be paid to the fact that individuals' identities are multi-layered, flexible and sophisticated. Construction of this complex of senses of belonging should be scrutinized with great care. Such a scrutiny is needed for the development of a socio-cultural form whereby various identities are accommodated in a non-exclusive manner.

In Turkey, ethnic identities with local or regional affiliations on the one hand, and religious identities with a more global affiliation on the other; are growing stronger indeed. It can be argued that the increased strength of these identities (or dislocations of identity) would weaken the national identity and consequently

jeopardize the loyalty to the nation-state. In order to eliminate this possibility, steps should be taken towards the inculcation of a citizenship-based model for nationalism.

One of the most effective ways to prevent the abuse of the concepts of nation and ethnicity could be the promotion of a non-exclusive sense of patriotism. If the love for the country is built on a rational basis, different identities would be given a room for existence, and at the same time an emotional attachment would nonetheless be created. As many scholars have already pointed to, patriotism is both a calculated loyalty and an emotional affiliation. The adoption of universal legal principles and their effective implementation as against all citizens on an equal basis would facilitate their loyalty to the state. Such a policy would also foster national feelings where they are weaker, by promoting a national feeling that is not defined in terms of primordial (ethnic or racial) ties. An understanding of the nation as consisted of equal citizens and based on the rule of law, could be established through the promotion of a patriotism stripped off ethnic and other differentiation marks. This would spread the national feelings, buttress the integrity of the country, and facilitate the solidarity of the people; while also contributing to the development of democracy by eliminating important discriminations.

5.3. Secularism

Compared to European constitutions, secularism appears in 1961 and more especially 1982 constitutions as a strictly defined concept. It is cited as an unchangeable quality of the state; and touched in many of the articles of the constitution – including,

first and foremost, those regarding political parties. No other European constitution has assigned to secularism a position as central as in the Turkish constitution. Our constitution-makers have assigned such importance to secularism as they took into consideration the dissimilarity between Turkish and European histories regarding the state-religion relationship; the special conditions of the Turkish revolution; and the fact that both social and political religiosity has spread rapidly after the transition to democracy.

According to the Article 24 of the constitution, everyone has the right to freedom of conscience, religious belief and conviction. Acts of worship, religious services, and ceremonies shall be conducted freely, provided that they do not violate the provisions of Article 14. No one shall be compelled to worship, or to participate in religious ceremonies and rites, to reveal religious beliefs and convictions, or be blamed or accused because of his religious beliefs and convictions. No one shall be allowed to exploit or abuse religion or religious feelings, or things held sacred by religion, in any manner whatsoever, for the purpose of personal or political influence, or for even partially basing the fundamental, social, economic, political, and legal order of the State on religious tenets. Institutions founded by the state in order to serve the individuals in matters of religion, have to approach each belief on an equal basis and provide justice in the respective allocation of relevant resources, with an effort to further unity and solidarity among the citizens.

5.4. Improvement/Reformation of Judiciary

The aim of the legal revolution has been expressed in the justification section of the Turkish Law of Citizens (Civil Law) as: "Turkish nation, which set out in a walk toward

adopting and espousing the contemporary civilization, has to adapt itself to the contemporary civilization for any costs; and not adapting the contemporary civilization to itself.”

In the 85th anniversary of the foundation of the republic, an answer to the question “How well has the Turkish legal revolution managed to succeed in this?” can be summarized as in the following: It cannot be denied that implementation of the Turkish law occasionally does concord with contemporary values. However, approaching the issue from a critical perspective and taking an average of the prevailing jurisprudence, one could not say that the objective has been reached.

A deficiency in infrastructure, lack of a culture of criticism and deliberation, incongruence between doctrines and implementation, lack of the idea of objective and subjective impartiality can be considered as the reasons of the failure in legal revolution.

Recommendations

Popular participation in judiciary: According to the constitution, “Judicial power shall be exercised by independent courts on behalf of the Turkish Nation.” This point articulates the democratic principle of participation, in other words the principle of “popular participation in judiciary.” In civilized countries popular judges (jury) participate in the judicial practice and apply judicial power on behalf of the people.

Freedom to claim rights: According to the article 36 of our constitution, everyone has the right of litigation before the courts through lawful means and procedure. Article 125 has strengthened this freedom by rendering recourse to judicial review

available against all actions and acts of the administration. However, some exceptions have been put on this principle and they need to be redressed.

Judicial Independence: Judicial independence is a *sin qua non* of a polity based on the rule of law. Impartiality in justice can be achieved only through independence. Regulations that enable politicians and bureaucrats, who staff offices within the executive, to also take part in the independent judicial power, should be amended. The judiciary, in turn, should not interfere into the legally defined field of competence of the executive.

The incorporation of the institution of ombudsmanship into the Turkish judicial system would be a big step toward impartial, independent and swift judgment. Ombudsman would be formed by the legislative organ; and it carries responsibility toward the legislative organ in providing solutions to legal conflicts.

Higher education in law is currently incapable of training judges and lawyers that have a good understanding of the contemporary legal concepts and terms. For this reason, legal education should be reviewed and no new law faculties should be opened without adequate academic staff.

A common legal dictionary should be composed in the light of the relevant global concepts. The process whereby Turkish law can meet globalization and become integrated with the West could begin with the creation of a sound legal terminology.

5.5. The Need for A New Constitution

More than ten amendments have been made in the constitution since 1987. Despite these amendments, the search for a new constitution gained speed from the early 1990s onwards. Political parties as well as non-governmental organizations have contributed to the

debate over a new constitution with the relevant reports and drafts they suggested. Current situation of Turkey with regard to the international context necessitates a revision of the constitution indeed.

The new constitution should definitely be shorter and more compact than the current one; include all the rules and institutions of a democratic state based on rule of law; establish the primacy of civilian authority without leaving any doubts and make the people as the subject of politics, rather than an object.

The new constitution should be such a text that would take the individual and his rights as the fundamental basis, consider state not as a transcendental being but an instrument that serves the individual and the society, recognize social diversity not as a threat but as an asset, prioritize pluralism rather than homogeneity, and uphold constitutional democracy in all its aspects. It should embrace fundamental values and principles embraced by contemporary democratic states. Furthermore, the new constitution should follow the principle of political impartiality in keeping an equal distance to various and conflicting ideologies, worldviews, beliefs and values.

The new constitution should articulate a mentality that takes rights and freedoms as essential and their limitation as exception. In addition, the section about the basic rights should take into account the international conventions and their authoritative interpretations.

It should be expressed in definite terms that sovereignty belongs to the people and that it is used by the legislation, the executive and the judiciary. In order to preempt the disputes over sovereignty that might stem from the prospective EU accession, an article should be added stating in effect that sovereignty can actually be limited by requirements arising from membership in supranational organs.

Apart from the new constitution, measures should be taken in the Law on Political Parties and Elections in order to meet the need for efficient governance; to modernize the state structure and to establish democracy in all respects.

6. Economy and Technology

6.1. Continuing Economic Stability and Advancing Structural Reforms

Turkish economy has made important gains after the 2001 crisis. Leading among these are the achievements in growth, inflation figures, improved budgetary balance and increases in foreign direct investments. A favorable international economic atmosphere and a period of financial abundance have played a part in this achievements, as much as did the introduction of structural reforms, decisive implementation of the economic program, strict observation of the budgetary discipline, political stability and progress toward full membership to EU.

Despite these achievements, unfortunately, no progress has been made in solving the problems regarding the competitiveness of the industrial sector. Structural and micro reforms that would buttress competitive strength could not be undertaken. During the same period the over-valuation of Turkish currency has also inhibited the industrial competitive strength. Despite these negative factors in play, the industrial sector nevertheless managed to increase exports and become the locomotive

of economic growth. However, this achievement has been in turn shadowed by the fact that imports have increased faster than the exports; and by an unprecedented figure of trade deficit.

During the second half of 2007, a payments crisis in US real estate's sector emerged, causing anxiety in global markets and provoking a setback in the positive expectations that had been prevalent for some time. Two important elections – presidential and parliamentary – held in Turkey in the same year delegated the economy to a secondary position; and, compared to previous years, a relatively bleak picture emerged as a result. For the first time in the post-2001 period, the growth objective was underachieved: whereas the aimed annual figure was 5 %, the realization was at 4,5 %. Even though the trade deficit decreased proportionally, it surpassed the aimed figure of 54,7 \$ billions and reached 62,8 \$ billions. The trade deficit contributed to the current account deficit and the latter broke a record by reaching 37,4 \$ billions. Furthermore, during the last two years, hard times began with regard to the anti-inflationary struggle, and both in 2006 and 2007 the objectives were underachieved: 9,7 % instead of 5 %; and 8,4 % instead of 4 %, respectively. All these demonstrate that a critical period is now reached in the economy.

In the international scale, pessimist prospects have emerged as weaknesses in many markets persisted, deepened, grew and spread, to the effect that expectations about worldwide growth have fallen down to lows unprecedented during 2000s. Without doubt, Turkish economy is much more fortified and stronger now than in the past. Nonetheless, it should not be forgotten that fragility still exists. The recent

growth has been mostly dependent on foreign financial inflows. Therefore, possible negative developments with regard to monetary liquidity in international markets may affect Turkish growth figures negatively by hindering inflows. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that global negativities are now being accompanied by question marks about domestic political stability. In order for this dire strait to be left behind with the least possible harm, greatest attention should be paid to the economy and measures should be taken swiftly, prioritizing the competitive strength above all. The gains that have been made since 2001 would be at risk unless such measures are put into effect without any more delay.

6.2. Sustainable Development and Energy Supply Security

One of the most important objectives of statecraft should be to facilitate the conditions of sustainable development. Sustainable development refers to three aspects of sustainability – in economic, environmental and social welfare terms. It expresses a relationship between these three complementary aspects and a necessity to build a balance between them. In terms of sustainable development it is of utmost importance to achieve justice in income distribution, to protect the environment and to meet the increases in the demand for energy in a way that such a balance would be kept. Securing energy supplies for the long term is of primary necessity. Energy supply security can be provided by a diversification in supplying countries and supply mechanisms as well as in the types of fuels and relevant technologies.

Turkey's special geographical position provides various opportunities in this regard. Firstly, various resource correlations are rendered possible by the availability of various resources. The fact that 70 % of the known energy resources reside in the

east and south of Turkey (in Caucasus, Central Asia and Middle East) whereas an important share in the consumption takes place in Europe, puts Turkey in a position of transit route. It gives the opportunity to Turkey to build an energy corridor between east and west. In addition to this, since many energy transfer lines intersect in Turkey and they are directed to new destinations thereafter; and since Turkey also provides them with port terminals; Turkey also has the opportunity to build energy hubs of worldwide importance.

Turkey has to decrease its current import-dependent position. Energy resources should be diversified; hydraulic, solar and wind powers should be exploited to a greater extent; and search for new fossil fuels should be given a greater attention. Moreover, increased transfer of fossil fuels from the Middle East, Caucasus and Central Asia, their processing in certain energy terminals and their transport to Europe through maritime or pipelines would contribute not only to the agenda of energy supply security but also to Turkey's economic development; and increase its geopolitical importance.

Attention should be paid to the fact that international prestige would accrue to Turkey if efforts toward the development of new energy technologies like hydrogen power could commence and come to fruition in Turkey. Development of energy technologies should therefore receive their respective share in the resource allocation.

6.3. Scientific and Technological Progress

Scientific and technological progress has historically contributed to the economic development of nations and has thus been an important element in their competition. In the future as well, scientific and technological progress is expected to follow the

destination provided by economic policies and competitive strategies. Of fundamental importance in this context are the construction of the infrastructure necessary to build an informational society as well as increased care devoted to strategic technologies like Information and Communication Technologies; Nanotechnology; Biotechnology and Genetics; Energy and Environmental Technologies; Material Technologies; Mechatronics; Design Technologies; and Production Process Technologies.

In order to realize technological progress and secure its articulation into economic development; scientific publications, patent acquisitions, high-tech industrial branches, information-led services and high-tech exports should be encouraged. Harmonization of scientific and technological research with the “real sector,” to the effect that it is responsive to the challenges of economic development, is needed. “Techno-economy Institutes” should be founded in order to achieve an integrated design of economic policies and scientific and technological policy; as well as to train able personnel (techno-economists) that would administer such a process. Techno-parks, which now boast the number of 30 country-wide, should be further multiplied, with an effort of increased cooperation between the university and the industrial sector.

If suitable conditions are provided, Turkey can also claim a share in the relocation of transnational companies' R&D (research and development) activities, as part of a worldwide economic move “into the East.” Such conditions could only be established with continued political stability and economic growth; and with an effort to solve regional problems through peaceful diplomatic measures.

7. Conclusion

Turkey has to perceive the changes in a flexible international system without delays and take swift steps in line with its vision. Turkey has to sanction universal standards in human rights and secure the rights to education, enterprise and work; which would in turn provide its citizens the sustained competitive strength and life standards of those of the modern world. In this regard, EU accession is an axis of development endorsed by a large part of the public opinion. The strategy of EU accession is a road path that is able to take Turkey to contemporary standards of civilization by promoting a new constitution and a synchronized development in political, economic and socio-cultural aspects. With the successful implementation of this strategy not only Turkey would develop rapidly but also the self-contention, security, wealth and welfare of the people would be enhanced to a great extent. The reason of state, its inherent unity and its republican tradition can be secured in an effective manner as such.



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Atilla SANDIKLI was born in Izmir in 1957. After he graduated from Ataturk High School (Izmir), he enrolled in Turkish Military Academy in 1976. He continued his education in the Military Academy, Army War College, and Armed Forces College, respectively. SANDIKLI participated in PhD courses of International Relations department in the Faculty of Economics at Istanbul University and of the European Union Institute at Marmara University. He completed his PhD degree at the Institute of Ataturk's Principles and Reforms at Istanbul University.

He served as a staff officer and commanding officer at various echelons of Turkish Armed Forces and as a counselor within the Secretariat General of the National Security Council. SANDIKLI chaired and lectured in international relations department of War Colleges Command and took office in the establishment of War Colleges Strategic Researches Institute which he directed subsequently. After he retired voluntarily at the rank of senior staff colonel from Turkish Armed Forces he founded and became the director general of Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM). He remained on this job and as the editor of Journal of Strategic Foresight during a four-year period. After he left TASAM, SANDIKLI established Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies (BILGESAM) in order to assemble the sagacious persons of Turkey on the same platform. He is currently the president of BILGESAM.

SANDIKLI has taken active part in the arrangements of numerous national and international symposiums and conferences. He has published fifteen books and various articles and won many achievement prizes and medals in his military and civil life.

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