# SABANCI UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

IR 342: Turkish Foreign Policy

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Office Hours: Tuesday 10.30-12.30

**Class Hours:** M 10.40-12.30

T 9.40-10.30

# **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

IR 342 is designed as a comprehensive survey course of Turkish foreign policy (hereafter, TFP) since the late Ottoman era. It examines major themes, issues, trends, and problems in TFP under different governments over the course of the past century. Although the primary focus of this course is the contemporary period, the lectures will provide a basic historical overview of Turkey's foreign policy since the onset of the republic. Within this framework, we will analyse which factors shaped Turkish foreign policy, study its chief architects, and explore the impact of its contemporary course. Some of the topics explored in the course include Turkey's ties to the West, its relations with Russia and Middle Eastern neighbours, policy reorientation during the Arab Spring and recent blunders in the region. The course is divided into two parts; the first part will offer a chronological study of Turkish foreign policy until the AKP's rise to power, while the second part explores Turkey's bilateral relations with its neighbours and key allies. Finally, the third part analyses contemporary TFP from a thematic point of view. The course devotes particular attention to key issues and developments during the post-Cold War as a way understanding the policy challenges that lay ahead in the 21st century.

## **REQUIRED READINGS**

- William Hale, Turkish Foreign Policy Since 1774, (Routledge, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition).
- All other readings will be made available.

The assigned readings for each week are listed in the course schedule below. You are expected to do the required readings before class each week. This is essential for your ability to follow and contribute to class discussion.

Students will gain more from this course if they supplement the course material with outside readings. Daily newspapers, periodicals, and news magazines such as the International Herald Tribune, Financial Times, The New York Times, Foreign Policy, and The Economist are some recommended sources to follow current developments in Turkish foreign policy and the wider region.

## **GRADING**

Some Tuesday sessions will be allocated to discussion of that week's topic. Students are expected to come to class having done the weekly readings and will be graded based on their performance in the midterm and final exam (35 % each). Students will also be required to

write a short blog (20 %) on a foreign policy crisis during the Republican era. This post (2000-2500 words) will describe why the crisis broke out, who the main decision-makers were and how it was resolved. Please note that this will not necessarily be an academic text but rather a short informative piece for the wider audience. More information will be provided during our first session.

- 1. Class Participation & Attendance: 10 %
- 2. Blog post: 20 % (December 7)
- 3. Midterm Exam: 35 % (November 9)
- 4. Final Exam: 35 % (TBA)

## **ACADEMIC HONESTY**

Academic dishonesty and plagiarism will not be tolerated in this course and will be penalized accordingly. Students need to submit the work that they do without any outside help. Please make sure to cite your sources properly. Persons who commit or attempt to commit plagiarism will be penalized in accordance with Sabancı University policy.

### **SCHEDULE**

#### **PART I**

## Week 1 – Introduction and the Ottoman Legacy

Readings: William Hale (hereafter WH) – Chapter 1

Bein, A. (2017). *Kemalist Turkey and the Middle East*. Cambridge University Press. pages. 8-15

## Week 2 – Turkish Foreign Policy Between 1923 and 1938

WH – Chapter 2

Gulmez, S. B. (2017). Turkish foreign policy as an anomaly: revisionism and irredentism through diplomacy in the 1930s. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 44(1), 30-47.

Bein, A. (2017). Kemalist Turkey and the Middle East. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 2

## Week 3 – Turkish Foreign Policy During the İnönü Era

WH – Chapter 3

Isci, O. (2019). The Massigli Affair and its Context: Turkish Foreign Policy after the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1-26.

Papuççular, H. (2018). Fragile Balances: Turkish Foreign Policy on the Sovereignty of the Dodecanese Islands (1940–1947). *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 20(5), 405-419.

# Week 4 – Turkey & Cold War (I)

WH - Chapter 4

Gülmez, S. B. (2020). From indifference to independence: Turkey's shifting Cyprus policy in the 1950s. *Middle Eastern Studies*, *56*(5), 744-758.

Dilek Barlas, Şuhnaz Yılmaz & Serhat Güvenç (2020) Revisiting the Britain-US-Turkey triangle during the transition from Pax Britannica to Pax Americana (1947-1957), Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, DOI: 10.1080/14683857.2020.1820232

## Week 5 – Turkey & Cold War (II)

WH – Chapter 5

Özdamar, Ö., & Erciyas, O. (2019). Turkey and Cyprus: A Poliheuristic Analysis of Decisions during the Crises of 1964, 1967, and 1974. *Foreign Policy Analysis*.

Johnson, L. B., & Inonu, I. (1966). President Johnson and Prime Minister Inonu: Correspondence between President Johnson and Prime Minister Inonu, June 1964. *The Middle East Journal*, 386-393.

#### **PART II**

# Week 6 – TFP during the Early Post-Cold War Era (1991-2009)

WH – Chapter 6

Berdal Aral, "Dispensing with Tradition? Turkish Politics and International Society during the Özal Decade, 1983-93," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (2001), pp. 72-88

Kirişçi, K. (2009). The transformation of Turkish foreign policy: The rise of the trading state. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 40, 29-56.

Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Turkey's New Foreign Policy Vision," *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 1 (2008), pp.77-96.

## Week 7 – Post-2009 Turkish Foreign Policy

Özpek, B. B., & Tanriverdi Yaşar, N. (2018). Populism and foreign policy in Turkey under the AKP rule. *Turkish Studies*, 19(2), 198-216.

Behlül Özkan. (2014). "Turkey, Davutoglu and the idea of pan-Islamism," *Survival*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (2014), pp. 119-140

Zarakol, A. (2012). Problem areas for the new Turkish foreign policy. *Nationalities Papers*, 40(5), 739-745.

## Week 8 – Turkey's Changing Relations with the West

WH – pages 165-173 and 185-193

Buhari Gulmez, D. (2020). The resilience of the US-Turkey alliance: divergent threat perceptions and worldviews. *Contemporary Politics*, 1-18.

Saatçioğlu, Beken (2019). The European Union's refugee crisis and rising functionalism in EU-Turkey relations. *Turkish Studies*, 1-19.

Karademir, Burcu (2019). A Dance of Entanglement: The US-Turkish Relations in the Context of the Syrian Conflict. *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, 16 (2), 27-43.

## Week 9 – Turkish-Greek Relations and the Cyprus Question

WH – Chapter 9

Demiryol, T. (2019). Between security and prosperity: Turkey and the prospect of energy cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean. *Turkish Studies*, 20(3), 442-464.

Tsarouhas, D., & Yazgan, N. (2018). Trade, non-state actors and conflict: evidence from Greece and Turkey. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *31*(3-4), 291-313.

#### Week 10 – Turkish-Russian Relations

WH – Chapter 10

Köstem, S. (2020). Russian-Turkish cooperation in Syria: geopolitical alignment with limits. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 1-23.

Đidić, A., & Kösebalaban, H. (2019). Turkey's Rapprochement with Russia: Assertive Bandwagoning. *The International Spectator*, *54*(3), 123-138.

#### **PART III**

# Week 11 – Arab Spring

Başkan, B., & Pala, Ö. (2020). Making Sense of Turkey's Reaction to the Qatar Crisis. *The International Spectator*, 1-14.

MacGillivray, I. W. (2020). The paradox of Turkish–Iranian relations in the Syrian Crisis. *Third World Quarterly*, 1-21.

Fuat Keyman, E. (2016). Turkish foreign policy in the post-Arab Spring era: from proactive to buffer state. *Third World Quarterly*, *37*(12), 2274-2287.

Öniş, Z. (2014). Turkey and the Arab revolutions: boundaries of regional power influence in a turbulent Middle East. Mediterranean Politics, 19(2), 203-219.

## **Week 12 – Rivalry in the Middle East**

Uzer, U. (2020). The downfall of Turkish–Israeli relations: a cold peace between former strategic allies. *Israel Affairs*, 26(5), 687-697.

MacGillivray, I. W. (2019). Complexity and cooperation in times of conflict: Turkish-Iranian relations and the Nuclear Issue. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 1-25.

Özpek, B. B. (2018). Paradigm Shift between Turkey and the Kurds: From 'Clash of the Titans' to 'Game of Thrones'. *Middle East Critique*, 27(1), 43-60.

# Week 13 – Migration as a Tool of Turkish Foreign Policy

Tsourapas, G. (2019). The Syrian refugee crisis and foreign policy decision-making in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. *Journal of Global Security Studies*. (Read only the Turkish case)

Adamson, F. B. (2019). Sending states and the making of intra-diasporic politics: Turkey and its diaspora (s). *International Migration Review*, *53*(1), 210-236.

Özerim, M. G. (2018). Stretching, Opening or Sealing the Borders: Turkish Foreign Policy Conceptions and their Impact on Migration, Asylum and Visa Policies. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 20(2), 165-182.

## Week 14 – Future Challenges for the Turkish Foreign Policy

Yilmaz, G., & Eliküçük Yıldırım, N. (2020). Authoritarian diffusion or cooperation? Turkey's emerging engagement with China. *Democratization*, 1-19.

Aydın-Düzgit, S. (2020). Can non-democracies support international democracy? Turkey as a case study. *Third World Quarterly*, 41(2), 264-283.

Edward Wastnidge, (2019). "Imperial Grandeur and Selective Memory: Re-assessing Neo-Ottomanism in Turkish Foreign and Domestic Politics," Middle East Critique, 28 (1), pp. 7-28.

Hoffmann, C. (2019). Neo-Ottomanism, Eurasianism or securing the region? A longer view on Turkey's interventionism. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 19 (3), 301-307.

Aras, B. (2019). The Crisis and Change in Turkish Foreign Policy After July 15. *Alternatives*, 44 (1), 6-18