

University of Southern Denmark, 12 October 2011:  
*Mediterranean Perspectives*

AKP and the EU: towards a new Turkish foreign  
policy profile

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Student Presentation by Emma:  
AKP's policies – conservative globalism?

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Literature:

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Outline:

- From Monday...a few remarks on institutionalism and path dependency theory in relation to Turkey: Turkish political culture and the European challenge
- Turkey and European security – seen from Turkey
- New Turkish Foreign Policy towards the Middle East (?)
- Turkey and the migration issue



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### Turkish political culture and the European challenge

- Turkish political culture has been changed by the attempts at entering the EU. The theory of institutionalism can help explaining that: rules, norms, practices of the EU integration process influence the internal Turkish political processes – leading to a convergence of political culture, if you will a Europeanization of Turkey
- ...yet on a two-level basis (both an international dimension and a local dimension)
- The whole setup creates a sense of irreversibility (that things cannot move backwards) – especially in the “enlightened” western Turkey and in the Turkish (internationally oriented) elite
- The following areas have been affected by the liberalisation process:
  - Civil society
  - The state
  - The role of religion
  - National identity...

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### Turkish political culture and the European challenge

- When doing research on this: As always with political processes you cannot have a control group (unless we think of Morocco as a control experiment...)
- Still, there is no doubt that there has been an effect from the EU pressure – convergence is there, and has furthermore been stimulated by the relative success of Turkish economy the last ten years
- However, according to Grigoriadis Turkey runs the risk of becoming a scapegoat of domestic EU problems
- And, quoting Jack Straw: “Turkey’s EU membership is the acid test of whether Europe can defeat terrorist attempts to sow division between Islam and the West”
- Conclusion – slowing down and new challenges
- But also, not – for obvious reasons – mentioned by Grigoriadis, recently a more active, independent, Israel-critical, new alliances-seeking Turkey, putting pressure on Europe, but also finding a new identity....

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### Turkish political culture and the European challenge

- Path dependency theory can help explain a liberalisation process in Turkish political culture, according to Grigoriadis. So what is path dependency theory?
- A simple definition: “Path dependency explains how the set of decisions one faces for any given circumstance is limited by the decisions one has made in the past, even though past circumstances may no longer be relevant” (Praeger)
- Or, as put by G.: “As Turkey was making steps toward convergence with the Copenhagen criteria, it became increasingly difficult to change direction and relapse to old politics and practices”
- The challenged political legitimacy of the AKP and its leader fixed the new leadership even more firmly in the EU-direction...
- So the process led Turkey to a liberalisation of its political culture – or maybe even a civilianisation – i.e. a challenging of the military and the old ( Ottoman) bureaucracy “leftovers” from pre-Turkey...

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### Turkey and European security – seen from Turkey

- Richard Youngs, see FRIDE: <http://www.fride.org/> : The EU-Turkey relation is like "a drawn out and complex game of diplomatic chess..."
- The social psychology of being turned down – opinion polls in Turkey point to increasing opposition to the EU, especially among youngsters
- New contradictions in the trans-Atlantic cooperation (NATO) because of the opposition in Europe to Turkish admission
- Securitization of Turkey as a new condition in the discussion about the relation between the EU and Turkey
- New reservations from the EU side as to accession, demands about the abolition of censorship ( § 301 in Turkish law), etc
- Turkey waiting in line behind (?) Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia, ???
- Is security the (main) reason why they probably never will become a (real) member...

### Turkey and European security – seen from Turkey

- Turkey is a member of NATO and the European Council. This must be considered an important part of the framework for negotiations between Europe and Turkey
- The role of Turkey has changed in a post-coldwar context – new challenges enter the political scene
- Turkey has to find its own role in relation to a new NATO, where security has a new meaning and new alliances is at stake
- Turkey has to solve or at least deal with the ethnic issue: first and foremost the question of the Kurds and the PKK problem, the Armenian genocide in 1915 and its repercussions today...
- At the same time new solutions must be found as to the role of the Turkish army in Turkish internal and foreign policies
- All in all Turkey is taking part in a complex, dynamic development, where the parliament, the army and the other actors enter into a powergame about who is to decide the foreign policy of Turkey

### Turkey and European security – seen from Turkey

- 9-11 should in principle strengthen the alliance between Europe and Turkey – building on the NATO-alliance and the common interest in fighting terror – be it in the Middle East, Turkey (PKK) or in the 'West'
- The terror issue, however, is at the same time a part of the tactically influenced negotiation process with Turkey as a fellow player and an opponent
- Probably identity policy is an important security factor (the fact that most of the Turkish population are muslims contributes to the contradictions)
- Added to that: the European, American and Turkish interests are not necessarily identical: security is a complex issue and as part of it sometimes the interests are contradictory (an example could be the PKK-situation in northern Iraq with conflicting Turkish and US interests)
- The "traditional" conflicts about Cyprus, the demands from the EU etc. reinforces the identity- and security political contradictions



## Supplementary literature

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