

**Ahmet Görgen**

# Turkey in the Middle East Politics. Political Discourses, Identity and the National Interests

**Scientific Study**

# YOUR KNOWLEDGE HAS VALUE



- We will publish your bachelor's and master's thesis, essays and papers
- Your own eBook and book - sold worldwide in all relevant shops
- Earn money with each sale

Upload your text at [www.GRIN.com](http://www.GRIN.com)  
and publish for free



**Bibliographic information published by the German National Library:**

The German National Library lists this publication in the National Bibliography; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de> .

This book is copyright material and must not be copied, reproduced, transferred, distributed, leased, licensed or publicly performed or used in any way except as specifically permitted in writing by the publishers, as allowed under the terms and conditions under which it was purchased or as strictly permitted by applicable copyright law. Any unauthorized distribution or use of this text may be a direct infringement of the author s and publisher s rights and those responsible may be liable in law accordingly.

**Imprint:**

Copyright © 2020 GRIN Verlag  
ISBN: 9783346215659

**This book at GRIN:**

<https://www.grin.com/document/916221>

**Ahmet Görgen**

**Turkey in the Middle East Politics. Political Discourses,  
Identity and the National Interests**

## **GRIN - Your knowledge has value**

Since its foundation in 1998, GRIN has specialized in publishing academic texts by students, college teachers and other academics as e-book and printed book. The website [www.grin.com](http://www.grin.com) is an ideal platform for presenting term papers, final papers, scientific essays, dissertations and specialist books.

### **Visit us on the internet:**

<http://www.grin.com/>

<http://www.facebook.com/grincom>

[http://www.twitter.com/grin\\_com](http://www.twitter.com/grin_com)

**Ahmet Görgen**

# Turkey in the Middle East Politics

Political Discourses, Identity and the National Interests

Dedication

To my wife and son

## CONTENTS

<b>Preface and Acknowledgement</b>	6
<b>Acronyms</b>	7
<b>Abstract</b>	9
<b>Introduction</b>	10
<b>I The Review on Turkish Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East</b>	14
I.1 Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkey's Approach to the Middle East after the 1980s	14
I.1.1 Theoretical Debate on Turkey's Approach to the Middle East	14
I.1.2 Policy Analysis in Turkish Foreign Policy towards the Middle East	16
I.2 Limitations of Existing Research	18
<b>II Theoretical Framework and Methodology</b>	19
II.1 Realist Approaches	19
II.1.1 Limitations of Realist Approaches	20
II.2 Constructivism	22
II.2.1 Identity, Interest and Foreign Policy	24
II.3 Analysis of the Sources and Research Methods	26
<b>III The Middle East and Turkish Foreign Policy (1923-1980)</b>	27
III.1 Ottoman Governance Strategies in the Middle East	27
III.2 The Emergence of Arab Nationalism and the West in the Middle East	29
III.3 Turkey's Early Middle East Policy and the West Oriented Foreign Policy Trend	33
III.4 The Political Ideology Factor on Foreign Policy Setting in Turkey	36
<b>IV Turkish Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Period</b>	39
IV.1 Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy after the 1980s	39
IV.2 Neo-Ottomanism as Turkey's Foreign Policy Strategy	42
IV.3 The Approach of Turkey towards the Middle East	44
<b>V Turkey in the Middle East as a Regional Power</b>	48
V.1 Turkey in Palestine Problem: the Change in Regional Dynamics	48
V.1.1 Turkey's Involvement in Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process	49
V.1.2 Turkey and Palestine Problem after Israel's Gaza Operation	51
V.2 The Position of Iraq in Turkey's Neo-Ottomanist Foreign Policy Approach	56
V.2.1 Turkey and the Gulf War in the Context of Foreign Policy Transformation	57
V.2.2. Turkey – Iraq Relations after Iraq War	60
<b>VI Conclusion</b>	65
<b>Bibliography</b>	68



## Preface and Acknowledgement

A number of political and theoretical analyses came into conclusion that Turkey's foreign policy in the post-1980s has been by being a part of western hegemonic system. Such approaches deal with involving Turkey itself within the regional projects (e.g., Greater Middle East Project) that became in line of organizing the policies of the Middle East in accordance with the US interests. In my opinion, these analyses do not offer an adequate perspective on how the changed sociocultural dynamics and the new identity perspective of Turkey affected the foreign policy approach in the post-1980s. Moreover, other rationalist perspectives such as realists do not provide a comprehensive answer to this policy approach because of this new political approach's identity based positioning rather than a mere national interest understanding.

Instead of these hegemonic - rationalist perspectives, present work advocates an identity-interest approach that deals with the changes both in Turkey's social structure and the balance of power in the Middle East politics. A view that focuses more on the changes in the hegemonic political ideology and everyday politics that brings the perspectives of commons, according to the view represented here, more adequately explain the transformation of identity and the directions of international relations of Turkey after the 1980s.

The present work focuses on two key socio-political developments in the period after the 1980s: The involvement of Islam and pro-Islamic movements in the public sphere that affected the foreign policy preferences and popularization of the discourse on social, cultural and political perspectives of the Ottoman Empire that reflected itself as neo-Ottomanism in the formation of foreign policy of Turkey. In the first part of the book, Turkey's pro-Western foreign policy orientation in the pre-1980s and the major theoretical debates on the foreign policy change of Turkey towards the Middle East, after the 1980s, will be presented. In the second part, the conceptualization of Turkey's neo-Ottomanist foreign policy approach will be presented. The case study on Turkey's involvement in the conflict between Israel and Palestine and Iraq's reconstruction process after the Iraq War in 2003 will be analyzed based on Turkey's neo-Ottomanist foreign policy approach.

This book was developed from my submitted MA dissertation in the Faculty of Social Sciences at University of Kassel in 2010. It is the product of intellectual resources that was gained in the various years of research. Hereby, first, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Friederike Habermann. With the opportunities she provided me during the process of writing this dissertation and her supervision, encouragement and feedback, this dissertation came to a conclusion. Also, I would like to thank to PD. Dr. Stefan Schmalz for being my second supervisor during the writing process of the dissertation. I am grateful for his insight and support.

My sincere thanks to my wife who has always been with me with her emotional support during the writing process of this book. My mother and father deserve the appreciation too, because their encouragement and all support during my all studies. Also, I thank to the friends at the University of Kassel and the Justus Liebig University of Giessen as their comments and feedback were constructive.

Gießen, 2020

Ahmet Görgen