



CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDIES (CEFIR)

**Presidential election in Turkey: a wide range of intricate challenges ahead
of the next president**

Madalina Sisu Vicari and Liridon Lika

08 AUGUST 2014

CEFIR WORKING PAPER

N° 1

Presidential election in Turkey: a wide range of intricate challenges ahead of the next president

Madalina Sisu Vicari and Liridon Lika¹

On 10 August 2014, Turkey will hold the first round of presidential election which are of specific importance, as its results will shape the country's both domestic politics and external relations. This paper discusses the key challenges which Turkey's next president must undertake. The domestic challenges range from revision of Constitution, Kurdish peace process and economic growth to polarization of society, freedom of judiciary, separation of powers and civil liberties. In the external relations area, the principal challenges are the worsening of country's relations with its neighbours, security threats and the stalemate of the EU integration. Several domestic and external challenges are inter-related: for instance, the freedom of judiciary, separation of powers and civil liberties affect the EU integration process; the political uncertainty relates to economic growth and foreign investments; the Kurdish peace process impacts on the external security issues; the economic factors influence the relations with the Kurdistan Regional Government and Iraq's central government; the Syrian crisis raises new challenges with regard to the Syrian refugees in Turkey. Therefore, addressing Turkey's current domestic and external challenges will be a long, puzzling and often conflicting-results process.

First direct presidential election in an agitated complex domestic political context

This election has a significant political importance, as it is the first time when the president is elected by popular vote since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923; previously, the president was elected by the members of the parliament - Turkish Grand National Assembly. The first round of presidential election will take place on 10 August 2014 and if a candidate will receive more than 50 percent of all ballots cast, that candidate will be elected president. If no candidate manages to be elected by simple majority, then the two candidates obtaining the most votes will compete in the second round of election on 24 August.

There are three major political competitors who bid Turkey's presidency: **Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu and Selahattin Demirtaş**. Turkey's current Prime Minister

¹ Note: This paper represents the views of the authors, not the position of the Center for International Relations Studies (CEFIR). **Madalina Sisu Vicari** is PhD student at the Center for International Relations Studies (CEFIR), Department of Political Science at the University of Liège. **Liridon Lika** is assistant and PhD student at the Center for International Relations Studies (CEFIR), Department of Political Science at the University of Liège.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan² is the candidate and the chairman of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP)³, political party which has been continuously dominating Turkey's political scene since 2002⁴. His main rival, **Ekmelleddin Ihsanoglu**, is an academic and former Secretary General of the Organization for Islamic Cooperation and he is jointly supported by the main Turkish opposition parties - the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) - but also by other seven smaller parties: the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the Independent Turkey Party (BTP), the Democratic Party (DP), the Democratic Left Party (DSP) and the Great Union Party (BBP). The CHP's and MHP's common support for Ihsanoglu, who has a undisputed Islamic background and rather a conservative profile, is seen as an attempt of CHP and MHP of targeting the Islamic and/or conservative electorate, who traditionally voted, in the past 12 years, with AKP. On the other hand, some of CHP's ultra-secular supporters questioned the choice of Ihsanoglu, perceived as being too religious. Consequently, in his first interview after being nominated, Ihsanoglu addressed the secular voters, speaking about the importance of the founder of the modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, whom he sees as a hero of the fight for independence⁵. The third candidate **Selahattin Demirtaş** is the co-chair of the pro-Kurdish People's Democratic Party (HDP). Though claiming the Kurds' right to have education in own language and their more inclusive participation in the public administration, **Demirtaş** has been seeking to target more than the traditional Kurdish electoral base.

According to the poll results⁶, the current Prime Minister still has the first chance to win the presidential elections and thus to become the 12th president of Turkey. Nevertheless, Ihsanoglu's bid for presidency together with the measures taken by Erdogan against the Gülenists⁷ might alienate a part of his traditional electorate. If Erdogan will not win the election in the first round, three elements will be critical in determining the winner of presidential

² Erdogan serves the third consecutive term as Prime Minister which makes him one of Turkey's longest serving Prime Ministers; the record for the longest term in office as Prime Minister belongs to Mustafa Ismet İnönü who served for 16 years.

³ Since November 2002, AKP won six consecutive elections : three general elections (2002-35 % of votes ; 2007-47 % of votes ; 2011-50 % of votes) and four local elections (2004-42 % of votes ; 2009-38 % of votes ; 2014-45 % of votes).

⁴ "No party in Turkey's legislative history has achieved electoral results even close to those of AKP" which made the party to become a "hegemonic governing force": KEYMAN E. Fuat, "The AKP Party: Dominant Party, New Turkey and Polarization", *Insight Turkey*, Vol.16, N° 2, 2014, p. 23.

⁵ HURRIYET DAILY NEWS, "Main opposition parties' presidential candidate responds to criticism", June 18, 2014.

⁶ A part of Turkish media, which more or less supports the current Prime Minister, has presented polls which show that Erdogan is going to win more than 50 percent of the votes in the first round. Other polls, presented by more independent media, show that Erdogan is most likely to win nearly 42 percent of the votes in the first round, which will lead to a second round of presidential election.

⁷ See below.

election: CHP's and MHP's capacity to convince their electorate to vote for Ihsanoglu, Ihsanoglu's ability to gather votes from AKP's electorate and the percentage of the Kurdish voters who will vote for Erdogan⁸. A fourth element might be also important in determining the winner in the situation of a second round - the votes of the second largest religious minority in Turkey after Sunni, namely the Alevis⁹, especially that, according to the polls, their votes will be split between the three candidates.

However, from 2015 onwards, the Prime Minister position would not have been available for Erdogan, as the article 132 of the AKP's charter bans the party's members from occupying the same elected position more than three terms¹⁰. Consequently, in order to maintain his influence on Turkish political landscape, Erdogan had had no other option but to run for presidency.

According to the article 101 of the Turkish Constitution, the President of Turkey cannot be member of a political party: therefore, if elected president of the Republic, Erdogan shall give up his AKP's membership. However, it is very likely that Erdogan will wish to continue to exerting his influence on AKP and therefore he will attempt to designate a loyal successor to take the helm of the party. But this move will not suffice for Erdogan to keep a strong hand on AKP, nor will it help him to maintain a wide and powerful influence on Turkish political scene. Consequently, if he wish to remain an important factor in Turkey's political life - and he did not show any sign that he intends to be relegated to a second role - Erdogan has no option but to change the Constitution.

On the other hand, the presidential election is held after a very agitated and politically troubled period shaped by the Gezi massive anti-government protests¹¹, the graft scandal¹² and

⁸ DOGAN Poyraz Donca, "Sencar: Undecided voters key to determining Turkey's new president", *Today's Zaman*, July 13, 2014, http://www.todayszaman.com/monday-talk_sencar-undecided-voters-key-to-determining-turkeys-new-president_352907.html, (consulted on August 8, 2014).

⁹ The number of Alevis in Turkey is difficult to be estimated precisely due to the lack of accurate information and to the fact that many Alevis opt out not to declare their identity; some estimations figure their number between 7-13 million, though other estimations figure much higher numbers, which range between 15-20 million.

¹⁰ CAGAPTAY Soner, JEFFREY F. James, "Turkey's 2014 Political Transition. From Erdogan to Erdogan?", *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Notes*, N° 17, January 2014, pp. 1-14.

¹¹ The "Gezi protests" started on 28 May 2013 as a movement of resistance against the demolition of one of the few green-areas of Istanbul, the Gezi Park from Taksim Square. The protests transformed into a wave of civil unrests which spread mainly in Istanbul but also across Turkey. The government claimed a conspiracy behind the protests; the police intervention against the demonstrations was a brutal one and consequently the Turkish authorities were widely criticized at international level for their response to the protests.

¹² Turkish government was rattled in December 2013 by an immense corruption scandal which involved the sons of Ministers of the Interior, Economy, Environment and Urban Planning. The Minister of European Affairs and Chief Negotiator together with Erdogan's two sons were cited as potential suspects in this case, which involved corruption, bribery, money laundering and fraud. On 17 December 2013, 47 people have been detained as part of the investigation, including businesspeople, bureaucrats and the aforementioned three ministers' sons; they were accused of accepting and facilitating bribes for major urbanization projects, manipulating state tenders, export fraud, forgery of documents, abuse of power and more. A second probe was launched by the public prosecutors

the government's measures following the scandal. Erdogan claimed that behind the graft scandal was a conspiracy involving national and international elements led by Gülen Movement¹³, which set up a "parallel state" and plotted to overthrow the government.

In reaction to the graft scandal, the government undertook a wide purge of police officers: consequently, 350 officers in Ankara were dismissed or assigned overnight to new roles, 402 officers in the Istanbul financial crimes unit were reassigned and around 15 000 officers have been allegedly assigned, suspended or dismissed throughout the country¹⁴. The purges against the police staff continued months later: on 22 July 2014, 115 officers, including former senior police chiefs, were detained, being accused of spying and illegal wiretapping of politicians and bureaucrats (including Prime Minister Erdogan and the chief of National Intelligence Organization). In the hunt of the "parallel state", 31 police officers have been sent to prison so far, including the former Istanbul's police intelligence chief.

Government's action targeted also independence of judiciary, separation of powers, civil liberties and freedom of expression. In January 2014, the Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK) removed 96 judges and prosecutors from their posts; this move was followed by a package of measures proposed by government and voted by parliament modifying the status of HYSK, which granted the Minister of Justice increased authority over the appointments of judges and prosecutors in a manner attacking the separation of powers. The Constitutional Court overturn, on 11 April 2014, the provision of the law which gave the government control over the judiciary and following this decision, Erdogan criticized the Court's president.

In February 2014, the Turkish parliament adopted amendments to law 5651 on the "Regulation of Publications on the Internet and Suppression of Crimes Committed by means of Such Publication" allowing authorities to block websites for a privacy violation without seeking permission from a court and collect web users' data for two years. A month later, the

on 23 December 2013, when was ordered the arrest of tens of people (the number varies, function of sources) on similar charges; nonetheless, these arrests have not been carried out. On 25 December 2013, Erdogan undertook a sweeping government's reshuffle, replacing 10 members of his Cabinet. A day after, on 26 December 2013, the prosecutor investigating the scandal, Muammer Akkaş, has been removed from the case.

¹³ The Gülen Movement, lead by Fetullah Gülen, a religious leader who lives in voluntary exile in Pennsylvania now, emerged as a religious movement towards the end of 1970s, but since late '80s it focused on educational activities, promoting higher education. It "encouraged students to pursue careers in law enforcement, the military and the judiciary in order to form a 'parallel state' " and despite the fact that it is a religious group, it "did not hesitate to distance itself from Islamist movements": OZHAN Taha, "The Longest Year of Turkish Politics: 2014", *Insight Turkey*, Volume 14, N° 1, 2012, p. 86.

¹⁴ SEZER Seda, "Police purge undermines Turkish security operations, sacked officers say", *Reuters*, July 3, 2014, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/07/03/us-turkey-security-insight-idUKKBN0F812620140703>, (consulted on August 8, 2014).

government attempted to restrain the freedom of expression by banning Twitter¹⁵ and YouTube; previously, the Prime Minister had blamed the two social media channels for fuelling anti-government rhetoric. Nonetheless, the government continued its offensive against civil liberties and on 17 April 2014 the government passed a bill which substantially increased the powers of National Intelligence Agency by giving it the access to information collected by public and private institutions without a court order.

The government continued its offensive against judiciary beyond the measures targeting HYSK. On 28 June 2014, it passed judicial package which restructures the Supreme Court of Appeals and gives to a few “super penal judges” the unilateral power to initiate and finalize an investigation and to issue orders as detention, arrest, searches and freezing of assets. Under the same package, no appeals whatsoever are allowed to a higher court, any appeal going to a “super penal” judge¹⁶.

In this tense and highly polarized political context, the future president will face many and complicated domestic challenges. But the external challenges are not either less numerous or less difficult, mostly because addressing them successfully will imply the restart of Turkey’s foreign policy.

Domestic challenges: Constitution’s revision, Kurdish peace process, economic growth, polarization of society, freedom of judiciary, civil liberties

As it was mentioned above, in case that Turkey’s next president will become the current Prime Minister, one of his main priorities will be to change the **Constitution**¹⁷, most probably by shifting to a presidential or semi-presidential system from the current parliamentary one. In light of the past events, it is also very likely that Erdogan will push as well for some constitutional changes allowing the government to have a greater control on the judiciary. The process of Constitution’s revision requires either 367 or 330 (in the latter situation the revision must be followed by a referendum) out of the 550 National Assembly’s votes. AKP holds 313 parliamentary seats; therefore the change of Constitution cannot be carried out during this legislative term without the support of HDP, which holds 27 seats¹⁸. Though, HDP’s support would not come in the absence of a heavy bargain for constitutional changes including

¹⁵ Twitter was banned on 20 March 2014 whereas YouTube was banned on 27 March 2014. The ban on Twitter was removed on 3 April 2014 and the ban on YouTube on 3 June 2014, following the rules of Constitutional Court which decided that the bans were unconstitutional and violated the freedom of speech.

¹⁶ TODAY’S ZAMAN, “Timeline: July 22 police detentions in Turkey”, August 1, 2014.

¹⁷ Erdogan stated, in the speech presented his “presidential vision”, that a new Constitution will be a priority for his mandate.

¹⁸ The rest of parliamentary seats are shared between CHP (135 seats) and MHP (52 seats).

inter alia, a greater participation of Kurds in public administration and guaranteeing the right to have education in own language. If accepted, such requests might raise opposition's criticism, which can claim that granting concessions to Kurds would jeopardize the fundamentals of Turkish national state and might use the issue in the electoral campaign of future legislative election. Erdogan will wait for 2015 - the year of future legislative election - to undertake constitutional changes only if the opposition will be divided, weak and unable to turn itself into a real alternative to the current "hegemonic governing force".



Erdogan uses 3D hologram to address AKP's members. Credit: *Hurriyet Daily News*

If Ihsanoglu become president, it is very unlikely that CHP and MHP would be pleased with a political regime's change, but CHP might push for a more civilian Constitution. And that not only because its leader, Kemal Kilidarcoglu, claimed for a change focused on freedom's and democracy's values within Constitution Reconciliation Commission's work, but also to further rally more supporters, especially from the flank of those who claim that Erdogan takes measures targeting Turkey's democracy and rules the country in a growing authoritarian way.

As “economic growth in Turkey is one of the most important issues affecting the decisions of the voters”¹⁹, **economy** plays important role in shaping voters’ preferences. Over the last decade, Turkey experienced remarkable growth and development, becoming an “upper-middle-income country with a population of 75 million and with a GDP of US \$786 billion, making it the 18th largest economy in the world”²⁰. The Turkish economy transformed spectacularly, especially when compared with the late 1990s, when “Turkey was running 90 % inflation and attracting almost no foreign investment”²¹ and 2002, when “Turkey was using up almost 90 % of its tax revenues to pay the interest on its debt”²². The GDP growth had impressive rates: it averaged nearly 7 % during 2003-2007, 9 % in 2010 and 9.6 % in the first three quarters of 2011²³.

Though not gloomy, Turkey’s growth prospects do not show that the country will perform economically as successful as in the previous years: inflation reached in May 2014 a two year high of 9.66 %, the current account deficit is above 7 % of GDP, the Turkish corporate, banking and government sectors face the repayment of approximately US \$163 billion in external liabilities, the household debt rocketed due to easy credit. Moreover, political uncertainty has been eroded investors’ confidence. To contain the Turkish lira losses, the Central Bank had raised Turkey’s benchmark interest rates by 550 basis points in January 2014, a measure heavily criticized by Prime Minister Erdogan. In July 2014, ahead of few weeks of presidential election, the Central Bank - formally independent - cut the interest rates for a third consecutive month, though the current Prime Minister asked for deeper cuts. Since the U.S. Federal Reserve announced a planned reduction of extraordinary monetary stimulus in May 2013 - which reduces both FDIs and short-term financial flows - the Turkish lira lost around 29 % of its value against the U.S. dollar²⁴.

Analysts and international institutions have been warning over some problematic issues of Turkey’s economy. IMF slashed Turkey’s growth for 2014 from 3.5 % to 2.3 % whereas

¹⁹ ERDOGAN Emre, “Erdogan’s Longest Year”, *The German Marshall Fund of the United States*, Analysis, October 3, 2013, p. 1.

²⁰ THE WORLD BANK, “World Bank Group -Turkey Partnership: Country Program Snapshot”, *The World Bank*, April 2014, p. 2.

²¹ DOMBEY Daniel, “Six Markets to Watch: Turkey. How Erdogan Did It -- and Could Blow It”, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2014, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/140338/daniel-dombey/six-markets-to-watch-turkey>, (consulted on 8 August 2014).

²² *Ibid.*

²³ THE WORLD BANK, “World Bank Group Continues Strong Partnership with Turkey: 2012 - 2015 Country Partnership Strategy Launched”, Washington, March 27, 2012, p. 3, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:23154320~menuPK:51062075~pagePK:34370~piPK:34424~theSitePK:4607,00.html>, (consulted on August 8, 2014).

²⁴ THE WORLD BANK, “World Bank Group -Turkey Partnership: Country Program Snapshot”, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

OECD raised its growth forecast for 2014 to 3.3 % from its previous forecast of 2.8 %. The World Bank recommended the establishing of an economic growth model less dependent on debt-financed consumption and higher domestic savings combined with more fiscal prudence²⁵ and the IMF foreseen that “without structural reform, higher interest rates, and tighter spending policies, the country would be left with an unenviable choice between sluggish growth and bouts of instability”²⁶.



Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu (center). Credit: *Anadolu Ajansi*.

The **Kurdish issue** is another main challenge ahead of the future president and that not only because it have been for long time one of the most thorny problems of Turkish society, but also due to the fact that the Kurds represent between 15-20 % out of the total Turkey’s population, approximately 15 million. In 2012, Erdogan announced that Turkey’s National Intelligence Organization (MIT) started talks with Abdullah Ocalan²⁷ in order to convince PKK

²⁵ THE WORLD BANK, “Turkey Public Finance Review Turkey in Transition: Time for a Fiscal Policy Pivot?”, *Document of the World Bank, Report No. 85104-TR*, May 20, 2014, pp. 1-68.

²⁶ DOMBEY Daniel, “Six Markets to Watch: Turkey. How Erdogan Did It -- and Could Blow It”, *op. cit.*

²⁷ Abdullah Ocalan is one of the founding members of Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK). Arrested in 1999, he was condemned to death, but his sentence was commuted in 2002 to life imprisonment.

(The Kurdistan Workers' Party) to give up its arms and withdraw from the Turkish soil²⁸. These negotiations were supported not only by political parties as CHP and the pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) but also by civil society's and media organizations²⁹. After 30 years of conflict, Abdullah Ocalan made a historic gesture in March 2013 and declared ceasefire with Turkey. In May 2013, the Kurdish rebels started to withdraw from Turkey to Northern Iraq; they stopped the withdrawal at the beginning of September 2013 - for governments' failure to take steps in peace process - but they maintained the ceasefire. The government's reaction was the unveiling, on 30 September 2013, of the "Democratization Package"³⁰. Moreover, on 26 June 2014, the Turkish government submitted to the Parliament a reform bill which sets out the framework for achieving the peace talks, "The Bill to End Terrorism and Strengthen Social Solidarity"³¹, which was subsequently already approved by the president Abdullah Gul³². Negotiating the Kurdish peace process may be a risky strategy - as it might antagonize the nationalist electorate - but it may bring economic benefits by stopping further pipeline attacks³³ and protecting the energy agreements concluded between the Turkish government and the Kurdistan Regional Government. It may also have important foreign policy and security consequences, as achieving peace with the Turkish Kurds could help Turkey to contain a further spilling over of instability in the North-eastern part of Syria, controlled by the PKK - affiliated Democratic Union Party.

Other important challenge the future president will face, either he will be Erdogan or Ihsanoglu, is the exacerbation of political and social polarization of Turkish society, whose public manifestation started with 2013 Gezi Movement and continued in 2014 with several contestation movements against the current Prime Minister. Though polarization has helped

²⁸ TASPINAR Ömer, TOL Gönül, "Turkey and the Kurds: from Predicament to Opportunity", *US-Europe Analysis Series, Centre on the United States and Europe*, Brookings Institution, N° 54, January 22, 2014, p. 4.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ This Package allows Kurdish language education though only in private schools, lift the ban of Kurdish language's use in electoral campaigns, remove the practice of the oath recited by schoolchildren every morning: "I am a Turk", allows Kurdish towns to use their Kurdish names and reinstates the legal use of letters such as Q, W, and X - which are not used in Turkish language. TASPINAR Ömer, TOL Gönül, "Turkey and the Kurds: from Predicament to Opportunity", *op. cit.*, p. 5.

³¹ The six article bill puts the peace process under legal and institutional protection by encouraging to making contacts, establishing dialogue with "individuals, institutions and organizations both inside and outside the country"; it encourages the militants of the outlawed PKK to drop their weapons and facilitates their integration into Turkey's social life and ensures legal immunity for all those involved in the peace talks, too.

³² Many political commentators put "The Bill to End Terrorism and Strengthen Social Solidarity" in direct relation with the current Prime Minister's need to win the votes of Kurdish electorate, which represents nearly one fifth of Turkey's population. In case Erdogan will not win the presidential election in the first round, the Kurdish votes may provide an overwhelming percentage of the swing vote in the second round of election.

³³ The PKK militants have been attacking the pipelines crossing the Turkish territory as a way to sabotage Turkey's economy and its strategic assets. For instance, the attack perpetrated in May 2012 on the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum pipeline cut off nearly 15 % of Turkey's daily gas consumption.

Erdogan to enhance his constituency and win elections so far, it has been coming with the price of strengthening fragmentation, even division³⁴. In all probability, if Erdogan wins the presidential election and goes toward the settling of a strong presidential regime, the contestation movements will not stop, the polarization will not fade away; on the contrary, contestation and polarization altogether will heavily increase, especially if the actions targeting civil liberties, freedom of judiciary and separation of powers will continue. And it is equally likely that putting the blame on Gülenists' plots or foreign conspiracies will not be beneficial either for the future president or for the Turkish society as a whole.

Foreign policy challenges: from “zero problems with the neighbours” to “no neighbors without problems”, security threats, stalemate of the EU integration

Since AKP came to power in 2002, Turkey did not hesitate to carry out a sustained and robust diversification of its external relations in order to play a greater role on the international political scene. In this regard, Ankara launched a global and ambitious strategy of "zero problems with the neighbours"³⁵ which led to a fundamental change in its foreign policy: it shifted from a traditional and almost unilateral Western focus to a greater political and economic implication with its Southern and Eastern neighbours. The main goal of this strategy was that of pulling Turkey out from the unilateral Western-oriented foreign policy of the Cold War and ultimately of imposing Turkey as a regional power in a "globalized world"³⁶.

From the very beginning, the aforementioned shift aimed at making Turkey's foreign policy a multidimensional and pro-active one and in this regard Turkey attempted at fostering - mainly in its neighbouring area - diplomatic, economic, trade, cultural and even religious ties. Moreover, Turkey initiated new dialogues with Iran, Iraq, the Kurds in Northern Iraq and Syria.

³⁴ KEYMAN E. Fuat, "The AKP Party: Dominant Party, New Turkey and Polarization", *op. cit.*, p. 29.

³⁵ The "zero problems with the neighbours" strategy derives from the « Strategic Depth » doctrine initiated by Turkey's foreign minister, Ahmet Davutoglu who was appointed in 2002 chief foreign policy advisor and received a sort of free hand to shape the Turkish foreign policy. His academic work, the "Strategic Depth", published in 2001, argues that Turkey should benefit of its two fixed assets, which are also great and unique - the geopolitical location and the historical legacy of the Ottoman Empire - which can make Turkey a regional power in its own right. The "zero problem policy toward Turkey's neighbors" is one of the several principles of "Strategic Depth" doctrine. DAVUTOGLU Ahmet, « Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy », *Foreign Policy*, May 20, 2010, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/05/20/turkeys_zero_problems_foreign_policy?page=0.2, (consulted on June 29, 2014). Davutoglu states that, in this new picture, Turkey must take up its role of "providing security and stability not only for itself, but also for its neighbors and the region" : DAVUTOGLU Ahmet, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment for 2007", *Insight Turkey*, Volume 1, N° 1, 2008, pp.77-96.

³⁶ BILLION Didier, « Réflexions introductives sur la politique extérieure de la Turquie », in *Turquie : le déploiement stratégique*, sous la direction de Firouzeh NAHAVANDI, Bruxelles, Groupe De Boeck s. a., Éditions Bruylant, 2012, pp. 48-49.

Despite its initial success, the Arab Spring, the war in Syria and the recent crisis in Iraq have been strongly challenging Turkey's foreign policy and showed not only its limits, but questioned the approach under it has been carried out, too. After 2011, Turkey's "soft power" was perceived as shifting towards an aggressive power, attempting to coerce and forcefully align its neighbours' policies³⁷. A mix of miscalculations of foreign policy's capacities and capabilities, together with wrong decisions related to Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Israel led to an imprisonment of Turkey's foreign policy within the Middle East turmoil. Therefore, a dramatic reversal in Turkish foreign policy took place and former "Turkey's 'zero problems with neighbours' policy was gradually replaced by a policy of 'no neighbors without problems'"³⁸. The next Turkish president, either Erdogan or Ihsanoglu, will have to face very complicated, troublesome foreign policy's challenges, particularly with regard to Syria and Iraq along with the deterioration of Turkey's relations with Israel, respectively Egypt.

First neighbour with which Turkey strained its relations was **Israel**. In February 2006, Khaled Mashaal, the leader of Hamas, paid a surprising visit to Ankara, though Erdogan did not meet him personally. This political gesture was both a clear signal of Turkey's position with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and an anticipation of further Ankara's engagement with an organization considered by many in the Western world as a terrorist one. In January 2009, Erdogan clashed with Israeli president at Davos Forum and left the stage. In May 2010, an Israeli commando boarded the Mavi Marmara ship, part of a six ships-flotilla, which intended to break the Gaza blockade by delivering humanitarian supplies. The clashes broke during the Israeli assault and 9 Turkish citizens died. Following the incident, the relations between Turkey and Israel downgraded to an unprecedented level as Turkey withdrew its ambassador from Tel Aviv, cancelled joint military exercises and Erdogan displayed a strong anti-Israel rhetoric. In October 2012, the leader of Hamas was invited at AKP's Fourth Congress where he received standing ovations. Turkey and Israel restored their diplomatic relations in March 2013, due to US President Barack Obama involvement in the reconciliation. The Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu apologized to the Turkish people and he agreed with the Turkish side on compensation to the victims' families. But the relations between the two countries have been heavily deteriorated since the beginning of the Israeli-Hamas conflict which started on 8 July 2014, followed by Israel's ground offensive in Gaza on 18 July 2014.

³⁷ RETHINK INSTITUTE WASHINGTON DC, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Challenges", *Rethink Conference*, November 4, 2013, p. 15.

³⁸ CANDAR Cengiz, "Turkey's foreign policy reset will not be easy", *Al-Monitor*, December 1, 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/11/turkeys-foreign-policy-reset-not-easy.html>, (consulted on August 8, 2014).

Turkey's Prime Minister displayed a tough anti-Israel rhetoric again, accusing Israel of seeking systematic genocide against the Palestinians.

Egypt is another neighbor with which Turkey has difficult relations. A staunch supporter of the former president Mohammed Morsi³⁹, Erdogan called his removal an “unacceptable coup” and his party, AKP, announced that the “coup regime in Egypt” will not be recognized, as Morsi is the “legitimate president”⁴⁰. Turkish Prime Minister compared the Egyptian ex-army chief Abdel Fattah al-Sisi⁴¹ to Bashar al-Assad, saying that “there is no difference between them” and accused Egypt of committing “state terrorism”⁴². He even involved Israel into the dispute, “saying that Israel was ‘behind’ the coup in Cairo”⁴³.

In response to Erdogan's and AKP's declarations, Turkey and Egypt mutually expelled their ambassadors in August 2013. The Turkish ambassador returned to Cairo several weeks later, but Egypt expelled him in November 2013, declaring him “persona non grata” and scaling back its diplomatic relations with Turkey to the level of *chargé d'affaires*. Egypt called Ankara's interference in Egyptian affairs, accusing Turkey of backing organizations which spread instability, a direct reference to Turkey's support for Muslim Brotherhood. But Turkey's criticism of al-Sisi has been putting Ankara at odds with **Saudi Arabia**, too, as Riyadh offered political, financial and oil support to Egyptian military and now it is aiming providing consistent economic support to Egypt's struggling economy. Egypt's diplomatic efforts to seek a mediator role between Israel and Hamas ignited a new rift between Ankara and Cairo as in July 2014 Erdogan repeatedly called al-Sisi a “tyrant”; Egypt responded to Erdogan's new war of words by summoning twice in a month the Turkish *chargé d'affaires* in Cairo.

By late 1990, Turkey and **Syria** had very strained relations, partly due of Cold War legacy, partly because Syria had helped and supported PKK, whose leader, Abdullah Öcalan,

³⁹ Mohammed Morsi was the first Egypt's civilian president; he came to power in June 2012 as the Muslim Brotherhood's candidate. He faced opposition protests over several months, culminating with a massive unrest on 30 June 2013. On 3 July 2013, following massive anti-Morsi demonstrations, the army suspended the Constitution and announced the formation of a technocratic government. Overthrown by the military, Morsi was arrested, being charged of conspiring with Hamas to destabilize Egypt.

⁴⁰ TODAY'S ZAMAN, “From honeymoon to bitter divorce: Turkey-Egypt relations in 2013”, December 25, 2013, <http://www.todayszaman.com/news-334933-from-honeymoon-to-bitter-divorce-turkey-egypt-relations-in-2013.html> (consulted on August 8, 2014).

⁴¹ A former head of Egypt's armed forces, Abdul Fattah al-Sisi won the presidential election conducted in May 2013 and took office as the sixth Egypt's president on 8 June 2013.

⁴² HURRIYET DAILY NEWS, “Egypt committing state terrorism, al-Sisi and al-Assad are same: Turkish PM”, August 17, 2013, <http://www.hurriyetedailynews.com/egypt-committing-state-terrorism-al-sisi-and-al-assad-are-same-turkish-pm.aspx?pageID=238&nID=52723&NewsCatID=338>, (consulted on 8 August 2014).

⁴³ ZALEWSKI Piotr, “How Turkey Went from ‘Zero Problems’ to Zero Friends. And lost its leverage everywhere”, *Foreign Policy*, August 22, 2013, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/08/20/foggy_bottom_review_john_kerry_qddr, (consulted on August 8, 2014).

lived in Damascus until 1998. Öcalan's expelling from Syria and his further capture by Turkish authorities opened the door for relations' normalization between the two countries. Ankara's rapprochement to Damascus was strengthened by AKP's rise to power in 2003; thereafter, the governments of Turkey and Syria started to develop consistent political and economic bilateral relations. In 2007, a Free Trade Agreement entered into force, followed, in September 2009, by the setting up of the Turkey-Syria High Level Strategic Cooperation Council which met several times at ministerial and prime ministerial levels. The bilateral trade bolstered, followed by the increase of investment level and the tourism, facilitated by the lift of visa requirements in 2009. The future of Turkey-Syria relations seemed very rosy; thus, the Turkish media's headlines said that Turkey and Syria are "the best friends" and Erdogan called Assad "a good friend of mine". But the very friendly political landscape abruptly changed in the spring of 2011, when protests broke out in Syria against Assad's regime. A few weeks earlier, in February 2011, Erdogan had asked Egypt's ex-president Mubarak to step down as the latter was facing massive protest movements. Erdogan's call for Mubarak's resignation was driven by the political calculations that a popular, Islamic movement taking power in Egypt will help enhancing Turkey's role as regional leader. Seeing in Syrian protests against Assad another window of opportunity for Turkey's "soft power" projection, Erdogan asked his "friend" Bashar al-Assad to carry out democratic reforms. Assad turned down the demand regarding the implementation of democratic reforms; moreover, when the government started to curb the protests, he dismissed Ankara's calls of refraining from using violence against civilians. So Turkey turned against its old "friend" and started to provide support to the Sunni - dominated Syrian National Council (SNC)⁴⁴ and the Free Syrian Army (FSA)⁴⁵ while launching a diplomatic coalition which was aimed at toppling the Syrian president. Meanwhile, Turkey has been keeping a positively neutral position towards the armed jihadists joining the rebellion against Assad. Though Ankara did not officially support the jihadists, it seems that the Turkish government turned a blind eye toward the flows of jihadists which used Turkey as their main entry point to Syria. The rising of the ISIL changed this situation, as it has already been changing Turkey's approach toward the PKK - affiliated Syrian Democratic Union Party (PYD) which, with the tacit approval of

⁴⁴ Set up in Istanbul in September 2011 and backed by Turkey and Qatar, SNC is a coalition of organizations and individuals which includes, among others, the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood and various Kurdish organizations. Following US announcement that they do not consider SNC as the leading organization of Syrian opposition, SNC joined The National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces (National Coalition) in November 2012. The National Coalition is recognized as the legitimate representative of the Syrian people by nearly 100 countries, including US, France, UK and Turkey.

⁴⁵ Free Syrian Army is the military structure of Syrian opposition made up by ex-members of Syrian Army Forces and volunteers.

Assad regime, took control of large parts of North-eastern Syria. Turkey's rhetoric towards PYD softened, as now ISIL actions represent a bigger threat to Turkey. At the same time, an increasing autonomy of Syrian Kurdish region may intensify the Kurdish nationalism in Turkey and offer PKK a large room of manoeuvre and an upper hand in the negotiations with Turkish authorities. In this context, achieving the peace process with Turkey's Kurds is crucial for country's security.

The issue of Syrian refugees is another critical issue for Turkey. Since April 2011, an increasing flow of Syrian refugees crossed the border into Turkey, which maintains an open-border policy. There are nearly 22 camps along the border with Syria which host nearly 220 000 refugees and there are hundreds of thousands of refugees in the cities. In June 2014, the Turkish authorities announced that the overall number of Syrian refugees in Turkey exceeded 1 million persons and by the end of the year is expected to reach 1.5 million. Providing humanitarian assistance and addressing the increasingly growing refugees' needs of shelter, health, schooling and jobs is a serious, long-term challenge for Turkey.

Syria's conflict mounted the diplomatic tensions between Turkey and **Iran**, a key ally and unconditional supporter of Assad's regime, but also, though indirectly, between Turkey and **Iraq**. A consequence of Turkey's increased support of Sunni groups was that it offered refuge in April 2012 to Iraq's Sunni deputy president Tariq al-Hashem, charged by Shia Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki for running death squads. Turkey refused to extradite al-Hashemi; soon after this incident the leader of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), Masoud Barzani arrives in Ankara and so a trade of words started between Turkish and Iraqi Prime Ministers. Erdogan accused al-Maliki of stimulating sectarianism between the Iraq's Sunni, Shia and Kurds; in response, al-Maliki accused Erdogan of attempting to interfere in Iraq's affairs and declared Turkey a "hostile" state with a sectarian agenda. But the worsening of relations between Ankara and Bagdad had been fuelled by the continuous economically motivated rapprochement of Turkey to KRG. Since 2008 the diplomatic and economic ties between Turkey and KRG have been enhancing but the energy partnership remains the core of cooperation between Ankara and Erbil, motivated by Turkey's energy needs. Over the last 20 years, Turkey's energy consumption more than doubled and the country is "heavily dependent on external hydrocarbon supplies"⁴⁶, mostly imported from Russia and Iran. Moreover,

⁴⁶ KORANYI David, SARTORI Nicolo, "EU-Turkish Energy Relations in the Context of EU Negotiations: Focus on Natural Gas", *Atlantic Council Dinu Patriciu and Istituto Afari Internazionali (IAI), Working Paper, N° 5*, December 2013, p. 3.

Turkey's energy use will continue to grow at an annual rate of nearly 4.5 % in 2015-2030⁴⁷. In 2012, energy accounted for a quarter of Turkey's \$237 billion spent on imports and, according to IMF, Turkey's annual energy import costs will exceed \$70 billion by 2017⁴⁸. Therefore, in order to ensure a further, sustainable economic growth, Turkey needs not only to meet its domestic energy demand, but to ensure hydrocarbon supplies at a price which will not heavily burden the energy bill. This was the main rationale of collaboration in the energy area between Ankara and Erbil - which includes service contracts and production sharing -, a collaboration recently enhanced by the sign of a 50 year deal to export Kurdish oil to Turkey.

Energy cooperation between Ankara and Erbil was another element which put a strain on the Turkish-Iraqi relations ; according to the Iraq's Constitution, all oil revenues, regardless the location of reserves, must go into central government budget which then gives KRG a share of the profit (nearly 17 %) and pays the international companies working on KRG territory. KRG's attempts to manage independently the oil resources located on its territory have been source of many disputes with Iraqi central government.

Its strained relations with the central government in Bagdad are not Ankara's main concern now, as the recent developments involving the Islamic State in Iraq and Levant (ISIS or ISIL)⁴⁹ represent a serious threat to Turkey's security. Ankara is "wary of the potential for attacks by ISIL - attacks that would exploit the long border that runs from the Mediterranean to Iran"⁵⁰, but it is also concerned about the clashes with group's militants on its border with Syria and the further seizing of oil fields in the Kurdish controlled territory⁵¹. But Turkey's main concern is that the lack of authority of Iraq's central government⁵² will prop up ISIS further

⁴⁷ U.S. ENERGY INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION, "Analysis", April 17, 2014, <http://www.eia.gov/countries/analysisbriefs/Turkey/turkey.pdf> (consulted on August 4, 2014).

⁴⁸ DALY John, "Turkey Finds High Grade Oil on Its Border with Iraq", *OilPrice.com*, 20 January, 2014, <http://oilprice.com/Energy/Crude-Oil/Turkey-Finds-High-Grade-Oil-on-its-Border-with-Iraq.html> (consulted on August 3, 2014).

⁴⁹ A group of Sunni militants, ISIS/ISIL was formed in April 2013 from a branch of al-Qaeda in Iraq which rapidly streamed in Syria. In January 2014, it took control of Iraqi town Fallujah, thereafter of several towns near the Iraq's borders with Syria and Turkey; in June 2014, the group took control of Mosul and in August 2014 it defeated the Kurdish fighters, capturing Iraq's biggest dam and an oil field. According to the reports, the group is now in control of nearly 35 % of Syria's territory, including a large part of the oil and gas fields. On 29 June 2014, ISIL/ISIS declared the creation of a new religious state in Iraq and Syria, an Islamic "caliphate" and re-named itself "The Islamic State".

⁵⁰ STRATFOR, "Worsening Violence in Iraq Threatens Regional Security", *Stratfor Analysis*, June 11, 2014, <http://www.stratfor.com/analysis/worsening-violence-iraq-threatens-regional-security#axzz39SnNRkf3> (consulted on August 5, 2014).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² In this context, it is worth mentioning that on 11 June 2014 ISIS militants seized Turkey's general consulate in Mosul and kidnapped 49 Turkish citizens-diplomats and their families, including three children. Ankara accused Iraq's central government of failing to protect the Mosul consulate. On 6 August 2014, the diplomats were still captive. On 10 June 2014, 32 Turkish truck drivers were taken hostage by ISIS, but they were released at the start of July.

strengthening and expanding which ultimately may lead to a dramatic change in the region's balance of power.

Though not an urging challenge as those ones one represented by Iraq's and Syria's, **Cyprus** is another important foreign policy's issue on the future president's foreign policy agenda. The visit made by the US vice president Joe Biden in Cyprus in May 2014 - the most senior US official to visit the divided island in more than 50 years - showed a clear sign of US administration to involve in the conflict's resolution. As result of this visit, the Greek and Turkish Presidents agreed to meet at least twice a month in order to beef up the peace talks. Turkey can play an important role in the settlement process and, most importantly, it has a window of opportunity to benefit from the energy cooperation with Cyprus and furthermore with Israel, as significant oil and gas reserves have been discovered in the Eastern Mediterranean. Turkey can obtain strategic and economic advantages through cooperation with Cyprus on energy projects, as in order to diversify its external energy supplies, EU is committed to support the creation and development of a Mediterranean gas hub⁵³ which will reinforce Turkey's important role in the natural gas transit towards the European market. Moreover, Turkey's further attempts to play a constructive role in the conflict's settlement will be beneficial for country's relations with both EU and US.

Other major challenge for Turkey's foreign policy and for the next president's agenda will be Turkey's relation with **EU**, particularly Turkey's process of European integration. The European Commission expressed its "concern and disappointment" over the abovementioned government's actions targeting the independence of judiciary, the civil liberties and freedom of expression and over the dismissal and re-assignment of police officers. All these measures will not definitely be reported as positive advancements in the annual Progress Report on EU negotiations which will be released this autumn by the European Commission.

Most likely, at least on the short term, no radical change will occur with regard to the process of negotiations of EU integration⁵⁴. But on the medium term and especially if the president's powers and role will increase due to the shift to (semi-) presidential regime, the

⁵³ EUROPEAN COMMISSION, *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council. European Energy Security Strategy*, COM (2014), 330 final, May 5, 2014, Brussels.

⁵⁴ Currently, the integration negotiations with the EU are stalled: only one chapter was closed and eight chapters are frozen as a result of EU Council Decision of 2006 due to Turkey's refusal to apply the 2005 Additional Protocol to the Ankara Agreement of 1963, concerning Turkish recognition of Cyprus; France and Cyprus also frozen five, respectively six chapters of negotiations. In 2012, The Positive Agenda between EU and Turkey was set up in order to give a new impetus to the integration negotiations. In November 2013, Chapter 22 (Regional policy and coordination of structural instruments) was opened. In December 2013, EU and Turkey signed the Readmission Agreement and they launched the Visa Liberalization Dialogue. In order to successfully complete its accession to EU, Turkey needs to close 33 out of the 35 chapters of EU's *acquis communautaire*.

future president will have to address the current integration negotiations' deadlock more seriously and attempt to adopt a decision related to Turkey-EU relations. He must opt out between the following options: maintaining the current stalemate, undertaking the necessary steps to unlock the negotiation process (including the recognition of Cyprus, *inter alia*) and, ultimately, devising and figuring out, in partnership with the European Commission, a mutually beneficial form of cooperation between Turkey and EU⁵⁵. Based on pragmatic collaboration in a wide range of policy areas, this kind of cooperation, though not specifically seeking the status of EU membership for Ankara, can maintain a significant share of Turkey's Europeanization path and let an open door to the integration process. Many factors - both domestic and external - will shape up this option and it is yet premature to foresee the future of Turkey-EU relations.

In the past years, also the relations between Turkey and the **Unites States** have been overshadowed. The contentious issues between the two countries range from Turkey's attitude towards Iran sanctions to differences over Egypt and Syria; from Ankara's oil contracts with KRG to the Turkish authorities intention to sign a \$3.44 billion missile defense contract with a Chinese company and the Gaza crisis; from the freedom of press to the graft scandal and more. However, in the current Middle East's wide political unrest, Turkey and the United States must overcome their dissensions and frictions as they need each other's cooperation to contain the chaos and restore the political stability of the region.

Turkey's foreign policy needs a re-start, which does include a new approach and a re-thinking of both Turkey's role in its neighbourhood and Turkey's relations with its main Western partners, EU and US. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu did not present an articulated and comprehensive vision on foreign policy so far, but he called for giving up oversimplification, a change in the rhetoric of foreign policy, silent diplomacy and for refraining from "taking sides in internal fights between Arab countries and Arab sovereign families"⁵⁶. Regarding Erdogan, up to now he has been showing no sign of flinching from his foreign policy approach and no withdrawal of his harsh public rhetoric towards EU and US. Moreover, he stated that Turkey will "continue to take the side of victims in Palestine, Libya, Iraq and Syria"⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER, "Back to Zero Problems? Recent Developments in Turkey's Foreign Policy", *National Security Program/Foreign Policy Project*, April 2014, pp. 1-18.

⁵⁶ DEMIRTAS Serkan, "Ihsanoglu slams AKP's foreign policy, urges 'silent diplomacy' to get results", *Hurriyet Daily News*, July 22, 2014.

⁵⁷ DAILY SABAH, "Erdogan criticizes joint candidate Ihsanoglu's foreign policy", *Daily Sabah*, July 7, 2014, <http://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2014/07/08/erdogan-criticizes-joint-candidate-ihsanoglus-foreign-policy>, (consulted on August 8, 2014).

In conclusion, the domestic and foreign policy challenges which are lining up on Turkey's future president agenda are numerous, difficult, complicated, and in some aspects facing conflicting outcomes. Addressing them will require not only exceptional political vision and acumen, but intelligent alliances and valuable partnerships, too.

References:

BILLION Didier, « Réflexions introductives sur la politique extérieure de la Turquie », in *Turquie : le déploiement stratégique*, sous la direction de Firouzeh NAHAVANDI, Bruxelles, Groupe De Boeck s. a., Éditions Bruylant, 2012, pp. 9-52.

BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER, "Back to Zero Problems? Recent Developments in Turkey's Foreign Policy", *National Security Program/Foreign Policy Project*, April 2014, pp. 1-18.

CAGAPTAY Soner, JEFFREY F. James, "Turkey's 2014 Political Transition. From Erdogan to Erdogan?", *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Notes*, N° 17, January 2014, pp. 1-14.

CANDAR Cengiz, "Turkey's foreign policy reset will not be easy", *Al-Monitor*, December 1, 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/11/turkeys-foreign-policy-reset-not-easy.html>, (consulted on August 8, 2014).

DAILY SABAH, "Erdogan criticizes joint candidate Ihsanoglu's foreign policy", *Daily Sabah*, July 7, 2014, <http://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2014/07/08/erdogan-criticizes-joint-candidate-ihsanoglus-foreign-policy>, (consulted on August 8, 2014).

DALY John, "Turkey Finds High Grade Oil on Its Border with Iraq", *OilPrice.com*, 20 January, 2014, <http://oilprice.com/Energy/Crude-Oil/Turkey-Finds-High-Grade-Oil-on-its-Border-with-Iraq.html> (consulted on August 3, 2014).

DAVUTOGLU Ahmet, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment for 2007", *Insight Turkey*, Volume 1, N° 1, 2008, pp. 77-96.

DAVUTOGLU Ahmet, "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy", *Foreign Policy*, May 20, 2010, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/05/20/turkeys_zero_problems_foreign_policy?page=0,2, (consulted on June 29, 2014).

DEMIRTAS Serkan, "Ihsanoglu slams AKP's foreign policy, urges 'silent diplomacy' to get results", *Hurriyet Daily News*, July 22, 2014.

DOGAN Poyraz Donca, "Sencar: Undecided voters key to determining Turkey's new president", *Today's Zaman*, July 13, 2014, http://www.todayszaman.com/monday-talk_sencar-undecided-voters-key-to-determining-turkeys-new-president_352907.html, (consulted on August 8, 2014).

DOMBEY Daniel, “Six Markets to Watch: Turkey. How Erdogan Did It -- and Could Blow It”, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2014, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/140338/daniel-dombey/six-markets-to-watch-turkey>, (consulted on 8 August 2014).

ERDOGAN Emre, “Erdogan’s Longest Year”, *The German Marshall Fund of the United States*, Analysis, October 3, 2013, pp. 1-4.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council. European Energy Security Strategy*, COM (2014), 330 final, May 5, 2014, Brussels.

HURRIYET DAILY NEWS, “Egypt committing state terrorism, al-Sisi and al-Assad are same: Turkish PM”, August 17, 2013.
<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/egypt-committing-state-terrorism-al-sisi-and-al-assad-are-same-turkish-pm.aspx?pageID=238&nID=52723&NewsCatID=338>, (consulted on 8 August 2014).

HURRIYET DAILY NEWS, “Main opposition parties’ presidential candidate responds to criticism”, June 18, 2014.

KEYMAN E. Fuat, “The AKP Party: Dominant Party, New Turkey and Polarization”, *Insight Turkey*, Vol.16, N° 2, 2014, pp. 19-31.

KORANYI David, SARTORI Nicolo, “EU-Turkish Energy Relations in the Context of EU Negotiations: Focus on Natural Gas”, *Atlantic Council Dinu Patriciu and Istituto Afari Internazionali (IAI), Working Paper*, N° 5, December 2013, pp. 1-8.

OZHAN Taha, “The Longest Year of Turkish Politics: 2014”, *Insight Turkey*, Volume 14, N° 1, 2012, pp. 79-98.

RETHINK INSTITUTE WASHINGTON DC, “Turkey’s Foreign Policy Challenges”, *Rethink Conference*, November 4, 2013, pp. 1-36.

SEZER Seda, “Police purge undermines Turkish security operations, sacked officers say”, *Reuters*, July 3, 2014, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/07/03/us-turkey-security-insight-idUKKBN0F812620140703>, (consulted on August 8, 2014).

STRATFOR, “Worsening Violence in Iraq Threatens Regional Security”, *Stratfor Analysis*, June 11, 2014, <http://www.stratfor.com/analysis/worsening-violence-iraq-threatens-regional-security#axzz39SnNRkf3> (consulted on August 5, 2014).

TASPINAR Ömer, TOL Gönül, “Turkey and the Kurds: from Predicament to Opportunity”, *US-Europe Analysis Series, Centre on the United States and Europe*, Brookings Institution, N° 54, January 22, 2014, pp. 1-12.

THE WORLD BANK, “World Bank Group Continues Strong Partnership with Turkey: 2012 - 2015 Country Partnership Strategy Launched ”, Washington, March 27, 2012, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:23154320~menuPK:51062075~pagePK:34370~piPK:34424~theSitePK:4607,00.html>, (consulted on August 8, 2014).

THE WORLD BANK, “World Bank Group-Turkey Partnership: Country Program Snapshot”, *The World Bank*, April 2014, pp. 1-50.

THE WORLD BANK, “Turkey Public Finance Review Turkey in Transition: Time for a Fiscal Policy Pivot?”, *Document of the World Bank*, Report No. 85104-TR, May 20, 2014, pp. 1-68.

TODAY’S ZAMAN, “From honeymoon to bitter divorce: Turkey-Egypt relations in 2013”, December 25, 2013, <http://www.todayszaman.com/news-334933-from-honeymoon-to-bitter-divorce-turkey-egypt-relations-in-2013.html> (consulted on August 8, 2014).

TODAY’S ZAMAN, “Timeline: July 22 police detentions in Turkey”, August 1, 2014.

U.S. ENERGY INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION, “Analysis”, April 17, 2014, <http://www.eia.gov/countries/analysisbriefs/Turkey/turkey.pdf> (consulted on August 4, 2014).

ZALEWSKI Piotr, “How Turkey Went from ‘Zero Problems’ to Zero Friends. And lost its leverage everywhere”, *Foreign Policy*, August 22, 2013, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/08/20/foggy_bottom_review_john_kerry_qddr, (consulted on August 8, 2014).