

## **Ata 551 Foreign Policy of the Republic**

### **Course description:**

Analysis of the Turkish Foreign Policy. The goal of the course is to make the students familiar with the problems of the Turkish Foreign Policy as well as with the major developments in the Balkans, Middle East, Caucasus and Central Asia. The course will concentrate its focus on the post-Cold war period with special emphasis on the regional policies of the Turkish Republic.

### **The basic requirements:**

- 1)required readings in this syllabus,
- 2) regular attendance and participation in class discussions,
- 3)Participants will be expected to make a presentation or presentations. There is no final examination. The students will write a research paper (10-15 single spaced pages) on a related topic.

### **Evaluation:**

Grades will be weighted as follows:

Attendance and Participation in Class Discussions	15 %
Presentation or presentations	40 %
Research paper	45 %

## **1) Turkiye in a Changing World**

Joseph S. Nye Jr, Robert O. Keohane, “ Globalization,” in Joseph S. Nye Jr, Power in the Global Information Age. From Realism to Globalization, 2004, pp. 191-200.

Joseph S. Nye Jr, “ Globalization’ s Democratic Deficit,” in Joseph S. Nye Jr, Power in the Global Information Age. From Realism to Globalization, 2004, pp. 200.-205.

Alexander Cooley and Daniel H. Nexon,“ The Real Crisis of Global Order. Illiberalism on the Rise, Foreign Affairs, January/February 2022, No. 1, pp. 103-118.

Oona A. Hathaway, “ War Unbound. Gaza, Ukraine, and the Breakdown of International Law,” Foreign Affairs, May-June 2024, pp. 84-96.

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye,“ The End of the Long American Century,” Foreign Affairs, July-August 2025, pp.68-79.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, The Grand Chessboard, 1997, pp. 3-29.

Stacie Goddard,“The Outsiders. How the International System Can Still Check China and Russia”, Foreign Affairs, May-June 2022, No.3, pp. 28-39.

Manjari Chatterjee Miller, “ The Most Dangerous Game. Do Power Transitions Always Lead to War ? ”, Foreign Affairs July-August 2024, pp. 128-134.

## **2) Diplomacy and Turkiye**

Geoffrey Allen Pigmen, "Technological Change and Diplomatic Progress," in Geoffrey Allen Pigmen, Contemporary Diplomacy, 2010, pp. 109-120.

G. R. Berridge, Diplomacy. Theory and Practice, 2015, pp.150-167.

Jan Busse, Rene Wildangel,“ The Rebellious Game: The Power of Football in the Middle East and North Africa Between the Global and the Local,” The International Spectator, Vol.58, No. 2, pp. 75-91.

H. Denis Wu, “ Post-Truth Public Diplomacy: a Detrimental Trend of Cross-National Communication and How Open Societies Address it,” The Journal of International Communication, 2023, No. 1, pp. 20-38.

Elif Çağlı Kaynak, “ Jazz as Soft Power in Turkey-US Relations During the Early Cold War Period,” Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, July 2023, pp. 1-20.

Pınar Aykaç, “Multiple Neo-Ottomanisms in the Construction of Turkey’s (Trans)National Heritage: TİKA and a Dialectic Between Foreign and Domestic Policy,” Turkish Studies, 2022, No 3, pp. 354-382.

### **3) History of Turkish Foreign Policy**

William Hale, "Foreign Relations of the late Ottoman Empire Turkish Foreign Policy," in William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy 1774-2000*, 2000, pp. 13-43.

William Hale, "Resistance, Reconstruction and Diplomacy, 1918-1939" in William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy 1774-2000*, 2000, pp. 44-78.

William Hale, *Turkey and the Second World War, 1939-1945*, in William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy since 1774*, pp. 56-77.

### **4) Turkish Foreign Policy During the Cold War**

William Hale, "Turkey and the Cold War" in William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy 1774-2000*, 2000, pp.109-190 .

Mustafa Aydın, 'Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Changing Patterns and Conjectures during the Cold War,' *Middle Eastern Studies*, 36:1, pp.103-139.

### **Turkish Foreign Policy after the Cold War**

### **5) Turkiye and the West**

Senem Aydın Düzgit, Nathalie Tocci, *Turkey and the European Union* (London: Palgrave, 2015), pp. 9-31

Senem Aydın Düzgit, Nathalie Tocci, *Turkey and the European Union* (London: Palgrave, 2015), pp. 180-193.

James Ker-Lindsay, ' Turkey's EU Accession as a Factor in the 2016 Brexit Referendum,' *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 19, No.1, pp. 1-22.

Oya Dursun Özkanca, " An Examination of the Underlying Dynamics of Turkey-European Union Relations through the Lenses of International Relations Theory," *Turkish Studies*, 2022, pp. 1-22.

Ziya Öniş, " Historic Missed Opportunities and Prospects for Renewal: Turkey-EU Relations in a Post-Western Order," *Turkish Studies*, 2023, Nos. 3-4, pp. 691-713.

Meltem Müftüler Bac and Sinem Taştan, " Between a Curse and a Blessing: Germany's Role in Shaping the EU-Turkish Relations with the Eastern Mediterranean as a Litmus Test," *German Politics*, 2025, pp.1-26.

Devrim Şahin, " Power Plays in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Decline of US-Turkey Relations," *Middle East Policy*, 2025, pp. 125-139.

Ionnis N. Grigoriadis, Ümit Erol Aras, "Distrusted Partnership: Unpacking Anti-Americanism in Turkey," *Middle East Policy*, 2023, pp. 122-136.

## **6)Turkiye, Balkans and the Black Sea Region**

William Hale, Turkey and Regional Politics after the Cold War 1, in William Hale, Turkish Foreign Policy since 1774, pp. 202-206.

Ihsan Uzgel, 'The Balkans: Turkey's Stabilizing Role,' in Barry Rubin, Kemal Kirişçi (eds.), Turkey in World Politics, 2002, pp. 65-88.

Dimitar Bechev, "A Rival or an Awkward Partner ? Turkey's Relationship with the West in the Balkans," Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, Vol.22, No.1, pp. 11-24.

Mustafa Aydın, "Turkish Policy towards the Wider Black Sea and the EU Connection," Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, 2014, vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 383-397.

Nick Childs, "The Black Sea in the Shadow of War," Survival, June/ July 2023, No. 3, pp.25-36.

Lerna K. Yanık, "Turkey and the Russian Invasion of Ukraine: An Interplay of Block (De)formation, Recognition and Asymmetric Interdependencies ?," Globalizations, July 2023, pp. 1-13.

## **7) Turco-Greek Relations**

Mustafa Aydın, "Cyprto-optimism in Turkish-Greek Relations. What is next ?," Journal of Southern Europe and Balkans, Vol.5, No. 2, 2003, pp. 223-240.

Emel Parlar Dal and Nobuhide Mert Matsumoto, "Navigating Rough Seas: Reconstructed Turkish Maritime Identity in the Eastern Mediterranean," Turkish Studies, 2025, pp.1-27.

Özlem Tür, Çiğdem Aydın Koyuncu, "Enduring Crisis and Possibilities for Cooperation in Turkish-Greek Relations: A Feminist Account," Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, February 2024, pp. 1-18.

A. Suat Bilge, "The Fener Greek Patriarchate", Perceptions, March-May 1998, pp.19-38.

Human Rights Watch Report (1999), 'The Turks of Western Thrace'.

## **8)The Cyprus Question**

Seçkin Barış Gülmez, From Indifference to Independence: Turkey's Shifting Cyprus Policy in the 1950's, Middle Eastern Studies, No. 5, 2020, pp. 744-758.

Pınar Çağlayan, "The Role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Military Operations in Cyprus: a Bureaucratic Politics Approach," Turkish Studies, 26:2, pp. 265-284.

Esra Dilek, "Liberal Norm Contestation in the Periphery: Assessing Türkiye's Shifting Peacemaking Approach in Cyprus," Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, 2025, pp.1-17.

## **9)Turkiye and the Middle East**

Şaban Kardaş, “ Turkey’s Long Game in Syria: Moving Beyond Ascendance, Middle East Policy, 2025, pp. 22-37.

Ali Bakir, Turkey’s Security Role in the Gulf Region: Exploring the Case of a Newcomer, Turkish Studies, January 2023, pp. 1-23.

Aluf Been, “Israel’s Self Destruction. Netanyahu, The Palestinians, and the Price of Neglect,“ Foreign Affairs, March-April 2024, pp. 43-55.

Tom Segev, “ Israel’s Forever War. The Long History of Managing-Rather Than Solving-the Conflict,“ Foreign Affairs, May-June 2024, pp. 110-124.

Vali Nasr,“ Iran’s Roads Not Taken,“ Foreign Affairs, September-October 2025, pp.122-135.

Mustafa Aydın, Fulya Ereker, “Water Scarcity and Political Wrangling: Security in the Euphrates and Tigris Basin,“in Facing Global Environmental Change, (eds.) Hans Günter Brauch, et.al, pp. 603-613.

## **10) Turkiye, Caucasus and Central Asia**

Cenap Çakmak, M. Cüneyt Özşahin,“ Explaining Russia’s Inertia in the Azerbaijan-Armenia Dispute: Reward and Punishment in an Asymmetric Alliance,“ Europe-Asia Studies, 2023, Vol. 75, No. 6, pp. 972-988.

William Hale,“ Turkey’s Energy Dilemmas: Changes and Challenges,“ Middle Eastern Studies, 2022, Vol. 58, No. 3, pp. 452-466.

Roger E. Kanet, “Russia’s Enhanced Role in Eurasia: the Near Abroad’ Three Decades on,“ European Politics and Society, 2022, pp. 1-13.

Avinoam Idan, Brenda Shaffer, ‘The Foreign Policies of Post-Soviet Landlocked States,’ Post-Soviet Affairs, 27:3, pp. 241-268.

Meliha Benli Altunişik, “ Turkey’s Return to Central Asia in a Shifting Global and Regional Context: New Opportunities and Limitations,“ Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, Vol. 26, No.5, 2024, pp. 716-731.

## **11) Towards a New Foreign Policy ?**

Mustafa Kutlay, Ziya Öniş,“ Understanding Oscillations in Turkish Foreign Policy: Pathways to Unusual Middle Power Activism,“ Third World Quarterly, 2022, pp. 1-19.

Lars Haugom, ‘A Change in International Orientation ?, Comparative Strategy, 2019, Vol.38, No.3, pp. 206-223.

Brendon J. Cannon, Federico Donelli, “ Turkey- Africa Relations and Turkey’s National Role Conception as the Centre Country: Continuity or a Break With the Past,” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, July 2023, pp. 1-16.

Shirzad Azad, “Identity vs. Interests: Turkey Looks East,” *Middle East Policy*, No.2, Summer 2020, pp. 120-129.

Vicken Cheterian, “Friend or Foe: Russia-Turkey Relations Before and After the War in Ukraine,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, 2023, Vol. 34, no. 7, pp. 1271-1294.

Meliha Benli Altunışık, “The Trajectory of a Modified Middle Power: An Attempt to make sense of Turkey’s Foreign Policy in its Centennial,” *Turkish Studies*, 2023, Vol. 24, Nos. 3-4, pp. 658-672.