

# Geopolitic, Strategic and Regional Relations Of The Turkish Republic

## Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Jeopolitik-Stratejik-Bölgesel İlişkileri

Reference: Karakuş, G. (2020). "Geopolitic, Strategic and Regional Relations Of The Turkish Republic", International Social Mentality and Researcher Thinkers Journal, (Issn:2630-631X) 6(30): 538-549.

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### ABSTRACT

The Middle East geography is a geography where the war has not been complete from past to present. Regardless of which country wanted to be active in this region, almost all of them ended up a looser. In the period of Ataturk, the problems in the Middle East were approached from the perspective of "Peace at Home, Peace in the World". Turkey also has profited from this policy. But politicians after Ataturk took risks by wanting to be active in the Middle East. However, these policies were not only for gaining political interests, but also with the influence of external factors. Turkey's desire to gain the support of the Cyprus problem in the Middle East countries exemplifies this. Turkey has been forced to deal with this region permanently for reasons beyond its control. The establishment of the state of Israel in the region has led Turkey to generate policies on the Middle East. It is doubtful what kind of policy would Atatürk pursue during this period if he were alive. Due to the successful mediation of neighboring, Turkey which produced pro-active policies especially in the AK Party period until the Arab Spring, has carried out a policy of zero stability. The Arab Spring has been a turning point for Turkey and other countries in the region. Turkey was forced to choose the side next to the people who wanted democracy. This attitude has drawn the reaction of former administrators and bureaucrats in the region. Turkey has always thought that the old administration would fall short in Syria, but when this did not happen, Turkey witnessed that it started losing its own allies. Turkey has tried to pursue a different policy in this case and it went on cooperation with Russia and Iran. As a result of this approach, which is a reasonable policy, a common attitude was achieved at certain points.

Our aim in this study is to analyze the approaches of the countries in the Middle East, Turkey and the countries outside the Middle East to the Middle East problems. To strengthen our work, the books and articles of many foreign-local academics, research authors were mentioned. Internet journalism and resources were used. I think that my work can be a useful resource for the employees of political history and international relations discipline.

**Keywords:** Atatürk, Republic, Foreign Policy, Middle East

### ÖZET

Ortadoğu coğrafyası tarihten bugüne kadar savaşın eksik olmadığı bir coğrafyadır. Bu bölgede etkin olmak isteyen hangi ülke varsa hemen hemen hepsi zararlı çıkmıştır. Atatürk döneminde ise Ortadoğu'daki sorunlara "Yurtta Sulh Cihanda Sulh" perspektifinden hareket ederek yaklaşılmıştır. Bu politikadan da Türkiye kârlı çıkmıştır. Fakat Atatürk'ten sonraki politikacılar Ortadoğu'da etkin olmak isteyerek risk üstlenmişlerdir. Fakat bu politikalar yalnızca siyasi çıkarlar elde etmek için değil dış faktörlerin de etkisi ile olmuştur. Örneğin; Kıbrıs sorununda Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu ülkelerinin oyunu kazanmak istemesi gibi. Türkiye elinde olmayan sebeplerden dolayı bu bölgeyle sürekli olarak ilgilenmek zorunda kalmıştır. Bölgede İsrail devletinin kuruluşu da Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu'ya ilişkin politikalar üretmesine yol açmıştır. Atatürk bu dönemde yaşasaydı nasıl bir politika izlerdi şüphelidir. Özellikle AK Parti döneminde Arap Baharı'na kadar pro-aktif politikalar üreten Türkiye, başarılı arabuluculuklarla ve komşularla sıfır politikasını istikrarlı yürütmüştür. Arap Baharı ise Türkiye ve diğer bölge ülkeleri için dönüm noktası olmuştur. Tarafını seçmek zorunda kalan Türkiye demokrasi isteyen halkın yanında yer almıştır. Bu tavır alma bölgedeki eski idarecilerin ve bürokratların tepkisini çekmiştir. Türkiye Suriye özelinde eski idarenin kısa zamanda düşeceğini düşünmüş fakat bu gerçekleşmeyince kendi müttefiklerini de kaybetmeye başladığına tanık olmuştur. Bu durumda farklı politikalar izlemeye çalışan Türkiye, Rusya ve İran ile işbirliğine gitmiştir. Mantıklı bir siyaset olan bu yaklaşım sonucunda belli noktalarda ortak tavır sağlanabilmiştir.

Bu çalışmada amacımız Ortadoğu özelinde bölge içi-dışı ülkelerin ve Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu sorunlarına yaklaşımlarını analiz edebilmektir. Çalışmamızı güçlendirmek için pek çok yabancı-yerli akademisyenin, araştırmacı yazarın kitaplarına ve makalelerine değinildi. İnternet gazeteciliğinden ve kaynaklarından yararlanıldı. Siyasi tarih ve uluslararası ilişkiler disiplini çalışanları için faydalı bir kaynak olabileceğini düşünmekteyim.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Atatürk, Cumhuriyet, Dış Politika, Ortadoğu

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The newly established socio-economic problems of the Republic of Turkey had reached gigantic size after the war. The successive wars, the martyrdom of the young population in the war squares would cause a decrease in the production of the country, which is the country of agriculture. The future of the Turkish State was faced with the problem of "Survival". Hunger, famine, disease were common and the soldiers and bureaucrats who would direct the foreign policy of Turkey

government, acted with the idea of survivability of the state. The period between 1923-1938 is a reformist era of fundamental change in the political structure in the social state of the Republic of Turkey. We can say that the internal policy of the period, explained by the formula of development, Westernization and modernization, was formed on the balance policy in historical, geopolitical, strategic regional relation. As a new Turkish state, efforts to realize reforms in its domestic and foreign policies, to eliminate the threats, to ensure the continuation of the state will be reflected in Turkish foreign policy. The survivability problem will always keep its place on the agenda as a priority of Turkish foreign policy.

Understanding that international strong states turned into colonies and the inevitable policies of trade, which is the main source of wealth, became a situation that prevented peaceful developmentp.after the war, especially in the Middle East energy sources and Mediterranean trade route. Turkey, which was a new established and a weak country, had to carry out a balance policy in regional relations and against strong state.

Towards the end of the century, the "self-sufficiency" doctrine will eliminate shoulder-to-shoulder solidarity for the internal status quo. (Sander, 1995: p. 178) The conflict of interest among the powerful states of the West and the dissemination of rivalry, ethnic, identity, sectarian religious separations will involve a process dating back to the present day. We say that the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey's foreign policy is built on the balance of power of the state. So peaceful policy was followed in Turkey, which is heir of the Ottoman Empire. (Oran, 2001: p:23 After the Lausanne agreement is completed, the status quo policies will be launched and will continue until today. Among the just causes of the status quo tendencies of Turkish foreign policy, it is necessary to consider the special conditions of that period. Maintaining the status quo for maintaining balances was a smarter policy (Oran, 2001: p. 23) as will be appreciated, Turkey's most important truth, is "Survival".

## 2. FACTORS AFFECTING TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

The absolute winner of the First World War was undoubtedly the United States. He was a creditor of billions of dollars from Europe. (Longlois, 2000: p. 31) Moreover, the United States was in the referee position after the war. The United States had prerequisites when entering the war. These were the freedom of trade in the seas that it had imposed on European countries, the removal of economic barriers, and the determination of the peoples' own future, disarmament and the establishment of a league of nations that would provide peace for all states. (Longlois, 2000: p. 74) The harsh conditions of the war had deeply affected the economic life of the victorious and defeated states, the population decreased, and leading to heavy debt. Problems in raw material supply brought production to a halt, and activities in the world market decreased. The First World War was a war carried out by the great states that controlled the world by revealing their economic potential. The First World War could not solve any of the basic system disorders and even caused a new world war. Since the end of the 19th century, European harmony has been destroyed and doctrines such as economic protection and nationalism have gained popularity. Establishment of the German national union in 1871 and the demand of this country from the colonies changed the balance of power from the foundation and accelerated competition. (Sander, 1995: p. 178)

The USA has become the world's most important agricultural and industrial country from the 20th Century. The reasons such as having important natural resources, having a domestic market volume of 100 million, protecting the market from foreign competition, and the widespread production of the efficient production style provided by mechanization as the state opens the technological developments in the hands to the private sector will improve this great economy. (Sander, 1995: p. 31) In parallel with these economic developments, the United States will switch Cuba from Spanish domination to his own patronage. (1898). It will then head to Puerto Rico, Honduras, Mexico, the Caribbean islands and other Latin American countries. (Sander, 1995: p. 31) Industrial production of the United States in 1894 was equal to half of the total production of all European countries, and twice the production of England. (Yeliseyeva, 2009: p. 163) The rapid industrialization of the USA

and mechanizing its agriculture will make it a strong and rich country. The USA would adopt its liberal thoughts and values to Western countries during and after Western countries fought each other. The concept of balance of power also played a decisive role. In addition, pragmatist philosophies, which accept human will and efficiency as unlimited, resonated with the understanding of the USA's foreign policy. The USA will strengthen its liberal sovereignty with its institutional structure, legitimized the interests of America with the ideology of "inevitable Destiny" (manifest Destiny) (Bostanoğlu, 1999: p. 240), and has established itself in international relations as a dominant power.

The start date of the USA's Ottoman relations is the Trade and Navigation Treaty signed in 1830. With this agreement, the legal framework of commercial and political relations is drawn. (Erhan, 2004: p. 140) From that date, the political interest of USA in Turkey has been in trade-dimensional. The project which was the first venture of Turkey's opening to foreign capital was "Chester", which came to the agenda in the last days of the Ottoman State from the USA, and which was taken up again after the Republic. The project, which envisaged the construction of the Eastern Anatolian railway, was canceled at the end of 1923 because no funding was found. (Armaoğlu, 2017: p. 29-31) In the period between the two world wars, Turkey-US relations have experienced relative stagnation. (Sander, 1979: p. 8) Negative reports reflected by the U.S. missionaries who started to deal with the Eastern problems and exaggerated statements about the complaints of the minorities they provoke in the war environment, the conscious public opinion in the US press, and its transformation into Turkish opposition are among the reasons for this stagnation. The pace of developments leading to the Second World War was an expected process in international relations. Renewal of the 1929 Navigation and Trade agreement in April 1939, the benefit of Turkey from Lending and Leasing law in 1941, the meetings between President İsmet İnönü and Churchill and Roosevelt in Adana in January 1943, and in Adana on December 2, 1943, were considered as milestones in relations. (Gönlübol, 1989: 164-176) 1939-1949 period is the years when the foundations of the paradigm that plays a key role in the formation of Turkish foreign policy in Turkey-US relations were laid. (Gözen, 2012: p. 379) It is also possible to understand the expectation of war in terms of implementing policies for determining the ranks in international relations. After the Second World War, Turkish foreign policy has been integrated into the US-led Western Block with its military, political and economic dimensions. Turkey, in terms of taking important decisions in the domestic political policy, will open the door to the multiparty era since 1946.

It coincides with the period when American hegemony was effectively surrounded by the "Counter Camp", which rejected liberal values after the war.. (Bostanoğlu, 1999: p. 222) The integration of the liberal system into the western system, the liberalization of international trade, the increase of the dollar's convertibility, and the integration of the Truman doctrine with the Marshall plan led to the establishment of a new world order in the world. (Bostanoğlu, 1999: p. 223) United Nations, NATO and a number of pact will be established under the leadership of America for security purposes, and in this case Turkey will develop basic orientation in determining the nature of the international position and foreign policy. After the Second World War (1945), the most decisive feature of the developments in Turkey and the US relationship was Turkey's adoption of multi-party system and choosing parliamentary democracy. The first clues that Turkey would not switch to this system is given even before the war ended by İnönü's first speech of the legislative year of 1 November 1944, emphasizing that the Turkish political system will be transitioned to a democratic multi-party system. In April 1945, after Turkey had joined as a founding member of the San Francisco Conference by signing the agreement the United Nations, it took pledges for democratic ideals. (Zürcher, 2011: p. 306-308) The aim of Turkey is to get under self-assurance against Soviet expansionist policies, to participate in the construction of the USA's "New World Order", and to get the military, economic, financial and political support of the USA. The policy of Turkish Republic was to ensure its position and prestige in the international platform with peaceful policies in line

with the principle of continuity of the state, territorial integrity and development from its inception to the present day.

### 3. THE MIDDLE EAST AND LEGITIMIZED VIOLENCE

History is a repetition of history, although past problems differ from today's conditions. Bernard Lewis said that "Turkey was a stage or backstage and all the actors were Europeans." (Lewis, 2015: p. 32) Understands the events that have happened and will happen, try to confront them, and makes it easier to make healthy decisions in the future of nations by comparing yesterday and today. Foreign policy experts should know how to travel deep within the inherited culture. After the First World War, the imperial states played an important role in the development of Arab nationalism against the Ottoman State in the peoples of the Middle East. Arab intellectuals defended nationalism enthusiastically. Arab nationalists, who could not show a serious resistance to imperialism, became dependent upon the collaborative tribes that took their power.

Although today's conditions change, the method and strategy are the same: to access energy resources and ensure that the world market is on their own monopoly. There were economic interests in the background of the empire's emphasis on exploitation. The Middle East is a region where national interests turn into intense competition. The strategic location of Turkey's geography and determining it as a regional and world power axis are among the issues causing Turkish foreign policy too much trouble. Turkish foreign policy is like the natural extension of Ottoman foreign policy. For this reason, no inexperience occurred when establishing a new state. In Lausanne, great resistance and success have been shown against "Düvel-i Muazzama". In fact, as we will see when examining the periods of 1919-1923 and 1923-1939, we see a meaningful stubbornness and even an Imperial pride in the execution of Turkish Foreign policy. Indeed, this pride will be a factor that initiates the War of Independence itself. We can say that Turkey is a continuation of the Ottoman Empire and we see that the only change is in the regime. (Oran, 2001: p. 10-23)

Within the international system, countries are evaluated in four groups as super states, big states, regional powers and small states in terms of wealth and military power. (Davutoğlu, 2012: p. 74) The Middle East is a geography where mostly Muslim Arabs live. In this region, which is homogeneous in the unity of religious belief, Muslim Arabs living in the Palestinian lands were extorted from the Palestinian lands with the support of the armed forces of the West, and in 1947, while the UK was withdrawing from Palestine, Palestine was shared in half between the Arabs and the Jews with a project which was referred to the United Nations. USA provides financial support of the state of Israel. With the transfer of the most modern weapons and technology to Israel, Israel State has a chance to survive. (Petras-Eastman, 2007: p. 8-9) As a matter of fact, the Israeli-Arab war ended with the superiority of Israel in 1948, and Israel occupied more than the lands given by the UN. (Savaş, 2015: p. 13) Just as this extraordinary war situation depends on the parties' endurance, the existence of the state of Israel has been dependent on external support. The Israeli state has succeeded in providing effectiveness in Western countries and the USA, due to its ability in developing and implementing international strategies. Although it is not a highly regarded method to act with the instinct to prove its legitimacy by developing its relations with non-Arab countries, it is in the interests of Israel, which is nourished by the power of the USA, to continue its established policies to prevent Arab countries from reacting to the USA. The September 11 Incident will reveal the doctrine of serial wars against Muslim countries that resist Israel's expansionist policies. Iraq, which gives the greatest support to the Palestinian resistance, first Iraq, and then Syria came to the agenda with internal turmoil with Syria, Iran and Turkey as a result of being targeted. Israel's involvement in the conflicts in Lebanon and even its provocative attitude, seeing the Christian people as natural allies and perceiving the Muslim community in Lebanon as a threat caused Lebanon to become a country struggling with crises. As a matter of fact, Hezbollah, which defeated Israel's military power in Lebanon, stands as the biggest danger against Israel. It is not expected in the long term that Israel, which never feels safe, will continue its existence in a geography surrounded by enemies. Iran, which is a power in its region, is a process that seems impossible to

target and occupy threats. It is possible that USA and Israel may hit strategic points with remote-guided missiles. However, Iran is also capable of causing significant losses to the USA and Israel with its guided missiles.

#### 4. MIDDLE EAST AND ISLAMIC WORLD

When we look at the Middle East level, we can say that Turkey is affected by the variability of the conflict between global actors and numerous internal problems of the region adversely affect Turkey. Conflicts between major states in the Middle East, which is an oil depot, affect energy-based economies within the global system. Turkey has turned its face to the West since 1923 and it has kept its relations with the Middle East at the lowest level. The 1950s are the period when the Democrat Party was in power. Democratic Party government established Turkey's foreign policy on the understanding of "Turkey's interests are identical with Western interests, that is, the interests of the USA." (Akdevelioğlu-Kürkçüoğlu, 2001: p. 13) In this period, Turkey has pursued a policy alongside the United States in the framework of NATO. There was a new foreign policy effort after the 1960 Coup, but it was not effective. Nasır, who came to power with the Free Officers Coup in Egypt in 1952, entered into close relations with P.P.C.B. Nasser has become the leader of the Arabs in the world of thought of Arab nationalists. The fact that Nasser was in close contact with the Socialist countries, the founder of the Independent movement, and the nationalization of the Suez Canal would attract the reaction of the USA and the West Block. However, the heavy defeat of the Egyptian army in the war, which was called the "Six-Day War" of 1967, reduced the popularity of Nasser. Enver Sedat, who came to power with the death of Nasser in 1970 as a result of a heart attack, corrected his relations with the West Block, expelled Soviet Military experts and civilian technicians and showed his loyalty to the USA. Enver Sedat's peace agreement with Israel on Camp David, through Henry Kissinger, on November 19, 1977, would cause a great outrage in the Arab world and Enver Sedat would be killed in 1981 as a result of an assassination. His replacement Hosni Mubarak would rule Egypt for thirty years, and would pursue policies close to US interests. Hüsnü Mubarak had particularly good relations with Israel and followed policies preventing attempts to endanger Israel's security. In return, he received a billion dollars a year, military aid and development aid from Bretton Woods organizations. In the Middle East, it is the Egyptian army that gets the most help from the USA after Israel. To describe Egypt's foreign policy, the effects of nepotism, foreign interventions, insufficient knowledge, and inability to fully understand the world system are undeniable. Egyptian leaders, who tried to steer foreign policy through personal connections, never paid attention to the demands of the people. The people revolted as a result of poverty and the state's inadequacy. On February 11, 2011, Hüsnü Mubarak came to an end upon the intense reactions of the people.

The Muslim Brotherhood candidate Muhammed Mursi won the presidential election held in Egypt in June 2012. Egypt's independent foreign policy monitoring in the Middle East would have important implications. Mursi stated that while trying to protect his relations with the USA, relations with Israel would not be the same. In addition, the fact that Egypt stated that it would pursue independent policies in foreign policy has been one of the important indicators of changes in the foreign world. (Telci, 2001: p. 2006) The Israeli lobby, which has an influence over the US administration, asked the United States to tighten its policies towards the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. (Çelik, 2012: p. 223) It seems that the Muslim Brotherhood's coming to power in Egypt disturbed many Arab countries. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries have done their best to wear down Mursi power. These countries played an active role in the demolition of Mursi by a military coup on 30 June 2013, by financing mass protests in the ambiguity of social, economic and political instability in Egypt. Abdülfettah Sisi, the Chief of Staff, would take the title of head of state. The financial support of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries and the Western countries' legitimizing the coup would cause Sisi to bring its foreign policy closer to the USA and the West Block. Egypt would quickly regulate its relations with Israel. The Turkish Government, which reacted strongly to the coup, would go to freeze its ties with the coupist Egyptian Government. The

Egyptian government, declaring the Turkish Ambassador as an undesirable person in his own country, would reduce the political relations to the level of charge d'affaires. Despite the political tension, a situation has occurred in economic relations where the crisis did not reflect on the economy. Egypt is among the twenty countries Turkey exports. At the same time BIM, retail chain in Turkey, has continued to increase the number of its stores operating in Egypt. (2016, Egyptian Bulletin) Mursi serving who took refuge in Turkey as a result of pressures in Egypt will be accepted as the "Elected Representatives of the People" in Istanbul. (2014, "Muslim Brothers Established Parliament in Exile", World Bulletin)

## 5. WHAT KIND OF A MIDDLE EAST SHOULD IT BE?

When Saddam was just 20 years old, he joined the Baath party. After the coup in 1963, the leaders of the Baath party were arrested and imprisoned as a result of internal conflicts. After a certain period, these people were released and returned to politics again. Saddam took power with his cousin, Ahmet Hasan al-Bekr, who was a military worker, and took power, and elected as president. Saddam helped his cousin. Saddam, as the vice president, brought the people close to himself to important places by using the authority to appoint state bureaucracy and military bureaucracy. On July 16, 1979, Saddam forced his cousin and president Ahmet Hasan al-Bekri to resign and to seize power with a silent internal coup. Until the invasion of Iraq in 2003 by the USA, the Ba'ath party would have absolute domination.

Salah Cedid, the Chief of General Staff of Syria in 1963-1966, took power in June 1967 with a staff of Shiite officers. Hafez Assad, who was brought to the Ministry of Defense, would come to power by removing Salah Cedid from power as a result of the internal strife that escalated with the defeat of the Israeli war. As soon as Hafez al-Assad became president, he established a dictating system to strengthen his power, by equipping himself with executive, legislative and military powers. By preparing a new constitution, he would strengthen his personal power and establish an indisputable authority over all institutions of the state. He would be the only judge of Syria until his death, except for his brother Rifat's coup in 1983. The social structure of Syria is heterogeneous. The fragmentation of Syria is due to its geographical features. The population is 90% Arab, 9% Kurdish, 1% Armenian, Circassian and Turkmen. Arabic, Kurdish, Armenian, Turkish and Circassian are spoken in Syria. The population consists of 90% Muslim (74-75% Sunni), 12% Nusayri, 10-12% Christian, 3% Druze communities. (<http://www.cia.gov/Library/puplications/the/World=Factbook,syhtm;Hinnebusch,Syria:Revolution, Form Above.>) Jews and Yazd's, who are small minorities, also live in the country.

Turkey, is a country with a 400 km border with Iraq. As in Syria, the reflection of the adverse developments in Iraq to Turkey is inevitable. Iraq's internal problems are similar to Syria. We can say that there is regional power sharing on the background of sectarian conflict. The increasing influence of Iran reaches the level that will shake the power of Saudi Arabia and Gulf countries.

Iraq's population of 36 million is divided on a sectarian basis and the level of sectarian awareness in the country is quite high. 80% of the country's population speaks Arabic, 17% Kurdish, 2% Turkish, 1% speak other languages. The sectarian segregation rate of the country, 98% of which is Muslim, is 60% Shia and 40% Sunni. All of the Kurds are seen within the Sunni sect. Christians living in Iraq and the Yazd's do not exist with their minority status. Most of the country's people migrated to other countries due to wars. Saudi Arabia and the Arab Gulf countries, which supported Saddam in the Iraq-Iran war, thought that Saddam was unreliable after the post-war Iraq invaded Kuwait and they were concerned that it was their turn to come. The magnitude of the international reaction will end Saddam. It was accepted as a strategic support for Iran that the USA invaded Iraq and overthrew Saddam. With Iraq under control, the biggest obstacle for Iran to become a regional power was eliminated.

Political, economic and military activities in the Middle East and the Arabian Peninsula have a long and tragicomic history. Religion plays a role in the Middle East policies as well as directly affects

the life of the individual. It is the result of an alliance for Saudi Arabia to embrace the Wahhabi ideology to increase the political authority of the Es-Saud dynasty and to legitimize its power. The wealth from oil and the Wahhabi ideology were used to spread it to other countries. In the emergence of radical organizations such as al-Qaeda and Isid, especially Western intelligence organizations had a share, so that Islam, the religion of peace, was remembered by terrorism. The Bush Government's decision to invade Iraq was not limited to overthrowing the current Saddam regime, but also gave the USA the opportunity to spread neo-liberalism to the Middle Eastern countries. In other words, regime change was aimed through the use of military force and directives were given to the backward countries to adapt to the free market. (Pınar, 2011: p. 61) Ahmet Chalabi, a leader of the Iraqi National Congress (IUK) which was one of the main opposition groups in Iraq, was the main sources of information to the American Government with his colleagues. The Pentagon supported this group's "Overthrow the Leader" thesis. (Pınar, 2011: p. 67) The previous statements of the American government show that their intentions are different.

## 6. BAATH REGIME AND UNPROCESSED INFORMATION

In countries such as Egypt and Tunisia, regimes are considered liberal Baathism. The Ba'athist parties represent a socialist, secular, racist, sectarian mentality. Leader Saddam is the practitioner of Baath ideology in Iraq. In Syria, Hafiz Assad is the practitioner of the Ba'ath ideology. Libya is also the implementer of Gaddafi Ba'ath ideology. In Egypt, the former president, Nasir, is the practitioner of the Ba'ath ideology. The idea of Ba'ath emerged among Arab students studying in France in the 1930s. We see that the ideas of Arab nationalism and the Middle East style Socialism have an impact on this political flow of ideas. Collecting the scattering of the Arabs had a chance to survive in Arab nationalism and socialist movements. The Diriliş (Baath) party founded by Mişel Eflak and Selahaddin el Biter was founded in 1947 and became a party by holding its first congress in 1947. This party merged with the Arab Socialist Party established by Ekrem Havran in 1953 and would become the Arab Socialist Resurrection party. The common idea was based on building a new nation. The aim was to create a national consciousness by mobilizing secular Arab nationalism. This project was the reason behind the unification idea of Egypt and Syria, which was named "United Arab Republic" in 1958. But this idea, which could never find the opportunity to come true, would turn into a system based on strengthening his personal power, turning into an understanding that does not tolerate any contradictory opinion or even destroy its alternatives using force. The Baath regime created a structure that tried to control the inhomogeneous people, based on ethnic, sectarian contradictions, in Syria and Iraq. The Syrian Baath regime, which took its place in the bipolar world formed by the USA and the Soviets, would enter the process of disintegration with the social mobilization that began under the name of the Arab Spring. Syrian people were the most affected by this situation.

Syrian society consists of three different sections. The first is the people living in the cities, which are the centers of economic, political, cultural and social power. Second, the Bedouins who see themselves as the true bearer of traditional Arab values. The third is the peasants. The peasants are even deprived of a particular piece of land and live under the control of landlords. In the army, the majority consists of Nusayri and Druze soldiers. Circassians, Kurds, and Armenians, especially minorities, are few. (İnce, 2017: p. 261-280) Since the army is an important force, the force that seizes the army takes over the power. Since the Assad regime is based on sect and ethnicity, it was described as the Nusayri regime. (<https://archive.org/stream/RaymondAHinnebuschSyriaRevolutionFromAbove./Raymond%20A%20Hinnebusch%20Syria%20%20revolution%20from%20above.djvu.txt>) The Nusayris are the people who especially dominate the military and intelligence agencies. (Weisman, 2005: p. 52-58) This structure has been the main determinant of the continuation of the Syrian political system, namely the Assad government. (Moasa, 1988: p. 294) Tribal and family ties have come to the fore in Assad's Syria. The "Kelbiye" tribe, of which the Assad family is a member, is one of the four Nusayri tribes in Syria. Esad-Mahluf families, especially of this tribe, hold the key points of the

basic institutions of the state. There were Druses, Christians and religious minorities who supported the Baath regime and the Nusayri power for pragmatic reasons. The Druze had a voice in trade and politics during the Baath period. In Syria, Christians live in religious communities such as Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Syrian Orthodox, Syrian Catholics and Marunis.

The leadership of Syrian Christian intellectuals was effective in the development of Arab nationalism as an ideological movement. Sunni Kurds, mostly live in areas near the northern border with Turkey, in certain neighborhoods in Damascus, in villages and towns without breaking their traditional structures. 88% of the Druze population live in Al-Suvey. 75% of Latakia population are Nusayris. 80% of the Ismailis, who make up only 3% of the population, live in the Hama Province. The Nusayrylic roots are the religious group that originated in the İsmailiye group and emerged in Damascus (Nusayr Saman Mountain). They believe that Hazrat Ali is not dead, or that he is someone like God or God. The Shiites do not count the Nusayris from themselves. They see Nusayrism as a belief that developed as a result of synthesis. Nusayri, which is also described as Arabian Alevism (in Turkish), is a sectarian minority on which Assad is based. Due to the Ba'ath regime, the Nusayris realized their power in Syria.

## 7. OPPORTUNITIES AND POSSIBILITIES IN TURKEY-IRAN RELATIONS

In the context of the defense of the Middle East against the Soviets, the USA mediated the establishment of the Baghdad Pact in February 1955 with the participation of Iran. The organization, which was later established as CENTO (Central Agreement Central Organization), could not give the expected but a cooperation developed between Iran and Turkey in the field of communication, trade, and transportation through CENTO. Turkey has opted not to enter into any alliance or cooperation relations with its neighbors in the Middle East without ensuring the security of the Western Bloc. (Sever, 1997: p. 88) To support the separatist Kurdish movement in Iraq, the Shah of Iran was assessed by Turkey as a matter of concern. With the 1975 Algeria Treaty, the problem between Iraq and Iran would disappear. 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation in Turkey had met with US and Western pressure. This incident caused breaks in Turkish foreign policy. Turkey's request to provide ease in oil purchases from Iran and the Iranian Shah's unwillingness to this offer has led to the formation of resentment between Iran and Turkey. (Çetinsaya, 2008: p. 148-149) Turkey's negative view of the Shah's regime has given itself in the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979. This attitude can be seen in the implicit support of Turkey to the activists. (Bölükbaşı, 1989) In the process began in 1979 after a year Iran-Iraq war of the Islamic Revolution, Turkey was also experiencing a major economic crisis. For Turkey saw as the way out of the opening of petroleum and foreign markets, a neutral Turkey would come to the fore as pressure on Iran increased. With the increase of the trade volume between the two countries, Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) was established in 1985 including Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey. (Özar, 1997: p. 15-25)

By 1996, the assassinations and terrorism charges associated with Iran in the Turkish press would have marked the agenda. Iran-Turkey relations stretched, then military training and cooperation agreement was signed between Israel and Turkey. In the same year (1996), Israel launched the "Wrath Grapes Operation" against the pro-Iranian Hezbollah organization in Lebanon. This operation damaged Turkey-Iran relations. While Turkey wanted to transform the economic cooperation relations with Iran, the Turkish press was carrying out activities to prevent Turkish-Iranian relations by suppressing bureaucracy with pro-Israeli and pro-US publications. (Özcan, 1998: p. 159-177). The murders of Çetin Emeç, Ahmet Taner Kışlalı, Uğur Mumcu, were incriminated to the Iranian regime. With the efforts of the Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz on the main Left Coalition and Foreign Minister İsmail Cem, Turkey-Iran relations had tried to be put on the right track. (Altınışık, 1998: p. 347)

Due to the strong position of Israel's pro-Israel lobbies in the USA, the United States made statements before Israel on Iran and Turkey relations. For example, US Secretary of State Rice used the phrase "Central Bank of Terrorism" (Bacık, 2008: p. 96) for Iran. Therefore, the discourses of the USA and Israel are complementary. Despite Iran's harsh rhetoric against Israel, Israel develops

policies that will weaken the Iranian regime. (Altınışık, 1998: p. 92) America and Israel have opportunity to be a global Powers against Turkey and Iran, which are two ancient states of the Middle East and Central Asia geography. They must place their relations on a rational ground with strategic depth with the common use of their forces. The biggest threat comes from the possibility of cooperation between Turkey and Iran-Russia joint movement against Western, US and Israeli cooperation. The West and the US are afraid that Iran-Turkey rapprochement will affect Arabs and other exploited peoples; because the realization of such an alliance means the end of the Western sovereignty in the Middle East. (Yavaş, "21st Century and the Middle East" <http://www.timeturk.com/yazardetay.asp?Newsid=12040>) The aims of the USA and Israel in the Islamic world are to prioritize the security of Israel, to prevent the emergence of a strong state in the region, to keep the flow of oil under control, and to not allow any Islamic country to have a nuclear weapon in the region. .

It is seen that Turkey and Iran have followed different policies in line with regional and global developments. However, they can produce common politics in some regional issues. Turkey, Iran, in a joint operation in the triangle Russia are cooperating in solving the problem to end the civil war situation in Syria in the process of 2017 Astana. Although the Syrian crisis is not a problem that has been solved, it is possible to turn it into a "balance of interest cooperation" (Haywood, 2013, p. 94). Good relations between Turkey and Iran has the capacity to solve the many crises in the same geography. *In line with the "mutual dependency principle" (Nye-Welch, 2018: p. 411), the cooperation that the two countries will develop in the fields of economic, technological, security, can be reflected in producing common politics.* Iran's power balancing strategy and regime export project are seen as the source of unrest in neighboring countries. Particularly unfavorable policies by the Iranian-Karabakh War in Armenia to take place alongside and against Turkey on PKK issue between Turkey and Iran are the main problems. (Hale, 2003: p. 335) Nevertheless, Iran has been included to D-8 international organizations under the leadership of Turkey.

Turkey has been mediating in the crisis in the Middle East region with a pro-active policy developed. Before the Arab Spring, Turkey signed "High Level Strategic Cooperation Agreement" with Syria. With the reflection of the Arab Spring, which started in 2011, on Syria, relations were broken. With Syria dragged into the civil war and international powers intervened in this problem, proxy wars are taking place in the region. Turkey and Iran are the countries representing different interests in Syria. While Turkey advocates the removal of Assad from power and would like to go to the election of a democratic constitution, Iran links its future and security in the Mediterranean to the continuation of the Assad government.

Syria crisis has also affected the relations between Turkey and Iran. After the Kurdish Regional administration's decision for independence in 2017, the two countries cooperated to ensure that this referendum was suspended. This cooperation shows that it has the capacity to disrupt many games in the region. Turkey and Brazil have offered to mediate in the General Assembly to find solutions in the removal of embargoes due to Iran's Nuclear studies in the United Nations (Sinkaya, 2010: p. 5), but these efforts did not bring positive results. Turkey's friendship initiative is reflected in the approach to Iran to Turkey as a positive development. In response to these positive developments, with the introduction of the radar system in Kürecik district of Malatya in 2011, Iran perceived this situation as a security threat for itself. This issue has been the starting point of the negative trend of Iran-Turkey relations. (İnat, 2011: p. 13) In the developments in Iraq, the sectarian hard attitude applied by the Prime Minister Maliki to the Sunnis between 2006-2014 and the increasing influence of Iran on the Shiite groups in Iraq have brought along negative developments.

The distance of the ballistic missiles in Iran's hand was two thousand kilometers, which was threatening the security of Israel. With Turkey's S-400 missile system from Russia that began with the result of tensions between the US and Turkey, Turkey has faced sanctions from the United States. This harsh reaction was similar to the harsh sanctions Iran faced. As a result, Turkey's policy

with Iran would be independent of the two countries closer together. Turkey and Iran must meet on common sense and find solutions to the problem of Middle East.

## Conclusion

We see that the US foreign policy, which is included in every plan based on the security of Israel, produces policies that support Israel's policies against the hostile Arab countries around Israel. At the same time, Russia's policy in Syria is based on maximizing its national interests. However, in the case of the US agreement with Russia on everything, we can say that Russia will produce policies against Turkey and Iran. While Iran sees Syria as important in terms of its security, it plans to realize the idea of introducing energy resources to the market through the Mediterranean. If these fails, Iran's connection with Lebanon will be broken logistically. There are sociological, political and social reasons behind Turkey's presence in Syria. The Westerners will use issues that affect the future of Turkey such as The Kurdish problem and the so-called Armenian genocide allegations as leverage against Turkey. Small and matryoshka states that will be formed by the disintegration of Syria and Iraq will be neither Iran's nor Turkey's friend and ally. These small states will try to develop good relations with Israel. Israel's enemy environment will be surrounded by friendly small states.

According to the latest developments, NATO power, which is planned to be placed in the Middle East in the context of changing the nature and scope of NATO, will try to keep Turkey and Iran under control in the Middle East. Israel's admission to NATO will bring other problems. Although Turkey has veto right, it does not seem possible to bring a position to overcome this problem. The pro-Israel plan, which the US President Trump calls the century's project, is trying to be implemented.

The murder of many of the innocent people was brought along with the murder of the most popular General of Iran Kasım Süleymani by the assassination of the USA, the retaliation of Iran and the accidental dropping of the civilian aircraft. All these developments give us clues that a new isolation process has begun. Surrounding Iran depends on a compromise between US-Russia interest relations through the Middle East. Such an agreement seems possible for the future.

The refugee exodus, has emerged as a planned Project, reached a size that will change the demographic structure of Turkey. It is also necessary to see that there are efforts to create a homogeneous Syria after the war. Therefore, Turkey must be seen natural to take some measures in terms of their safety in Syria.

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