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THE IMPACT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2015 IN TURKISH REPUBLIC FOR COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST REGION

The article examines parliamentary elections in the Republic of Turkey and their impact on further development and formation of the Middle East vector of foreign policy. The article analyzes internal political situation in the country and the role and place of some political actors as well as their influence on the formation of the government. Predicted the development of the main vectors of Turkish foreign policy and the ways to react on destructive and conflictogenic tendencies in the Middle East region, and in general looked through strategic principles of international activity of the country at the present stage.

The author separately focuses and analyzes domestic and foreign problems with which faced the country and its leadership during last few years, and describes the current condition and prospects of cooperation the Republic of Turkey with the regional countries and with countries that are trying to expand their influence in the region. In the article attention also focuses on the documents underlying the formation and establishment of the Turkish foreign policy and directly on the role of A. Davutoglu in shaping the foreign policy of the country.

Key words: Turkey, the Republic of Turkey, parliamentary elections, Ahmet Davutoglu, Middle East, Kurds, JDP, ISIL, WPK, Russian Federation, Syria, USA, Europe, EU, party, foreign policy, conflicts, war, Middle East vector, doctrine.

Today the Turkish factor began to play an important role in almost all issues on the international arena, especially in the context of the processes which take place in the Middle East and in the development of bilateral and multilateral relations with countries that located in above mentioned region or have direct relevance to it or try to influence the situation in the Middle East region directly or indirectly. By the beginning of XXI century Turkey's importance as a regional or global player in terms of other countries, there was quite significant because domestic economic and political problems and weaknesses which were particularly evident in the late 80's and 90's. Today Ankara shapes its foreign policy, defining their key interests on a range of issues, and deliberately trying to defend its position not only in the region but in the international arena as a whole, as it has not done from the time of the Ottoman Empire. All this inevitably led to the fact that the Turkish Republic has acquired a special status and significant influence in the surrounding unstable Middle East region. It is very important to determine what exactly led to this and how it will affect the country's position in the world, as well as the formulation and implementation of foreign policy of the country in the coming years.

Among the experts who highlight issues of domestic and foreign policy of the Turkish Republic at the present stage, we should distinguish such researchers as A. Davutoglu, M. Agar, L. Stone, A. Karkolu, I. Leyman M. Fltunohlu. A significant contribution to the study of these problems have made such Russian political scientists as S. Druzhylovskyy, A. Hajiyev, V. Avatkov, N. Shuvalov, A. Aresheva, I. Svistunov, A. Yazkova, and also Ukrainian researchers M. Vorotnyuk, E. Haber, A. Volovych, S. Hrenevetsky, V. Dergachov, N. Mkhitaryan, C. Zinko, T. Starodub, R. Rukomeda. However, over the last decade, most experts focused their attention mainly on the issues of European integration of Turkey and the Kurdish problem, relations with Russia, bilateral cooperation with the USA and other Western countries. As a result, today, not only in domestic science, but also in the work of foreign researchers there was a shortage not only of analytical materials, but also the fundamental works on research development and implementation of Turkish foreign in the Middle East region, as well as key principles for it implementation. Accordingly, the purpose of this article - to analyze the current strategy of Ankara in realization Middle East policy and predict its development in the next few years following the parliamentary elections 2015 in the country, which took place on the 7th of June and on the 1st of November 2015, and pay special attention to the results of elections and their impact onto the formation of the Middle East foreign policy vector.

Turkey is a country in which uniquely combines different traditions, "militant kemalist secularism"

and Islam. In 2001 the military accused Prime Minister N. Erdogan in attempted to lay the foundations of Turkey and banned his party. It splited into two political parties: the Party of Happiness (PH), headed by Kutan Reggiano, consists of Erdogan supporters and the Justice and Development Party (JDP), headed by former mayor of Istanbul, Erdogan R.T. The first one - remained on conservative, traditionalist platform. The second one- abandoned the anti-Western rhetoric and has declared its support for Turkey's accession to the EU¹.

Since coming to power in 2002, moderately Islamist Party of Justice and Development, had been taking place the processes, which is indicative of strengthening Islamic identity component of Turkish society. In 2002 the JDP has developed a work program that combined elements of pragmatic Keynesian economics, tight financial policy and moderate Islamism. Having played on the general population fatigue of liberal economic reforms and taking into account the rise of parliament passing the threshold up to 10%, the party with a wide margin overtakes all competitors and win with an unprecedented majority. The results of elections showed that Turkish people began less trust to Islamists and liberals. None of the parties which had been presented in parliament during the period from 1999 to 2002 were not represented in the new government. In the elections won supporters of the Social-Democratic independent course and moderate Islamists, which was alien to Islamic populism of their predecessors. It is particular to note in elections some success of populist party of media mogul Jema Uzana, which got about 7.25% of votes and 6.23% of votes which received the Kurdish Peoples Democratic Party. The members of the last one came to the conclusion that the government would not allow passage of the party through 10% barrier, which in fact, according to some experts and representatives of the opposition, was established in order to prevent the arrival into the parliament Kurdish and following Kurdish ideas political forces, and made decision that in the future elections should take participate as independents².

As a result during the sole board of JDP from 2002 to 2007 they managed to stabilize the political and economic life of the country. Among the party's achievements were the following: stop inflation, achieved stable economic growth at 8% rate per year, which made Turkey the most dynamically progressing European economy; reduced the gap between rich and poor people³. Were implemented many social programs, previously tested in Istanbul; Turkey has taken more independent, balanced, pragmatic political position on the international arena. Significantly improved relations with Russia, Iran and Arab countries. Turkish Republic opposed the participation of Turkish troops in the Iraq campaign; supported on a high-level relations with the EU, carried out reforms positively evaluated by the EU. In general, people welcomed the government's policy led by JDP's leaders. Moreover in early elections on the 22nd of July, 2007 the people again supported the JDP, and in August 2007, the new parliament has ratified the candidacy of Abdullah Gul as president of the country, whom supported most people⁴.

Overall, during the elections in 2007 the population of country generally supported the policies of Justice and Development Party; in the country also has increased the nationalists and anti-American sentiment associated which was connected with the activity of Kurdish militants in southeastern of Turkey and the operation of USA in Iraq; increased level of political consciousness of the people of the country in comparison with the previous political period, populist PM party has received during elections just 3.03% of the votes, 81.8% of the votes were cast for parties that passed the 10% barrier; Kurdish Peoples Democratic Party policy aimed at promoting independent deputies, was successful: independent Kurdish deputies managed to form their own faction in Parliament⁵.

On the 12th of June, 2011 in Turkey was held next parliamentary elections. On the 550 seats in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey claimed about 15 political parties, three from them have overcome 10% barrier. A historic victory got the ruling Justice and Development Party (JDP) led by the current prime

¹ Сотниченко, А.А. (2009). *Особенности модернизации в Турции. Препринт М-11/09*. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Европейского университета в Санкт-Петербурге, 30-31.

² Сотниченко, А.А. (2009). *Особенности модернизации в Турции. Препринт М-11/09*. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Европейского университета в Санкт-Петербурге, 31.

³ Ульченко, Н.Ю. (2012). Социально-экономическое развитие Турции а период правления Партии справедливости и развития. *Турция в период правления Партии справедливости и развития: сборник статей*. Москва: Институт Ближнего Востока, 64.

⁴ Сотниченко, А.А. (2009). *Особенности модернизации в Турции. Препринт М-11/09*. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Европейского университета в Санкт-Петербурге, 32.

⁵ Сотниченко, А.А. (2009). *Особенности модернизации в Турции. Препринт М-11/09*. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Европейского университета в Санкт-Петербурге, 32-33.

minister Recep Erdogan¹.

Note: The results of the vote, which was attended by more than 50 mln. of voters (turnout about 86%), were as follows: JDP - 49.95% (326 seats in parliament), center-left Republican People's Party (RPP) - 25.94% (135 seats in parliament), the Party of nationalist movement (PNM) - 12.98% (53 seats in parliament), an independent candidates supported by the Kurdish parties - 6.58% (36 seats). In the elections the JDP increased its electoral base compared with the previous elections (2002 - 34.4% 2007 - 46.4%), but due to the nature of the Turkish electoral system, received fewer seats in parliament (2002 - 367, 2007 - 341). But 326 votes was not enough to initiate national referendums (need 330 votes), not to mention the amendment of the Constitution (requires two-thirds). Therefore, the JDP had to seek allies on key issues of the future country's development, particularly in foreign policy, among opposition in parliament.

At the same time the opposition in Turkey is not yet a cohesive force that can operate at the national level, based on a single platform. Evidence of this is to keep in recent years unchanged so-called "political ghettos". The contradictions that exist between the parties are chronic and have not yet seen attempts to solve them. With permanent bases in specific geographic areas, opposition parties often ignore the problems of social groups outside the traditional spheres of influence. A typical example of this is for example the Kurdish problem. The absence of significant achievements towards its peaceful resolution explains the reluctance of the opposition as a whole to actively engage the Kurdish question. On this background, a national support which permanently receives the JDP seems legitimate. Currently, only the JDP as political party is ready to tackle the problems, no matter which social services are affected or where it is localized geographically².

The success of the JDP talk that the ruling party currently has a large margin of power. The positions of JDP has not shacked not political scandals that accompanied the campaign-related charges of corruption and authoritarianism activity not foreign character issues, such as the events in Syria. Gezi Park protests that firstly from the 1970-s year took place in the country and as resulted grew into the real threat to the stability of the country, also did not contribute to strengthening of the opposition. Long-term preservation of the balance of power between the ruling party and the opposition, characteristic of Turkey over the last decade, at the same time does not guarantee the preservation of stability in the future. Along with the lack of incentives to promote dialogue between different political parties, it is fraught with danger in the emergence of the Turkish society a sense of distrust in the political process itself. This, in turn, may force the opposition to turn onto non-parliamentary, and that is why unlawful methods of political struggle³.

Today Turkey continues to build an active foreign policy and is not afraid to take on the role of regional leader and take responsibility and costs associated with this role. Rightly said one of the local observers, Erdogan turned to the Turks dignity and pride for the country, that is why he was supported by 65 from the 81 provinces of the country⁴. At the same time there are problems that require immediate consideration. In particular, the Kurdish problem. Furthermore, on the agenda is the crisis in Syria. Within proclaimed foreign policy of "zero problems" Turkey has made great steps towards its Middle East neighbors. The border with Syria length of 900 km. was almost open to the movement of goods, people and services, but at the beginning of the Syrian problem no one expected flow of refugees from that country. R. Erdogan began openly criticizing the policy of the management elite of this country and quite inadequate use of force against protesters. The persistence of the Libyan problem, send a new flotilla with humanitarian relief in Gaza - a move which was initiated by social organizations, but of course not without the acquiescence of the Turkish authorities had chances finally break the already strained relations with

¹ Балашов, С. Выборы в Туреччине: вгору сходами, які ведуть вниз. Газета «Дзеркало тижня». <http://gazeta.dt.ua/POLITICS/vibori_v_turechchini_vgoru_shodami_yaki_vedut_uniz.html>.

² Шувалов, Н.Б. (2015). Политические партии в Турции в зеркале выборов в местные органы власти: Свободный реферат, Социальные и гуманитарные науки (РЖ), Сер. 9, Востоковедение и африканистика. Зарубежная литература, ИНИОН РАН. Москва, 3, 21.

³ Шувалов, Н.Б. (2015). Политические партии в Турции в зеркале выборов в местные органы власти: Свободный реферат, Социальные и гуманитарные науки (РЖ), Сер. 9, Востоковедение и африканистика. Зарубежная литература, ИНИОН РАН. Москва, 3, 22-23.

⁴ Балашов, С. Выборы в Туреччине: вгору сходами, які ведуть вниз. Газета «Дзеркало тижня». <http://gazeta.dt.ua/POLITICS/vibori_v_turechchini_vgoru_shodami_yaki_vedut_uniz.html>.

Israel, which would complicate the extremely tense situation in the whole Middle East¹.

One of the main results of the elections in June, 2015 was that the ruling Justice and Development Party for the first time during last 13 years lost the sole right to form the government. In 2002, when the party first came to power, its unconditional victory was seen by many in Turkey as a transition to a stable political system after a series of coalition governments that performed extremely unsuccessful economic policies. Over 13 years in power, the JDP has won all elections, both parliamentary and local, which is indicative of the extraordinary success for any political party in a democratic country. The feature of elections in 2015 was the wants of the ruling party to get majority in parliament in order to change the constitution to be able to transition from a parliamentary to a presidential form of government. With this task the JDP did not manage².

Note: According to the results of elections to the Turkish Grand National Assembly the 25th convocation held four parties - the ruling center-right Justice and Development Party (40.8% of the vote, 258 seats); the main opposition, the left Republican People's Party (24.9%, 132 seats); Turkish extreme right Nationalist Movement Party (16.2%, 80 seats) and the People's Democratic Party (13.1%, 80 seats).

Of course, the main result of the elections was the significant loss of votes by the ruling JDP and for the first time in the history of the Republic, the party elected to parliament representing national minorities - the Kurdish People's Democratic Party. Have not been able to do any other party because of the very high - 10% - election barrier. Under the Constitution of country, in order to form a one-party government political party must receive at least 50% + 1 (about 276) seats in parliament. For constitutional majority which would allow the current leadership to amend the Basic Law of the country and change the form of government from presidential to parliamentary republic, was need at least 2/3 (about 367) of votes of MPs. 317 votes that dialed JDP was not enough to solve all these issues. This circumstance has allowed some international media called the election results "a complete failure" of the JDP and personally the President of Turkish Republic - R. Erdogan³.

There were serious reasons (subjective and objective), which led to an apparent weakening of the JDP in the elections. First, economic growth in Turkey decreased significantly and the unemployment rate rose to 16% during the global economic crisis and unfavorable situation in the area of regional security. Foreign tourists in Turkey only for the first six months decreased by almost for third because of the threat of the spread of the Islamic state and the continuous fighting in Syria and Iraq. The volume of trade with Russia fell for 37% due to a significant devaluation of the ruble. Egypt, Libya and Syria - the largest economic partner of Turkey - lost indefinitely. A serious burden for the national economy is over two million Syrian refugees who have found temporary shelter in the country and for whose maintenance Ankara already has spent about six billion dollars. Secondly, the complex geopolitical situation in the region and not fully solved the existing problems in the foreign policy of Turkey did not allow it to adequately fulfill their potential of "regional leader": in negotiations with the EU qualitatively new arrangements on the approximation of the country's membership in the organization was not made (largely due to the lack of interest of member countries in expanding Union, and because of the inability to cope with the last existing problems associated with the expansion in the late 90's early 20's), and "return to East" failed to implement in full due to the transformation processes that have engulfed the entire region of the Middle East in the wake of "Arab spring", and through partial neglect and lack of significant steps, including translational, address to the "Kurdish problem" by then ruling elite⁴.

Because of the inability to archive agreement with competitors JDP failed to create a government, that is why Parliament was dissolved and new elections announced. They held on the 1st of November, 2015. As a result of second elections JDP won. There was no doubt that this party will be the leader of the

¹ Балашов, С. Вибори в Туреччині: вгору сходами, які ведуть вниз. *Газета «Дзеркало тижня»*. <http://gazeta.dt.ua/POLITICS/vibori_v_turechchini_vgoru_shodami_yaki_vedut_uniz.html>.

² Габер, Є. Парламентські вибори в Туреччині: народна демократія чи демократія народів?. *Газета «Дзеркало тижня»*. <<http://gazeta.dt.ua/international/parlamentski-vibori-v-turechchini-narodna-demokratiya-chi-demokratiya-narodiv-.html>>.

³ Габер, Є. Парламентські вибори в Туреччині: народна демократія чи демократія народів?. *Газета «Дзеркало тижня»*. <<http://gazeta.dt.ua/international/parlamentski-vibori-v-turechchini-narodna-demokratiya-chi-demokratiya-narodiv-.html>>.

⁴ Габер, Є. Парламентські вибори в Туреччині: народна демократія чи демократія народів?. *Газета «Дзеркало тижня»*. <<http://gazeta.dt.ua/international/parlamentski-vibori-v-turechchini-narodna-demokratiya-chi-demokratiya-narodiv-.html>>.

election race and the main intrigue as during the previous elections, there was a question whether it is to gain enough votes to form a one-party government. As the results of people's will, for Turkish voter expectations stability and national security considerations were a decisive factor during the second round of elections. This allowed the JDP to improve their score for nearly 8.5% in comparison with the June election, forcing balancing on the brink of election barrier Turkish and Kurdish nationalist parties. Now the country's development over the next four years will determine the party of Prime Minister Davutoglu, and it depends whether justified expectations of the Turkish people to establish political stability in the country, consolidation significantly polarized society and restore the old economic growth¹.

Note: According to the results of elections to the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) 25th convocation held four parties - the ruling center-right Justice and Development Party (49.50% of the vote, 317 seats); the main opposition, the left Republican People's Party (25.32%, 134); Kurdish Democratic Party peoples DPN (10.76%, 59) and the extreme right Nationalist Movement Party (11,90% 40). Other parties did not pass the 10% barrier. The party, which took the fifth place (Party Fortunately, conservative Muslim) received only 325,978 votes (0.68%). Totally in elections involved 16 parties.

Observers note that in the unstable situation in the Middle East electorate voted for pro-presidential party, which is preferred over other political forces. However, British newspaper The Guardian writes, the election results "could further strengthen the rift between ethnic and religious layers: Erdogan is adored by his supporters who see him as a man who modernizes the country, but critics hate him and think autocrat and autocratic leader." Erdogan himself said that the campaign results demonstrate citizens' choice in favor of stability and confidence. Despite the fact that the Justice and Development Party has not received a constitutional majority, which would allow to amend the Basic Law – Constitution of the country, strengthening the role of state's head, Erdogan's position has considerably strengthened².

Obviously, the outcome of the vote significantly affected by the negative experience of prolonged coalition talks that took place after the parliamentary elections on 7th of June, and the unsuccessful attempts to create a technical transitional government with the participation of all political forces. During these five months, the country has experienced a new wave of terror initiated by Kurdistan Workers' Party (KWP), after the collapse of the Kurdish peace process; intensification of terrorist activities radical left Revolutionary People's Liberation Party (front) and pogroms of Turkish nationalists. And also witnessed two major terrorist attacks in the history of the Republic, which killed more than 130 civilians, and suffered a record drop in the national currency. And all this - against the war and the regime B. Asad, ISIL forces in Syria, protracted anti-terrorist campaign against KWP militants in Turkey and northern Iraq, the endless trials of the opposition, the media and "parallel structures" in state government³. Given the fact that the entire election process was in a deep political crisis, a sharp economic downturn and increased terrorist threat, it is easy to foresee that the sympathies of voters in this election will be on the side of the party that can guarantee national security and stabilization of the domestic political situation⁴.

Typical for Turkey is that the Turkish political parties characteristic political associations features of eastern type. Party is largely focused on the program documents of the party and its leader. In this regard, the influence of political parties on foreign policy is always associated with individual convictions and party leader. Chairman of the Justice and Development Party R.T. Erdogan is a vivid example of this type of leadership. At the same time, each political party in Turkey has its own foreign software installation, they are lobbying, especially during election campaigns and speaking with foreign policy initiatives in parliament, especially during the hearings on the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the current year.

Electoral hegemony is a key to the preservation and strengthening of the dominant positions of both the JDP and its leader Erdogan. In the political strategy of the party for the elections is given a special

¹ Габер, Є. Парламентські вибори в Туреччині: народна демократія чи демократія народів?. *Газета «Дзеркало тижня»*. <http://gazeta.dt.ua/international/parlamentski-vibori-v-turechchini-narodna-demokratiya-chi-demokratiya-narodiv-_.html>.

² Братерский, А. Эрдоган празднует победу. *Газета.ру*. <http://www.gazeta.ru/politics/2015/11/02_a_7867427.shtml>.

³ Габер, Є. Туреччина від виборів до виборів: АТО, війна і коаліція, що не вдалася. *Газета «Дзеркало тижня»*. <http://gazeta.dt.ua/international/turechchina-vid-viboriv-do-viboriv-ato-viyna-i-koaliciya-scho-ne-vdalasya-_.html>.

⁴ Габер, Є. Туреччина: кінець «непевних часів»? *Газета «Дзеркало тижня»*. <http://gazeta.dt.ua/international/turechchina-kinec-nepevnih-chasiv-_.html>.

place, because, in the opinion of its leaders, in the minds of voters, democracy should be associated with the urn for voting. "Since 2002 elections used not only as a mechanism for achieving a legitimate government, but more importantly, they have largely contributed to the consolidation and strengthening of influence of the JDP and Erdogan". They allowed the party to become "the main ruling force" that forms and transforms not only politics and democracy, but also modernity. This idea of electoral hegemony is a reflection of the situation in which the dominance of one party in the elections is so strong that the level of its powers gradually goes beyond the ordinary powers of the majority party. This political force extends its hegemony on society as a whole, leaving political rivals chances of winning the election¹.

Turkish foreign policy ideology fundamentally changed with the advent of the Justice and Development Party. The principles which were laid by M.K. Atatürk, fading, Turkey has not fully secular state, statism eliminated republicanism in its Kemalist understanding questioned (in many political actors there is a desire to move from a parliamentary to a presidential republic) and the principle of the indivisibility of the nation is the rejection of a large part people. The principle of territorial integrity is also questioned by many Turkish political scientists who openly talk about the possibility of creating a federation. Fundamentally important in this regard was the publication maps of the US plan for the transformation of borders in the region "Greater Middle East"².

According to the author's opinion in 2002 in Turkey was a real overcoming of conservatism - a change of elites and creating a new ideology that meet all the requirements of the modern world view. JDP further pulled away from Islamism, that activity when bilateral relations are resolved based on the norms of Sharia, direct anti-American, anti-Israeli rhetoric of their predecessors, proclaimed foreign policy goals for EU membership, is not engaged in rough revision history of the republican period.

During the JDP in power, the country has experienced fundamental changes in the economy, in political life and international relations. The Government of Justice and Development Party, held the country through decades of large-scale reforms and has ensured that Turkey entered the twenty leading economies in the world, and now puts even more ambitious goal: to bring Turkey by 2023 - the centennial of the establishment of the Republic – on the level of socio-economic development into the ten largest economies in the world³. Today the Republic of Turkey is an important country in the world. Ranking the 16th place among 185 countries in terms of population, the 32nd place - the size of the territory and the 17th - for economic development, becoming in a relatively short period of time one of the world leaders in terms of economic growth, Turkey is called "the BRIC of Europe". Not abandoning their Islamic identity, she is trying to become a significant part of the West. Accordingly, a special place in Turkish politics takes process integration in Western structures⁴.

The first 14 years of ruling the JDP clearly showed how in fact contradictory and ambiguous political strategy and practice of the party of R. Erdogan. On the one hand, a frank desire to "pull" Turkey to the European level through economic, administrative and political reforms to join the European Union. On the other - a series of arrests and trials of war, the KWP, the elite university in the 2008-2016 biennium, while at the same time, according to the author, these events have occurred in the context of "return" in the Middle East, slow implementation of the strategy accession to the EU, which was associated with long-term expectations, as well as the background of the formation of the country as a regional leader. In any case, there have been obvious departures from the principles of liberal democracy, the extent of which even the troubled European Commission⁵. It should also be noted that Turkey - despite the fact that it has positioned itself as a Eurocentric country - in fact closer to the Latin American caudal autocracy with local features such as pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism, but the Turkish Sunni version (the union in one state all peoples Sunni Muslim currents). For a long time the main political actors were Islamists and the military. In the 50's Turkish Republic became a member of NATO ally and an opponent of the Soviet Union respectively. In the

¹ Шувалов, Н.Б. (2015). Политические партии в Турции в зеркале выборов в местные органы власти: *Свободный реферат, Социальные и гуманитарные науки (РЖ), Сер. 9, Востоковедение и африканистика. Зарубежная литература, ИНИОН РАН.* Москва, 3, 25-26.

² Аватков, В.А. (2013). *Внешиеполитическая идеология Турецкой Республики при правлении Партии справедливости и развития: диссертация кандидата политических наук: 23.00.04.* Москва, 67.

³ Стародубцев, И.И. (2011). *Трансформирующаяся Турция. Институт Ближнего Востока.* Москва, 10.

⁴ Мхитарян, Н.И. (2012). Особливості формування сучасної зовнішньої політики Туреччини. *Стратегічні пріоритети*, 1 (22), 178.

⁵ Дергачев, В. Многопартнерская геополитика Турции. *Вестник Аналитика.* <<http://dergachev.ru/analit/191010.html>>.

90's the country to some extent the same as the People's Republic of China, began to move independently, so as a result - economic spurt. But at the same time as the classic European democracy Turkish Republic in full, despite the great desire, has not become.

In the post-bipolar era Turkey has rejected a policy of isolationism during the Cold War and became actively develop relations with neighboring regions. Even if the Turkish initially "a broader vision of Eurasia, as it turned out, was somewhat unrealistic, the impact that it has generated, set the tone for all Turkish politics 1990s and early 2000s." - Says Turkish scholar M. Aydin. Its climax this activity received by the current administration and its conceptual framework - from Foreign Minister A. Davutoglu (from 2002 to May 2009 - Advisor to the Prime Minister R. Erdogan). This policy can rightly be considered the architect of Turkey's foreign course at present, and its impact on the theoretical design of foreign policy explains the popular media characterization minister as "the Turkish Kissinger"¹. He is the author of the book called "Strategic Depth" (2001), which became the theoretical basis of modern Turkish foreign policy.

Russian expert Starodubtsev I., for example, thinks that it is hard to believe that A. Davutoglu created fundamentally new concept in Turkey's foreign policy, rather we are dealing with synthesis and reinterpretation of the main currents of political thought and countries with synthesis based on them that often became known by the term "new Ottomanism"². However, according to the author's opinion, this statement is not entirely correct, because to 2002 year Turkish Republic pursued a policy of isolationism and non-interference in the affairs of other countries, including neighboring countries. In particular, it confirms in his study A. Davutoglu. It is noted that Turkey carried out a long time risk-free, passive foreign policy, with no common point of view on it leads to the fact that there was no tactical integrity. The book notes the presence in Turkey of a number of features as compared with the countries that make up the region, and those which are outside. During the formation of foreign policy, by the author proposed to consider, after appropriate analysis, the full range of factors, including: history, geography, culture, politics, economics and security.

According to A. Davutoglu, the Turkish state is experiencing the fourth period of "reconstruction". The first began in the Ottoman Empire and known as "Tanzimat". As a result of another reconstruction was created a state - Turkish Republic. The third period associated with the transition to a multiparty system. JDP coming to power marked the fourth time the complex reconstruction, the purpose of which was to achieve the threefold goal: a strong democracy, a dynamic economy and effective diplomacy. If the task is achieve, Turkey will present itself as an active participant of the global political system³.

Ukrainian researcher M. Vorotnyuk notes that A. Davutoglu methodology identifies three methodological and five operating principles of the new Turkish policy. Firstly, Turkey, with it, realizes the visionary, prognostic approach, as opposed to "crisis-oriented" approach during the Cold War. Secondly, Turkey is developing relations with all regions of the world in a "consistent and systematic framework". Thirdly, the country armed with a "new discourse and diplomatic style", which should contribute to strengthening the country's soft power. Among the operational principles of foreign policy, according to researcher M. Vorotnyuk, minister calls maintain a balance between security and democracy ("Safety should not be implemented at the expense of freedom and human rights"); lack of policy issues with neighbors; active peace diplomacy aimed at preventing crises; multi-dimensional foreign policy, in which it lines do not compete, but complement each other and, eventually, that the minister calls "rhythmic diplomacy" - Diplomacy, which ensures the presence of Turkey in international organizations and participation in all international matters⁴. According to the Prime Minister of Turkey Erdogan, the foundation of the Turkish foreign policy are the following principles: "Safety for All", "political dialogue", "mutual economic dependence," "cultural harmony" and "mutual respect"⁵. Addition the Turkish foreign policy concepts with such terms as "no problems with neighbors", "soft power", "rhythmic foreign policy",

¹ Воротнюк, М. (2010). КОМПАС 2020. Україна у міжнародних відносинах: цілі, інструменти, перспективи.

Туреччина: регіональний гравець з глобальними амбіціями. Одеса: Фонд ім. Фрідріха Еберта, 4.

² Стародубцев, И.И. (2011). *Трансформирующаяся Турция.* Институт Ближнего Востока. Москва, 163.

³ Шувалов, Н.Б. (2015). Политические партии в Турции в зеркале выборов в местные органы власти:

Свободный реферат, Социальные и гуманитарные науки (РЖ), Сер. 9, Востоковедение и африканистика. Зарубежная литература, ИНИОН РАН. Москва, 4, 62-63.

⁴ Воротнюк, М. (2010). КОМПАС 2020. Україна у міжнародних відносинах: цілі, інструменти, перспективи.

Туреччина: регіональний гравець з глобальними амбіціями. Одеса: Фонд ім. Фрідріха Еберта, 4.

⁵ Волович, О.О. (2011). *Туреччина у сучасному світі: пошук нової ідентичності: збірник статей та аналітичних матеріалів.* Одеса: Фенікс, 5.

according to A.G. Hajiyev is evidence of expansion of the foreign policy and change the conceptual apparatus of Turkish diplomacy. You can see that Turkey is positioning itself as a country that builds bridges between nations and civilizations, is a unifier, integrator, etc.¹.

Key elements of the proposed by Davutoglu strategic approach regarding the Middle East region are as follows:

1. Removal of psychological barriers that negatively affect Turkey's diplomatic initiatives in the region.
2. Creating new and improving existing research centers that can monitor events in the Middle East region and give them expert-analytical assessment.
3. The alignment of regional policy from the standpoint of realism and given the global balance of power.
4. Development of projects covering the entire region.
5. Formation of overlapping areas of interest in order to strengthen peace in the region.
6. Opposition to appearance block of states, creating in the region geopolitical and geo-cultural zone of risk².

In the formation of practical foreign policy definition of strategic depth refers to the cultural, historical and geographical "centrality" of Turkey in regional and international systems. According to A. Davutoglu, "the closest land, sea and continental basins surrounding Turkey, creating geographic center of the world and historically covering areas where the main arteries of human history have been formed"³.

A. Davutoglu uses the definition of "central government" to characterize Turkish influence in the international system. In this context, the concept of the central state has two main elements. The first metaphor critical role of Turkey as a "bridge", which is traditionally used in the foreign policy discourse in Turkey. It provided that Turkey connects the East and West in the cultural and material sense. A. Davutoglu criticized the metaphor of "bridge" because it does not reflect the position of Turkey in the international system "as an actor with an independent position." "In this context, Turkey is represented as a Western state that is trying to switch completely to Western values in its relations with the East, and at the same time as the eastern states, representing the negative aspects of the East in its relations with the West." The second element is the central concept of the state comes from the fact that the post-Cold War international system structure reformatted, which means that at this time there is no complete system. Then in geopolitical, geocultural and geoeconomic dimensions Turkey is perceived not as an object but as a state that can establish, develop and create a new system because of its ability to multi maneuver. In this sense, the concept of a central state in the foreign policy of Turkey - is not just a geographical definition, but also a geopolitical perspective, which is related to its role in history, culture and religion in terms of transformation of the international system and the formation of new regional-global systems⁴.

Currently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey operates on the basis of the implemented on the 7th of July, 2010 the Law № 6004 on the establishment and the task of the Foreign Ministry. Among the missions of the Ministry on of the first is "to support sustainable development and strengthening of the region and the world environment that would contribute equity and development." Symbolically, in the first paragraph of this law, Turkey is asserting itself as a state that can and tends to act as a regulator and to take responsibility for the fate of the region and even the world. The main document defining the current foreign policy of Turkey is closed and name - "Red Book" or, as it is often called the "secret constitution". It prescribed the major threats and challenges the Republic, determined by its opponents and allies. The updated version of the book is taken every five years in the Security Council of Turkey. Notably, in 2010, adopted a version in which the list of countries that threaten the security of Turkey, were deleted Russia, Greece, Iran and Iraq⁵. Unfortunately, the author does not currently have information about what changes

¹ Гаджиев, А.Г. К вопросу о значении Турции на международной арене. *Институт Ближнего Востока*. <<http://www.iimes.ru/rus/stat/2010/31-07-10.htm>>.

² Аватков, В.А. (2013). *Внешнеполитическая идеология Турецкой Республики при правлении Партии справедливости и развития*: диссертация кандидата политических наук: 23.00.04. Москва, 44.

³ Рукомеда, Р.М. (2014). Реалізація основних положень концепції Ахмета Давутоглу у зовнішній політиці Туреччини. *Стратегічні пріоритети*, 1, 188.

⁴ Рукомеда, Р.М. (2014). Реалізація основних положень концепції Ахмета Давутоглу у зовнішній політиці Туреччини. *Стратегічні пріоритети*, 1, 188-189.

⁵ Аватков, В. Неосманизм. Базовая идеология и геостратегия Турции. *Общественный теоретический журнал «Свободная мысль»*. <<http://svom.info/entry/458-neosmanizm/>>.

were made to the text of the "Red Book" in 2015, but it can be assumed that it noted the threat coming from Russia, ISIL, the KWP and the regime of Bashar al-Assad and also spelled out steps aimed at consolidating the country's role as a regional leader and the country's strategy regarding its participation in addressing security issues in the region.

Considering the above mentioned there is a need to determine the content of the new foreign policy strategy, doctrine, reflecting today's national interest of Turkey in the actions of the government in the international arena. Thus, the new regional policy of Ankara no longer defines pro-European direction as a fundamental, at least on the agenda. At the same time today in Turkey two competing foreign policy doctrine. The first – turanizm and Pan-Turkism, which operated in the 1990s, before the arrival to the power current president Erdogan's Justice and Development Party. This concept seeks cooperation with Turkic countries close to it culturally and ethnically countries and peoples. The second doctrine - neoOttomanism aimed at leading state role in the Islamic world and the former Ottoman Empire, particularly in the Middle East, where survived Turkish influence. The latest doctrine has been implementing by the JDP, although the term "neoOttomanism" believes imposed from outside. At the same time, despite the opposition of doctrines, plans for European integration of Turkish politicians still play a significant role. A. Davutoglu said: "There circles accuse us of" new Ottomanism. "These allegations are unfounded. General history and geography, which unites us with the countries of the region, forcing us to conduct an active policy of Turkey ... In no secret agenda on the region. Our goal is to form in the region peace, stability, security and prosperity. The key concept that defines the relations of Turkey with the Arab countries, it is not "hegemony" but "mutually beneficial cooperation"¹.

The new foreign policy strategy of Turkey, which Davutoglu created, is based on the desire to strengthen the political, diplomatic and economic role of the country in the regions of the former Ottoman Empire, is the Middle East, the Balkans and North Africa. According to the doctrine of "zero problems with neighbors" Turkey seeks to play a key role in regional conflicts - act as judge and "mediator and generally has its own vision of the Middle East". This vision includes the entire region. It can not be reduced only to fight against radical Kurdish separatist group that spends decades terrorist campaign against Turkey, or attempts to serve as a counterweight to the individual states. Turkey can use its unique understanding of the Middle East and his diplomatic experience to operate effectively in the region. Turkish policy towards Lebanon and its attempts to mediate between Syria and Israel and to achieve results in the Palestinian issue and its constructive involvement in the Iranian nuclear problem - all integral parts of Turkish foreign policy vision of the Middle East.

Online Party of Justice and Development published the whole state's goals before the centennial of the Republic - the "Millennium 2023". Among them are the number of foreign policy positions, which form the current foreign policy doctrine. For example, strengthening the role of the country in the Balkans, strengthening support for Azerbaijan, improve the image of Turkey in the international arena, expanding the network of Turkish universities abroad Summit OIS in Turkey, strengthening relations with the USA, the elimination of obstacles in relations with the Middle East, the integration of the Turkic republics, expansion of cooperation with Asia and Africa, the promotion of Turkish culture on the world stage in many countries the organization of cultural events "Year of Turkey"².

Although it is clear that foreign policy doctrine of modern Turkey, despite its close relationship with "traditional" for its foreign policy concepts, is still in its formative stages, the search options ideological justification regional claims. The fact that Ankara's foreign policy in the Middle East is different, sometimes diametrically opposed assessment of both foreign observers and in the Turkish society associated with incomplete formation of its approach to the development of relations with the countries of the region.

Turning to today, it should be noted that the uniaxial Turkish foreign policy pursued by the country until recent years, has been criticized by some experts and domestic and foreign political scientists. Exclusive reliance on the USA, EU and NATO, ignoring other possible alliances, according to Ahmet Davutoglu, in the past often led to a situation where before there were Turkish foreign policy problems and threats that left it on the world stage in solitude. It is noted that Turkey was late (and now making up for lost time) to identify new centers of power in Asia. Moreover, Turkey during the Cold War geocultural

¹ Аватков, В.А. (2013). *Внешинополитическая идеология Турецкой Республики при правлении Партии справедливости и развития*: диссертация кандидата политических наук: 23.00.04. Москва, 40.

² Аватков, В.А. (2013). *Внешинополитическая идеология Турецкой Республики при правлении Партии справедливости и развития*: диссертация кандидата политических наук: 23.00.04. Москва, 75.

experienced exclusion in Central Asia. As an alternative to the above uniaxial approach proposed use all types of heritage and features of the current situation, considering the dynamics of its development as opposed to the static approach, the rejection of stamps, using flexible tactical maneuver, which involves the development of alternative plans and strategies, including the long perspective. It is noted that Turkey is still in the formation of long-term independent foreign policy preferred to operate in the short or medium term as part of the existing strategic plans superpowers and great players. The role of Turkey in this environment was peripheral, even its own territory was seen as a zone of strategic interests of other countries¹.

Modern political processes and foreign policy of the country, alarming allies and neighbors of Turkish Republic. Turkey seeks to maintain its position in the global hierarchy of states, constructed by the US, while raising its profile to the status of supra-regional states that can individually perform regional regulation and play a full role of regional leader in several neighboring regions. The dynamics of US-Turkish relations is becoming more uneven and depends not only on the regional and global situation, but also increasingly, on the political situation in the USA. Already it is no secret that the Republic of Turkey in recent years has lost enthusiasm for European integration and full membership in the EU. This is due to a general decline in relations with key European players - Germany and France, as well as the EU itself, which has serious problems, as noted above, the adaptation of existing members and plunged into a deep financial and institutional crisis. There has been increased activity in Turkey outside the traditional sphere of influence not only the modern Turkish state, but ever present. In particular, there is an unprecedented expansion of the interests of the Republic of inclusion of South-East Asia, Asia-Pacific and sub-Saharan Africa. Despite the fact that the basis of Turkish policy in these regions makes pragmatic economic considerations are high prospects of political cooperation with the possible spread of the Turkish model elements among the national elites of some countries².

Turkey's identity as part of the West gradually changed to identify themselves with a broader geography. Perhaps Turkey's policy change may look like its shift to other regions. In addition, fears intensified after coming to power of Islamists and their actions are associated with political Islam in a country known for its secularism. Paradoxically is the fact that throughout the history of the Turkish state, trying to join the Western club, emphasizing its secular nature. But under current conditions the Western allies need another Turkey - Turkey, which would become a model of Muslim democracy. An example is the role Turkey would play in USA plans to democratize the Middle East in the "broad Middle East". So now what happens is that the scientist P. Tank describes as "symbolic redefinition of Turkey from its Western partners who preferred to underline its" Muslim "instead of" secular "identity"³.

However, addition of Turkey identity (ie, its revival) with new dimension - Islamism – does not give grounds to assert that Turkey is moving away from the West. Some experts see the reason of "rally" in more practical terms. Because of the growing self-sufficiency of Turkey and its confidence about their ability to cope with security threats - only cooperation with the West is no longer vital. "Turkey is no longer occupied by issues of survival and existential security is less dependent on Western community ..." - says American researcher S. Kardash. Turkish officials stress that Turkey pays attention to regions where its activity was still unreasonably low. "Orientation of Turkey and strategic alliance with the West perfectly connect with Turkish involvement in Iraq, Iran, the Caucasus, the Middle East peace process and Afghanistan", - said A. Davutoglu⁴.

In recent years, Turkey has achieved national unity in matters of foreign policy and its priorities. We do not see any opposition within the country against foreign policy ongoing, can not see opposition against historical deeper and experiences and do not see also loss of confidence to the current course of country. It is evident that there is a clear, firm position on the transformation of Turkey on the strength of the region, global actor. Moreover, Turkey is not standing in front of a dilemma on issues such as social structure or Islam, West or East, the European Union or leadership in the Middle East. The country's authority is independent from the USA or the EU. Therefore, in terms of development, Turkey plays the role that could

¹ Стародубцев, И.И. (2011). *Трансформирующаяся Турция. Институт Ближнего Востока*. Москва, 164.

² Аватков, В.А. (2013). *Внешинополитическая идеология Турецкой Республики при правлении Партии справедливости и развития*: диссертация кандидата политических наук: 23.00.04. Москва, 14.

³ Воротнюк, М. (2010). КОМПАС 2020. Україна у міжнародних відносинах: цілі, інструменти, перспективи. *Туреччина: регіональний гравець з глобальними амбіціями*. Одеса: Фонд ім. Фрідріха Еберта, 5-6.

⁴ Воротнюк, М. (2010). КОМПАС 2020. Україна у міжнародних відносинах: цілі, інструменти, перспективи. *Туреччина: регіональний гравець з глобальними амбіціями*. Одеса: Фонд ім. Фрідріха Еберта, 6.

play long, and is not satisfied with only the role of mediator approved by the West. In other words, the assurance of "multivectoral view of world politics, complexity, multidimensionality, strategic depth, the complete absence of problems with neighbors, proactive foreign policy, leadership, setting their own games and elected roles independently solve all the problems and mediation" are real and have enough practical implementation.

Assessing Turkey's position on peace and stability in the Greater Middle East area, it should be noted that the Republic is committed within their interests to conduct peacekeeping, positioning itself as out all conflicts state, a peacekeeping force, which goal is - regional security and prosperity. At the same time Turkish Republic does not preclude the use of soft and hard power to strengthen stability and peace.

Thus, the greatest threat to national security of Turkey comes from Iraq and Syria. When on the background of the Syrian chaos intensified ISIL, Turkey delayed from joining the international coalition. There were several possible conditions of expectant management in Turkey. First, Ankara enjoyed ISIL struggle against the Assad regime disadvantage, and against the Syrian Kurds. Second, Turkey was able to make the experience of other countries in high-cost interventions in the Middle East state. Thirdly, the country holds pragmatic policy in relations with the USA and the EU¹.

However, a number of events that occurred in July 2015, showed that expectant policy of Turkey against Syria and Iraq no longer works. Then Turkey joined the international coalition and agreed with the USA the coordination of joint actions against ISIL. United States received permission to use Turkish air bases Inchirlik, which cause strikes on militant positions. Ideally Ankara and Washington want to create a demilitarized zone with the depth of about 120 km. to knock out and pass ISIL and transfer the territory under control of the Syrian opposition².

According to Tom Palmer, an expert of Cato Institute, turks for assistance in combating with ISIL want that western countries refused to Kurds even in their hope for their own country. And it seems the USA and the EU are ready for it, taking into account the fact that Islamists have become a major problem for West, and send their armies onto the Middle East they are not ready. Washington has already promised to cancel economic sanctions from Iran in order to secure their rear in the fight against ISIL. Now, according to researcher Hokana Bachika, professor of international relations at the University of IPEC Ankara, Kurds will be exchanged for military assistance to Turkey. However, international experts believe that the active involvement of Turkey in the war against Islamism could lead to further chaos and the collapse of Syria and Iraq into several semi-independent states. But it does not undermine the position of ISIL³.

Turkey not once has taken part in ensuring the peace-making process in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The country was one of the partners of Israel, even in the years of isolation, rigid confrontation that took place between Jews and Arabs. In recent years, the Turkish Republic, expanding contacts with the Arab countries are not narrowing with Israel, fought for strengthening their own authority. Closer ties with Arab countries at the same time naturally accompanied by some signs of weakening of Turkish-Israeli relations. The Republic of Turkey is moving towards the Arab world from the 90s, but the obstacle was a secularist and pro-European movements in the country and Arab suspicions of double standards Turkish policy towards Israel. The Arab world supported the rise to power of R. Erdogan and his government selected a firm position concerning Israel. In the Palestinian-Israeli conflict a new Turkish leadership consistently supported the Palestinians on the road to self-determination. Former Turkish-Israeli "strategic partnership" role effectively prevented the activation of Turkish Republic as a leader not only in Arabic but also in the Islamic world. Therefore, R. Erdogan or because of personal ambitions and judgments, or the reason or need to expand contacts with the Arab countries or to fight for votes began to allow himself hard, critical, and sometimes overly unrestraint remarks about Israel. The new strategy towards Israel reached its peak of support from Arab countries at an economic forum in Davos after the

¹ Зовнішньополітичний акценти. Ісламська держава Іраку і Леванту: хто зупинить ісламський фундаменталізм. Випуск №20. *Міжнародний центр перспективних досліджень*.
<http://icps.com.ua/assets/uploads/files/FPI_20_ukr_2015_10_08_1228.pdf>.

² Ярошенко, Є., Філіпчук, В. (2015). Зовнішньополітичний акценти. Ісламська держава Іраку і Леванту: хто зупинить ісламський фундаменталізм. Випуск № 20. *Міжнародний центр перспективних досліджень*.
<http://icps.com.ua/assets/uploads/files/FPI_20_ukr_2015_10_08_1228.pdf>.

³ Війна на два фронти: Туреччина вступає в боротьбу з ІДІЛ і курдами. *Кореспондент*.
<<http://ua.korrespondent.net/world/3551215-viina-na-dva-fronty-turechchyna-vstupaie-v-borotbu-z-idil-i-kurdamy>>.

incident on the events in Gaza (2009), when R. Erdogan stated that his conscience did not allow him to "face the Israelis at a time when A. Sharon government continues to destroy the Palestinian leadership and commit terrorist acts against the Palestinian people". It is impossible not to associate above mentioned with an attempt to make the transfer of humanitarian (and not just humanitarian, as it turned out) of cargo ships "Mavi Marmara" in Gaza, which blockade Israel strictly controls¹. After that Ankara recalled its ambassador, were suspended all joint projects, including the military. Nothing signs the improvement until the incident happened with a Russian bomber on the 24th of November, 2015 and the Turks are not threatened interruption of Russian gas. "For the first time in the last 5 years, Erdogan openly said that improved relations between Israel and Turkey will benefit the entire Middle East. By this time, the president of Turkey carried out anti-Israeli policy" - said political scientist Arie Gut. Israel will pay \$ 20 million to the families of those killed on Mavi Marmara. Turkey has pledged to stop the persecution of Israeli military in law level. But most importantly, the country will jointly develop gas deposits on the shelf of the State of Israel. Ankara will be one of the largest buyers of natural gas from Israel².

We consider that temporary suspension of Turkish-Israeli relations has strengthened Israel's isolation in the Middle East. First of all this is reflected in the dynamic of their development, especially in the military-political sphere.

Turkey also painful accepted the military coup in Egypt July 3, 2013, condemning the intervention of the army. The suppression of protests against the removal of M. Morsi in Egypt Ankara described as a "serious crime" of temporary administration. Being "Muslim Brotherhood" in power was an important element for strengthening of the Turkish model. Today, the country is losing an important partner³.

Nevertheless, the events of the "Arab Spring" that caused significant changes in a number of Middle East countries and have left their mark for itself in Turkey, had no effect on its regional ambitions. Moreover, the JDP leaders eventually came to claim that the situation in the Arab world does not preclude the creation of a new regional order in which Turkey will take center place. JDP further set before itself two objectives: to support within the international community the idea about Turkey as respected in the world and at the same time a strong regional player; use the rapprochement between Turkey and its neighbors in the interests of national development. "But - concludes N. Karadzhasulu (University "the 9th of September", Izmir) taking into account the fact that the situation in the region may change quickly, it is difficult to say whether Turkey could achieve its goals"⁴.

The events of the "Arab Spring" had great importance for the future of the Middle East region and for the Turkey's place in this future. Speaking at the general session of the Turkish parliament in April 2012, A. Davutoglu said: "The new Middle East born. We will continue to be masters, servants and pioneers of this Middle East. Instead of the tyranny, oppression and dictatorship the new Middle East will be ruled by the will of the people, the voice of right and justice. And this voice will be supported by Turkey everywhere"⁵. On the one hand the perception of Turkey as a regional leader, pioneer and carrier of "wind of change" is another echo of the idea of the so-called "historical responsibility". According to A. Davutoglu, Turkey must unite with the Middle East "historical compatriots" based on understanding of cultural community that is more serious power than the idea about ordinary citizens. On the other hand A. Davutoglu's idea of regional leadership has been formed not without the influence of growing economic opportunities in Turkey and its economic interests. Over the past 10 years the Middle East has turned to Turkey into region of great geopolitical importance. Proclamation of own state as the "leader" and "protector" of the Middle East was

¹ Барыш, Достер (2011). Турция между двух континентов, двух цивилизаций и двух сил. *Геополитика. Информационно-аналитическое издание, вып. IX*, Турция, 20.

² Путін зробив неможливе: Туреччина та Ізраїль помирилися через конфлікт з Росією. *Патріот*. <<http://patrioty.org.ua/blogs/putin-zrobyv-nemozhlyve-turechchyna-ta-izrail-pomyrlysia-cherez-konflikt-z-rosiieiu-102899.html>>.

³ Воротнюк, М. (2013). Протести в Туреччині та події на Близькому Сході: нормативні аспекти. *Зовнішні справи*, 13, 36.

⁴ Шувалов, Н.Б. (2015). Политические партии в Турции в зеркале выборов в местные органы власти: *Свободный реферат, Социальные и гуманитарные науки (РЖ), Сер. 9, Востоковедение и африканистика. Зарубежная литература, ИНИОН РАН. Москва, 4, 65.*

⁵ Шувалов, Н.Б. (2015). Политические партии в Турции в зеркале выборов в местные органы власти: *Свободный реферат, Социальные и гуманитарные науки (РЖ), Сер. 9, Востоковедение и африканистика. Зарубежная литература, ИНИОН РАН. Москва, 4, 65.*

brilliant geopolitical code of JDP¹.

Taking into account the absence, at this stage, the real Muslim regional leader becomes more important rivalry between Turkey and Iran for the division of spheres of influence. Iran's foreign policy has two long-term goals - to achieve regional hegemony and spreading Shia Islam directly. The rivalry between Turkey and Iran in the Arab world can be looked through in the context of the confrontation between supporters of moderation and extremism. Historically, Iran was in the "extremist" block (Syria, "Hezbollah" and Hamas) and Turkey became a member of "conservative" axis "6+3", which were presented by the Gulf countries, Egypt, Jordan, Iraq. In recent years Iran has launched an offensive aimed at improving relationships and find allies, particularly among the Gulf countries, especially we talking about the UAE and Bahrain. That is why very possible that Shiites and Sunnis will be competing for geopolitical hegemony in the region, bringing into their alliances the states of interfaith conflict - Bahrain, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Palestine.

Relations between Turkey and Iran are key to Ankara in regard to its eastern borders. In this sense should be understood any contact between the two countries, not only the general issues that unite them (the instability in the region increases its importance), but the problem of the Kurds. This factor makes them well think: declaration of independence could lead them to falling into tough military pincers - between Ankara (which has repeatedly demonstrated that no escapes protect their national interests) and Tehran (which forced again and again to improve their military capabilities in the event of arrival troubled times). Even if there was also an independent Kurdish quasistates on Iraqi territory, officially it could not be recognized. The position of the two countries and the geopolitical context make us to believe that a moment of strong secret alliance between them is around the corner, it is important only when the deal will became "open secret"².

On author's opinion after the removal on the 16th of January, 2016 sanctions from Iran relations between Ankara and Tehran will continue to develop in the rise. And for this there are several reasons: 1) joint struggle against the KWP, which wants to unite the Kurds of the Middle East and create a single state; 2) Ankara's dependence on Iranian gas, which will be increasing after the conflict with Russia; 3) Both Iran and Turkey try to get rid of USA control and independently build their policies on the territory of the Middle East. At the same time, each of these countries aspires to become a regional (religious, political, economic) leader, so there are not excluded confrontation, provocation, democratic demarches in particular in such questions as the Syrian conflict, Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh, Israel and Russia.

One of the priorities of policy sovereignty of the Middle East region countries is a horizontal vector of cooperation Turkey - Iran - Pakistan which is based on the fact that the population of the three countries reached 300 million. people and can greatly influence onto the situation in the region. In addition, to the trilateral relations of these countries can join also Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Iraq.

Today Turkey reinforces its positions in the region, fighting for the status of a regional or even global state and demonstrates sustained economic growth. In fact, the Turkish Republic is the only one country in the Middle East, able to conduct foreign policy deliberately in respect of its own independent course and approved foreign policy strategies. Today high conflict potential of the Middle East region is always growing steadily. In the region enhanced multi-conflict interaction of world states. In this context, Turkey's position is extremely important. It own plans to strengthen regional leadership the Turkish Republic realizes through soft power - the organization of educational programs, development of tourism services, through investment³.

Political modernization that began in Turkey since the advent of the Justice and Development Party, puts as its main objectives the transformation of Turkey into a state-leader in the Middle East region. In the context of domestic, regional and global security extremely important is the position of Turkey on the issue of Kurdish autonomy. Kurdish factor plays an important role in Turkey's domestic policy and its relations with the neighbors, and the fate of the country will depend largely on how successfully the government

¹ Шувалов, Н.Б. (2015). Политические партии в Турции в зеркале выборов в местные органы власти: *Свободный реферат, Социальные и гуманитарные науки (РЖ), Сер. 9, Востоковедение и африканистика. Зарубежная литература, ИНИОН РАН.* Москва, 4, 69.

² Барыш, Достер (2011). Турция между двух континентов, двух цивилизаций и двух сил. *Геополитика. Информационно-аналитическое издание, вып. IX.* Турция, 55.

³ Аватков, В.А. (2013). *Внешиполитическая идеология Турецкой Республики при правлении Партии справедливости и развития: диссертация кандидата политических наук: 23.00.04.* Москва, 106.

cope with difficulties, including the "Kurdish question". In the past, the country has not recognized even the fact that Kurds exist, they used to be known as "mountain Turks". Gradually, the Kurds have become more active increasingly, and the turning point was the creation in 1978 of Kurdistan Workers' Party (KWP). Officially it was declared as Marxist and as a result, received considerable financial support from procommunist organizations worldwide, including from the Soviet Union. After the KWP in 1984 proclaimed the beginning of armed struggle for independence of the Kurds, the conflict escalated into full-scale civil war in which, up to present date, killing more than 40 thousand people. Subsequently the country in its intentions to become a full member of the EU began to soften the regime against the Kurds, it is prohibited, then allowed the Kurdish language and communicate in it. Turkey in recent years, skillfully using inconsistencies in the Kurdish camp, combines the carrots and sticks methods to ensure stability in their regions bordering with Iraq, Iran and Syria¹.

If we analyze the current Turkish foreign policy in Middle East region and its development in the future we of course have to look through Syrian issue which plays a very big role and has influence not only in region but also all over the world. The reaction of Turkey to vote in Syria can not be considered in isolation from Ankara's common approach to the events of the "Arab Spring". Turkey, which claims to be a regional leader, tried to take advantage from the upheavals in the Arab world in order to increase its influence in the region, expanding their experience of democratization and liberalization. Accordingly, Ankara made a bid to support the protest movements, characterized by the Turkish leadership as the only democratic.

In Syria this approach at the beginning of the confrontation between government and opposition forces held back because of the dynamic development of the Turkish-Syrian relations, what could prevent confrontation and the coming to power of the new revolutionary government. The process of expanding cooperation between the two countries objectively meets the interests and aspirations of a large group of Turkish citizens, especially residents of the six Turkish provinces bordering with Syria, forming the foundation of economic prosperity. This is why Ankara for a long time (over six months after the war beginning in Syria) maintained from harsh statements and broke relations with Damascus. The official response of Ankara at the beginning of the unrest in Syria was aimed at support of the government and B. Asad manifested itself in a number of events, for example, the statement of the Turkish Foreign Ministry expressed support for the intention of B. Assad to investigate the tragic incident and to begin reforms in the political, social and economic spheres. In the first stage the Republic of Turkey offered itself as a Coordinator of reforms in Syria, and later because of the strong position and pertinacity of B. Assad began supporting the opposition and imposed sanctions against the Syrian leadership. Turkish analysts Atila Sandykly and Ali Semin as follows described the Ankara's policy concerning the Syrian crisis: "Attention of Turkey to the Syrian crisis is natural, taking into account the regional weight of Turkey and its proximity to Syria. However, we must always remember that the interference in solving the countless problems of the Middle East leads to involvement in these issues. Turkey could not predict that the crisis in Syria will develop differently from the regime changes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen". There was the involvement of Turkey in the events of civil war in Syria. Ankara has become a hostage of crisis in Syria and its transformation in the problem of regional and global scale². On the 9th of August, 2011 Turkish delegation held negotiations with the Syrian leadership on the settlement of the conflict, which lasted about 6 hours and brought no results. Parties saved their positions: Turkey calling for Damascus to stop using force, Syria with the desire to confront the terrorists. Then Turkey began to open support of the Syrian opposition. The first conference of the Syrian opposition in Turkey in May, 2011 in Antalya, and on the 2nd of October, 2011 in Istanbul announced the creation of the Syrian National Council (SNC), which should be a coalition body that will unite opposition forces. In December in Istanbul was opened an office of SNC. The landmark moment of formation of the Turkish strategy concerning the Syrian crisis was meeting R. Erdogan with USA President B. Obama at the UN General Assembly in New York in late September, 2011. Then the Prime Minister of Turkey for the first time at the international level announced that his country "stopped negotiations with the Syrian government", to which in Ankara were "no more confidence". On the 30th of November, 2011 the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey has also officially announced that "according to the recommendations of the president and prime minister" introduced against Syria "package

¹ Аватков, В.А., Филиппов, А.Д. (2013). Курдский фронт и оппозиция Турции в сирийском кризисе. *Ближний восток и современность: сборник статей, вып. 47*. Москва: Институт Ближнего Востока, 6.

² Свистунов, И.А. (2013). Политика Турции в отношении сирийского кризиса. *Ближний Восток и современность: сборник статей, вып. 47*. Москва: Институт Ближнего Востока, 197.

of sanctions"¹.

Protracted conflict in Syria, was unexpected for Turkish politicians and efforts to resolve it have not yielded tangible results within a few years. At the same time the impact of the Syrian crisis is becoming more prominent in Turkey, affecting the economic sphere, security and causing division in Turkish society and doubts concerning the correctness of the foreign policy of the ruling party. It seems that in a difficult situation around Syria, the most dangerous scenario for Ankara would be armed intervention in neighboring country. External military intervention into the Syrian conflict objectively contradict the national interests of Turkey, at least for the reason that makes no guarantees of Turkish influence preservation in Syria and threat to create around the Turkish borders a zone of protracted instability, similar to Iraq². Moreover, this situation will not change the balance of power in the Middle East and disrupt the regional balance of power between Ankara and Tehran, putting at risk the prospects of bilateral cooperation.

At the same time the regime of B. al-Assad has no plans to negotiate with his opponents - Syrian opposition. With the support of Russia, government troops went on the offensive and began to cut off the supply of Aleppo city. And this in the same time as negotiations in Geneva, initiated by the US and EU. If things will go the same way for some time, the city, the eastern part of which is occupied by the opposition, will soon be completely surrounded, the chances to keep it under control the rebels will not have. At the same time in Geneva broke down, barely begun, negotiations concerning Syria. Opposition and Turkey, which supports it, announced that see no point talking about something until on the ground it is hit by the Assad forces and bombed from the sky by V. Putin's aircraft. Apparently, Ankara and the rebels want the the United States push onto Moscow, achieving cessation of the offensive, as a result of which Aleppo city may be lost. However, while the Syrians and the Russians never think to stop. On this background, Turkey has developed not only a serious diplomatic but also military activity: to Syrian border pull all new units of the Turkish army. According to Moscow, Ankara is preparing an offensive to the north part of Syria, that Russia and its Syrian allies believe is absolutely unacceptable. It is very important to said that, as we all know, relations between Moscow and Ankara were seriously destroyed after the 24th of November, 2015, when Russian bomber was shot down after violation of Turkish airspace. Russia disagreed with the position of the Turkish side and imposed economic sanctions against the Republic of Turkey. Overall, this event had a negative effect on the recently friendly bilateral relations. Restoring of the trust and cooperation between two countries, according to the author's opinion, is a difficult issue in the long term. Especially if Russia will continue its destructive policies in the Middle East region.

Now Turkey aims to create 90-kilometer security zone along the Syrian-Turkish border in Syria, to ensure the safety of Syrian refugees there. Turkey's second goal - the presence in the region and solving the problem of Control Syrian Kurds in order they will not have taken too strong positions. This issue is the main stumbling block between the USA and Turkey. There are many factors that make Turkey to conduct a military operation: refugees, Kurdish factor, factor of ISIL, the political factor - to show the Turkish public that the government is best in coping with the problem of terrorism. Overall, the Turkish government has one main goal - to deal with the Kurdistan Workers' Party and the Kurdish Democratic Union Party in Syria, which is linked to the KWP and prevent the creation of the Kurdish autonomy in Syrian territory along the Turkish border³.

Turkey is also very concerned that the United States enlisted the support of Syrian Kurds and became the official ally of the Kurdish Democratic Union Party, while the Republic of Turkey recognizes it as the terrorist organization. Turkey is trying to force the USA to accept the Democratic Union as terrorist organization. According to opinion of researcher M. Vorotnyuk, Turkey fears that the creation of Kurdish autonomy in Syria will be like a snowball that cause additional problems - the population of south-east Turkey would want the same. At the same time with the official leadership of Iraqi Kurds in Turkey is dialogue, developing cooperation in energy transportation. But the Kurdistan Workers' Party, which is based in the mountains of northern Iraq and in some areas of Turkey – for Turkish authorities is a

¹ Свистунов, И.А. (2013). Политика Турции в отношении сирийского кризиса. *Ближний Восток и современность: сборник статей, вып. 47*. Москва: Институт Ближнего Востока, 198-199.

² Свистунов, И.А. (2013). Политика Турции в отношении сирийского кризиса. *Ближний Восток и современность: сборник статей, вып. 47*. Москва: Институт Ближнего Востока, 198.-204.

³ Воротнюк, М. Борьба курдів. Як виглядає велика політика на Близькому Сході. *Новости Лина нет*. <http://news.liga.net/interview/politics/6394388-borba_kurdov_kak_vyglyadit_bolshaya_politika_na_blizhnem_vostoke.htm>.

completely different matter¹.

The war in Syria and Iraq is dangerous itself, but also threatens to the Turkey by the emergence of hostile military and political structures or as an Islamic state, or in a hostile Kurdish state, which will qualify for the Turkish Kurdistan. In case of victory of one party there is a threat that war could upset already on the territory of Turkey itself. For the Republic of Turkey this may become a threat to the fact of its existence. So exit for Turkey from this situation is monitoring the situation in the region in northern Iraq and Syria, in order to limit the impact to it hostile forces by entering their units or carrying out maintenance and control of friendly forces. Second, for Turkey the current crisis in the Middle East is not only a significant threat, but also great opportunities. This enables it to establish itself as a military and political leader of the region, the Sunni and the Islamic world. After than all parties of the conflict exhaust each another in the endless war, there will be need a military and political force that could bring stability and take under control the situation in the region. This force can certainly be Turkey. For it offers the potential to achieve hegemony in the region of the world².

It should be noted that Turkey not only has the strongest army in the region, but also has a crucial advantage that can ease to it deal of control over the Middle East region - it is a Sunni state, respectively, it will not meet such resistance to its policies in the area of the Sunni majority, like could face both Shiite Iran and the governments of Iraq and Syria. This opens the possibility for taking under control of the "Sunni triangle" and other populated Sunni areas of Iraq and Syria. Along with this, Turkey can take control under areas of Syria and Iraq, which is extremely rich in oil. For it is an opportunity not only to give up completely on imported hydrocarbons from Russia, but also to export Syrian and Iraqi oil to Europe via its territory, which will allow to gain huge profits. There are ideological and political factors too. In addition to the abovementioned, and it should also be noted, nowadays Turkey is able to implement ideas of neoOttomanism not only in humanitarian space, not only through "soft power" but also by "hard power" – its extremely powerful army, now gained wide field for activities outside the state. The doctrine of neoOttomanism indeed could be realized now, and partly has been already implementing in the form of return of Turkey to the Iraqi and Syrian territory of the former Ottoman Empire - this can be seen in the introduction of Turkish troops in the north of Syria and Iraq, actually taking them under control district Azzazu, support and control Syrian rebels and Turkmen.

So now active policy of Turkey in the east on the one hand is forced, because there is a real threat to the Turkish state, which should preventively fight, on the other side opens up before the country new perspectives. Turkey now can and realize the policy that really implement neoOttomanism project, in other words establishing it as a leader on the territories of the former Ottoman Empire.

Note: About the difficulty of the Turkish-Syrian relations and drop the image of Turkey in the Middle East region say dates of annual poll titled "Addicted to Turkey in the Middle East in 2013" held in November, 2013 by the Turkish "Fund for Economic and Social Research". Results of the study indicate that Ankara's Middle East policy, especially the Syrian vector ambiguously estimated in the region. The survey of public opinion conducted by Turkish specialists among the population of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Tunisia, Oman, Bahrain, Qatar, UAE, Kuwait, Yemen and Libya, attended 2800 respondents over 18 years old. According to the study, the image of Turkey in the Middle East declined in 2013 compared with the previous two years. Thus, in 2013, a positive attitude towards Turkey expressed 59% of respondents, while in 2012 the figure was 69% and in 2011 - 78%. How could be supposed, the lowest rating of Turkey among the population of Syria: only 22% of respondents from Syrian said positive perception of Turkey (up from 28% in 2012 and 44% in 2011). Addicted of Ankara to Syrian leadership was described as "hostile" by 88% of respondents. Only 21% of Syrian respondents (the lowest percentage among the different countries) supported the idea that Turkey can serve as a "model" for other countries in the Middle East. In the foreseeable future Syria will keep its place in the focus of the Ankara Middle East policy³.

¹ Воротнюк, М. Борьба курдов. Как выглядит велика политика на Ближньому Сході. *Новости Лига нет*. <http://news.liga.net/interview/politics/6394388-borba_kurdov_kak_vyglyadit_bolshaya_politika_na_blizhnem_vostoke.htm>.

² Нелепов, В. Бесіди про Туреччину. Зовнішня політика. *Хвиля*. <<http://hvylya.net/interview/geopolitics2/besidi-pro-turechchinu-zovnishnya-politika.html>>.

³ Свистунов, И.А. (2014). Политика Турции в отношении сирийского кризиса после международной эскалации вокруг Сирии в августе-сентябре 2013 г. *Ближний Восток и современность: сборник статей, выт. 48*. Москва: Институт Ближнего Востока, 183.

If we analyze the opportunities and threats for Turkey in the Middle East region, they are: as a result of the formation in the Middle East and North Africa regions a new geopolitical reality, there is a need for the USA and EU "stabilizer" and a model for the future development of the regions as which increasingly look through Turkey. Declared in USA plans for withdrawal army from Iraq, fixing on Turkey, which has special economic interests in northern Iraq, the status of one of the major players. Winning is the position of balancing and third power which occupied by Turkey on a number of "platforms" and in a wide range of issues on the international agenda¹.

The flip side of the "second historic chance" of Turkey after the events of the "Arab Spring" is the risk of losing control over the situation in the region, escalating tension, made a loss of economic and political "investments" etc. Failure (say, for example, like China) hold only within the framework of economic expansion. There has been a risk of possible losing position of third power and implied dividends from it. The lack of significant results in implementing the policy of "zero problems with neighbors". Save the tensions with Syria and Russia. Viewing relations with Israel - the transition from confrontation to partnership relationships. The risk of anti-Turkish axis formation. Exacerbated the Kurdish question not only as a domestic political, but also as a regional factor. Iran's negative reaction to the placement of missile defense system on Turkish territory, sharpening rivalry between Turkey and Iran for dominance in the region and at the same time a number of cooperation issues. "Cleaned out" internal political platform and four terms of the JDP in power could cause voters to "fatigue" and desire for change. The escalation relations of JDP with military body and the secular part of society, which are opposed to reducing the role of Islam, the growing anti-democratic processes in society, reducing the independence of courts and justice².

As seen from the above mentioned analysis, in addition to significant positive factors and opportunities, there are many objective problems, risks and threats, both internal and external. This enables skeptics and opponents talk about reach the stated goals, or at least about a shift in their implementation at a later, compared to 2023 year, terms.

So, as a result of the parliamentary elections in 2002 to power in the country came JDP. During 14 years the Party managed to win in the parliamentary elections and created a government alone. During this period Turkey became on the path of reforms in the economy, the social sphere and in external relations. Country's foreign policy has been formed partly on the basis of kemalizm principals, but mostly on the principles introduced by Turkish scientist and politician – A. Davutoglu. Thanks to its concept - the "new Ottomanism" on the agenda of the current Turkish government - Turkey's transformation to a global player with global presence, clearly formulated policy in all regions of the world. Modern Turkey eliminating the pro-Western bias, balancing between East and West, the Turkish approach is flexible and fluid, the call in retrospective and perspective, implies rejection of dies and creative thinking, based on return of a historical living space, in search of new partners and organize innovative alliances. In implementing its foreign policy Turkey seeks to keep in the hands of a strategic initiative, to work as "number one". Turkey is trying to strengthen its position in the region by using given a historic chance - so-called "Arab Spring," a herd of regime changes in North Africa and the Middle East. Thus there is a deterioration of relations with Israel through Turkey's rising popularity among Muslim countries, relations with Syria and Iran are fraught with a number of risks, such as loss of status of "independent agent" and "bridge", further escalation of the situation in the region.

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¹ Стародубцев, И.И. (2011). *Трансформирующаяся Турция*. Москва: Институт Ближнего Востока, 186-187.

² Стародубцев, И.И. (2011). *Трансформирующаяся Турция*. Москва: Институт Ближнего Востока, 188-190.

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