

Summer semester 2017

SYLLABUS

Course Title:

TURKEY-EU RELATIONS FROM THE SECURITY STANDPOINT

Lecturer: Dr. Maryna Vorotnyuk

Contact: Department of Political Sciences, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University, Gondova 2, 81499, Bratislava, maryna.vorotnyuk@uniba.sk, mvorotnyuk@gmail.com

Schedule: Wednesday, 16.55-18.25, R. 216 (library).

Consultation hours: Wednesday, 15.00-16.55, R.215

Course Description and Rationale

This course aims at analyzing the security dimensions of EU-Turkish relations, uncovering the ‘securityness’ of this cooperation and of Turkish membership aspirations. The course employs different theoretical perspectives putting to test the propositions that neo-realism, liberalism, institutionalism, social constructivism would make on EU-Turkish relations. Thus, it provides a complex overview of the driving forces that come into play in EU-Turkish security relations. **It is not exclusively “EU-Turkey relations” course; as it strives to look at various directions of Turkish foreign policy (e.g. Turkey-US, Turkey-Russia, Turkey-NATO) and how they impact the general EU-Turkey interaction.**

The course aims to look at the domestic drivers shaping EU’s institutional and EU’s individual member-states’ attitudes towards Turkey from the security perspective and vice versa. Besides, it looks at how the external environment influences the strategic choices made by both parties in relation to each other. The following questions are to be addressed: Why EU membership has been traditionally regarded as a ‘survival’ strategy for Turkey? What makes Turkey Europe’s Other? What are the common grounds and divergences in Turkish and EU’s strategic cultures as international actors? Can Turkey be successful as a normative power or humanitarian actor in analogy to the EU?

Course Objectives

The course has the following objectives:

- to give a comprehensive overview of EU-Turkish relations from the security standpoint in their historical development;
- to analyze the main directions of Turkish foreign policy(e.g. Turkey-US, Turkey-Russia, Turkey-NATO);
- to show the challenges and opportunities that Turkish membership is posing to the EU;
- to uncover the driving forces behind the EU’s transformative effect on Turkish political and security sphere;
- to stimulate students to think critically and analytically.

Learning Objectives

Students are expected to obtain a specialized knowledge on the EU-Turkish relations providing them with a necessary background for analysis, further academic research or policy-making. Class discussions and research paper are to sharpen their independent analytical and discussion skills.

Course Format

The course is delivered through lectures and in-class discussions being based on permanent interaction between the instructor and students. Assigned readings should provide the reference point of analysis to be developed during the lecture.

Course Requirements and Assessment

Students are required to attend the classes regularly, be involved in class discussions, read the assignments before the class. Taking notes is particularly encouraged.

Presentation. The evaluation will be based on the quality of the presentation each student is expected to make till the end of the course. The topic should be chosen individually but approved by the instructor beforehand. The presentation entails the 10-minute speech on selected, most important issues to highlight the main arguments. It is essential to use primary sources (official documents, data etc), as well as scholarly analysis for backing the main arguments in the paper. The indication of sources used is absolutely essential.

50 % - Active participation

50 % - Essay/Presentation

Evaluation:

A – 85-100 %

B – 76-85 %

C – 67-76 %

D – 58-67 %

E – 50-58 %

Fx – < 50

COURSE STRUCTURE

Week 1, 2. Introduction to the Course

Seufert, Günter. Foreign Policy and Self-image. The Societal Basis of Strategy Shifts in Turkey
SWP Research Paper. September 2012.

Michális S. Michael (2008): Navigating through the Bosphorus: relocating Turkey's European/Western fault line, *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 20:1, 71-85.

Alexander Murinson (2006): The strategic depth doctrine of Turkish foreign policy, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 42:6, 945-964.

Baç, M. “Turkey’s Accession to the European Union: Institutional and Security Challenges”. *Perceptions*, no.3 (2004): 29-43.

Kirişçi, Kemal. "Turkey's Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times". Chaillot Papers. no. 92. (September 2006).

Keyman, E. F. "Turkish Foreign Policy in a Globalizing World". Turkish Policy Quarterly. (Spring 2009): 35-42.

Recommended

Davutoğlu, Ahmet. "Turkish Foreign Policy and the EU in 2010". Turkish Policy Quarterly, no. 3 (2009): 11-17.

Turan, Ilter. "Unstable Stability: Turkish Politics at Crossroads". International Affairs 83, no. 2 (March 2007): 319-338.

"The Case of Turkey in the EU". Sofia: Institute for Regional and International Studies, 2006. Available from: http://www.iris-bg.org/files/The%20Case%20of%20Turkey%20in%20the%20EU_eng.pdf.

Jung, D. and W. Piccoli. "Turkey at the Crossroads: Ottoman Legacies and a Greater Middle East. London : Zed Books (2001) (Chapter 1).

Tunander, O. "A New Ottoman Empire? The Choice for Turkey: Euro-Asian Center vs National Fortress". Security Dialogue 26, no. 4 (1995): 413-426.

WEEK 3. Turkey's Europeanization: The Debate and the Process

Catherine Macmillan (2010): Privileged Partnership, Open Ended Accession Negotiations and the Securitisation of Turkey's EU Accession Process, Journal of Contemporary European Studies, 18:4, 447-462.

Andrew Mango. Introduction: Atatürk and Kemalism throughout the Twentieth Century in Turkey's Engagement with Modernity, Edited by Celia J. Kerslake, Kerem Öktem and Philip Robins. Palgrave Macmillan 2010: 1-14.

Thomas Diez, Apostolos Agnantopoulos & Alper Kaliber (2005): File: Turkey, Europeanization and Civil Society: Introduction, South European Society and Politics, 10:1, 1-15.

Rumel Dahiya (2010): Changing Face of Turkey, Strategic Analysis, 35:1, 17-25.

Mustafa Aydın & Sinem A. Acikmese (2007): Europeanization through EU conditionality: understanding the new era in Turkish foreign policy, Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans Online, 9:3, 263-274.

Kivanç Ulusoy. The Changing Challenge of Europeanization to Politics and Governance in Turkey, International Political Science Review 2009 30: 363.

WEEK 4. European Union Membership as Turkey's Security Choice

Bilgin, Pinar. "The Securityness of Secularism". Security Dialogue 39.No. 6. (Summer 2008): 593-614.

Bozdağlıoğlu, Yucel. "Modernity, Identity and Turkey's Foreign Policy". Insight Turkey 10, no. 1. (2008): 55-75.

Ozel, Soli. "The Back and Forth of Turkey's "Westernness". GMF Analysis. (January 29, 2009).

Recommended

Robins, Philipp. "Turkish Foreign Policy since 2002: Between a "Post-Islamist" Government and a Kemalist State", International Affairs 83, no. 2. (March 2007): 289-304.

Güvenç, B. "Secular Trends and Turkish Identity". Perceptions.- December 1997-February 1998. - Vol. II. - No 4. - P. 46-72.

WEEK 5. The EU and Turkish Strategic Cultures Revisited: Common Grounds and Divergences

Gariup, M. "European Security Culture: Language, Theory, Policy". Farnham : Ashgate Publishing, 2009. Chapter 1).

"Turkey's Strategic Vision 2023. International Security". Available at <http://www.tsv2023.org/en/uluslararası-guvenlik.html>.

Narli, N. "Changes in the Turkish Security Culture and in the Civil-Military Relations" Western Balkans Security Observer, no.14. (July-September 2009): 56-83.

Recommended

"Defense White Paper 2000". Ankara: Turkish Ministry of National Defense, 2000.

Elekdağ, Şükrü. "2 ½ War Strategy", Perceptions, vol. 1, no.1 (March-May 1996): 33-57.

"European Parliament Resolution of 19 February 2009 on the European Security Strategy and ESDP (2008/2202(INI))". Official Journal of the European Union 53. (25 March 2010): 61-68.

WEEK 6. Turkey as Europe's Other

Tank, Pinar. "Turkey as a 'Special Case' for the EU" . Security Dialogue 32, no.2 (June 2001): 217-230.

Neumann, Iver and J. M. Welsh "The Turk" as Europe's Other" In Cultural Politics and Political Culture in Postmodern Europe, edited by J. P. Burgess. Amsterdam: Rodopi, (1997), 291-319.

Recommended

Kösebalaban, Hasan. "Torn Identities and Foreign Policies: The Case of Turkey and Japan". Insight Turkey 10, no.1 (2008): 5-30.

Kawalski, E. R. "Identity of Peace: Framing the European Security Identity of the EU" In European Identity: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Insights, edited by I. P. Karolewski, V. Kaina. Münster : LIT Verlag, (2006), 91-112.

Karaosmanoglu, A. L. "The Evolution of the National Security Culture and the Military in Turkey". Journal of International Affairs 54, no.1 (Fall 2000): 199-216.

Karpat, Kemal. H. "Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How to Be Modern Muslim, Ottoman, And Turk" In Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey, edited by K. H. Karpat. Leiden, Boston, Köln : Brill, (2000), 1-28.

Ebru Ş. Canan-Sokullu (2011): Turcoscepticism and Threat Perception: European Public and Elite Opinion on Turkey's Protracted EU Membership, South European Society and Politics, 16:3, 483-497.

H. Tarik Oguzlu. An Analysis of Turkey's Prospective Membership in the European Union from a 'Security' Perspective. Security Dialogue 2003 34: 285.

WEEK 7-8. Stumbling Blocks in EU-Turkish Cooperation: Nationalism and Minority Rights

Bilici, M. "Black Turks, White Turks: On the Three Requirements of Turkish Citizenship". Insight Turkey 11, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 23-35.

Oran, Baskin. "The Issue of Turkish and Türkiyeli". Exploring Turkishness: Rights, Identity and the EU Essay Series. The Foreign Policy Centre, January 2011. Available at : <http://baskinoran.com/makale/FPC-2010-1314.pdf>.

Kirişçi, Kemal and Gareth M. Winrow. The Kurdish Question and Turkey: An Example of a Trans-state Ethnic Conflict. London : Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., (1997).

Recommended

Kaliber, Alper and Nathalie Tocci. "Civil Society and the Transformation of Turkey's Kurdish Question". Security Dialogue 41, no.2. (April 2010): 191-215.

Altınay A. G. "Who is a (Good) Turk? : The Ideal Student in Textbooks" In International Symposium on Human Rights Education. İstanbul : Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, (2005), 88-95.

Neophytos G. Loizides (2010): State Ideology and the Kurds in Turkey, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 46:4, 513-527

Filiz Başkan (2010): Religious versus Secular Groups in the Age of Globalisation in Turkey, *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 11:2, 167-183.

Ziya Öniş & Şahnaz Yılmaz (2009): Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era, *Turkish Studies*, 10:1, 7-24.

Aysel Morin & Ronald Lee (2010): Constitutive Discourse of Turkish Nationalism: Atatürk's *Nutuk* and the Rhetorical Construction of the "Turkish People", *Communication Studies*, 61:5, 485-506.

Ayşe Gul Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation. Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*. Palgrave Macmillan 2004 (Chapter 1. The Myth of the Military-Nation 13-32).

WEEK 9. Turkey: EU's Honest Broker in the Middle East? Turkish-US Relations and Implications for the EU.

Sir David Logan (2009): Turkey and Its Middle Eastern Neighbours: Threat Or Opportunity for the European Union?, *Asian Affairs*, 40:1, 34-43.

Alessandri, E. and J. W. Walker "Turkey's Emergence as a Middle Eastern Stakeholder and What This Means for the West". GMF Analysis. (October 10, 2011). Available at http://www.gmfus.org/galleries/ct_publication_attachments/Alessandri_Walker_MEStakeholder_Oct_11.pdf.

Dede, A. Y. "The Arab Uprisings: Debating the "Turkish Model". *Insight Turkey* 13, no.2 (2011): 23-32.

Kirişçi, Kemal, Tocci Nathalie, Joshua Walker. "A Neighborhood Rediscovered: Turkey's Transatlantic Value in the Middle East". Brussels Forum Paper Series (March 2010).

Recommended

Henri J. Barkey (2008): The Effect of US Policy in the Middle East on EU-Turkey Relations, *The International Spectator*, 43:4, 31-44.

Fusun Türkmen (2010): Anti- Americanism as a Default Ideology of Opposition: Turkey as a Case Study, *Turkish Studies*, 11:3, 329-345.

Altunışık, M. B., Kirişçi K. and N. Tocci "Turkey: Reluctant Mediterranean Power". Mediterranean Paper Series of the GMF of the US. (February 2011). Available at http://www.gmfus.org/wp-content/files_mf/galleries/ct_publication_attachments/Tocci_Turkey_Feb11_final.pdf.

Kardas, Saban. "Turkey: Redrawing the Middle East Map or Building Sandcastles?" *Middle East Policy* 17, no. 1. (Spring 2010): 115-136.

WEEK 10. Turkish Policy in EU's Eastern Neighborhood. Turkey-Russia Relations: Any Place for the EU?

Morozov, Viatcheslav, and Rumelili, Bahar. "The external constitution of European identity: Russia and Turkey as Europe-makers". *Cooperation and Conflict* 47 (2012): 28-48.

Aydin, Mustafa. "Geographical blessing versus geopolitical curse: Great power security agendas for the Black Sea region and a Turkish alternative". *Journal for Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 9, no. 3 (2009): 271-286.

Tanrisever, Oktay, "Turkey and Russia in the Black Sea Region: Dynamics of Cooperation and Conflict," EDAM Discussion Paper 1, 2012.

Mustafa Aydın (2004): Foucault's Pendulum: Turkey in Central Asia and the Caucasus , Turkish Studies, 5:2, 1-22.

Mustafa Aydın (2009): Geographical blessing versus geopolitical curse: great power security agendas for the Black Sea region and a Turkish alternative, Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, 9:3, 271-285.

WEEK 11. Image of Europe through the contemporary Turkish literature.

This seminar intends to look at Europe through Turkish lenses: Europe as a civilizational model, source of admiration, distrust etc. Contemporary Turkish literature is a good source for analyzing what is the idea of Europe in Turkish collective conscience. Here each student is expected to make a presentation on the idea of Europe from the book of his/her choice he/she is expected to read during the semester. The list includes Orhan Pamuk “My name is Red”, Orhan Pamuk “Istanbul”, Elif Shafak “The bastard of Istanbul”, Elif Shafak “The architect’s apprentice” etc.

Week 12. Summing up