

# Does the Central Asia Really Matter for Turkish Foreign Policy?

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## Abstract

Due to Turkey's geopolitical location its role remains to be a regional key country for international relations. It could be argued that a new Turkish foreign policy has emerged in the last ten years and played a crucial role for the regions that Turkey has historical and cultural ties with. In the last two decades Central Asia has emerged as an area of growing strategic importance for Turkish foreign policy. The collapse of the Soviet Union created new opportunities and new challenges for Turkish policy. Immediately upon their independence in the early 1990s Turkey was among the first countries to recognize the Central Asian Turkic republics. The emergence of these states, as they are commonly called the "Turkic Republics", precipitated an outbreak of excitement in almost all political wings in Turkey. A Turkish world from the Adriatic to the Chinese Wall became a new topic of discussion in Turkish policy circles and the media. So much that, the discussion of 21 century will be the century of Turks has spreaded around the Central Asian Republics. This study thus attempts to shed light on this new foreign policy and addresses some key questions about it. We will try to understand and explain the fundamental nature of recent Turkish foreign policy, and how and why Turkish foreign policy has been changing. We also discuss whether or not Central Asian Turkic republics matter or not for Turkey and put forward the AKP's official foreign policy objectives regarding these republics. We argue that Turkey's new foreign policy choices and preferences reflect, to a great extent, the visions of the new Turkish political elite in Turkey.

**Key Words:** Turkic Republics, Turkic Council, Strategic Importance, Geopolitical Significance, Turkish Foreign Policy.

## Introduction

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Foreign policy of a state is a complex combination of tangible (geopolitical situation, geography, natural sources, population, financial position, technology, etc) and intangible factors (the social structure of the country, religion, personal characteristics of policy makers, etc). States also determine their foreign policy objectives in accordance with both internal factors and what is happening in their periphery and the worldwide. Turkish foreign policy has generally two main characteristics since the establishment of Turkish Republic that the first one is to follow the status quo and second is to pursue westernization (Oran, 2001:46-53). The first is defined as to maintain the existing boundaries and current situation, whereas the second is about conceiving economy, science and civilization of the West. Especially after the end of the Cold War and 9/11 terrorist attack in US, Turkey had the opportunity to expand the horizons of Turkish foreign policy by rediscovering the multi dimensionality in her foreign policy. Turkey has also had the chance to move from the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus to Europe, Eurasia and particularly Central Asia (Erşanlı, 1998:225).

Following the end of the Cold War Turkish foreign policy stance towards Central Asian Turkic republics was generally considered as a failure as Turkey was caught by surprise by the collapse of the Soviet Union and had been unable for a long period to reorient its policies to meet the needs of both herself and the new world in the absence of the Soviet Union. Turkey did not become the leader of these republics as it sought to be at first, nor these republics pursue the Turkish model of economic and political developments as the western world had assumed. Being perceived as a big brother by these countries, having pan-Turkish aspirations and distraction by the EU accession issues at that time could be the lessons of such failure. However, under the leadership of Ahmet Davutoğlu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Turkey's relations with the Turkic republics has entered into new era specifically given his pursuit of more active foreign policy agenda in its neighborhood.

Turkey was among the first countries to recognize the Central Asian republics immediately upon their independence in the early 1990s. The emergence of sister states, sometimes called the "Turkic republics" including Azerbaijan, precipitated an outbreak of excitement in almost all political wings in Turkey. "A Turkish world from the Adriatic to the Chinese Wall became a new topic of discussion in Turkish policy circles and the media" (Aras, 2008:1). In the last two decades, Central Asia and the Caucasia have emerged as an area of growing strategic importance for Turkey. Ankara's engagement in these regions represents an important departure in Turkish foreign policy.

The collapse of the Soviet Union created new opportunities and brought new challenges for Turkish policy, as Larrabee (2001:103) states that, this demolition opened up new doors as called “Turkic world”. As Larrabee continues to point out that being engaged in Eurasia has also involved both intense relations with Russia and a dramatic improvement in the economic field. Russia is today Turkey’s largest trading partner and supplies nearly two-thirds of its natural gas, as Turkey is emerging as a key transit route for Caspian oil and gas. Ankara’s goal in this regard is to become the main transit hub between the oil and gas producing regions and European markets. If this strategy succeeds, Turkey could become a critical cog in a Southern energy corridor linking the Caspian region and Europe (www.todayszaman.com, 2011).

For the AKP, Central Asia and Eurasian geopolitics are strategically significant. According to Davutoğlu (www.hurriyetdailynews.com, 2013), “the first principle is to help these countries strengthen their independence and the second one is to complete the process of institutionalization of the relations between Central Asian countries”. Therefore, the AKP desires to improve Turkey’s existing relations with the regional states and strongly supports inter-regional projects, such as the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum natural gas pipeline, Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway and the Nabucco pipeline. For that reason, Turkish officials have paid various official visits to the regional states (Efegil, 2008:1).

In 2002, the AKP government decided to pursue a more active foreign policy toward the region within the framework of its new strategic depth understanding. The AKP views Eurasia as a geopolitical area, directly affecting the post-Cold War international system, and describes the Caspian Sea Basin as the touchstone of Eurasia. Meanwhile, Turkey and Azerbaijan have formed the backbone of Eurasian geopolitics (Aras, 2007). For the Turkish government, the region is strategically important because of its vast energy resources and for the security of energy supply to the world market (Ayata, 2010:649). By using its geopolitical advantage, located at the center of East–West, North–South and South–North energy corridors, Turkey desires to become an important energy transit country, energy terminal and the fourth energy source of the European Union, after the North Sea, Russia and the Middle East.

From this perspective, the AKP’s official foreign policy objectives regarding Central Asian Turkic republics can be summarized as follows (Efegil, 2008:1):

- Developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the fields of energy, economy, commerce, culture, society and politics.

- Assisting them to find a peaceful solution to the frozen regional conflicts.
- Serving as an energy terminal.
- Providing assistance to the regional states in their nation and state building processes.
- Helping them develop and maintain close relations with the other countries.
- Strengthening the independence of the Turkic speaking states (Namedli, 2013).
- Establishing western principles and standards of statehood in the region (Namedli, 2013).

As mentioned earlier, Turkey has advocated the completion of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline, Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum natural gas pipeline and Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway Project, (Yalçınkaya, 1198:249) and invested significant energy for the realization of the construction of Nabucco ([www.nabucco-pipeline.com](http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com), 2013) and South Europe Gas Ring projects. In line with these energy projects, the Hopa seaport has been repaired. Turkey has also made serious efforts to establish a Turkish- Kazakh Commercial Council, Turkish-Azerbaijan Mixed Economic Commission and Intergovernmental Economic Commission between Turkey and Turkmenistan (Efegil, 2008:4). These are tangible developments thinking that transforming the economy, implementing the production of goods and services and meeting the workforce requirements were challenging impediments and taking into account that there was virtually, as Akiner (2011:1-21) stated no direct links with the world beyond the Soviet borders and thus all foreign relations were handled through Moscow. In order to overcome this problem, President Gül and Prime Minister Erdoğan paid official visits to Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan in 2007. They proposed a most favored nation trade agreement with Azerbaijan, suggested that Kazakhstan pump Kazakh oil to the Baku-Ceyhan oil pipeline and signed several agreements with Turkmenistan on the subjects of economic cooperation, education, science, youth, sports, family, women and children ([www.zaman.com.tr](http://www.zaman.com.tr), 2007).

Turkey has to change its perspective toward the region and Turkish officials have to accept that these regional countries are equal partners, and that close relations with the regional states are based on their mutual interests. They have to refrain from sentiments such as those in the following sentences in their speeches: “This project will change history. It will radically reshape the regional economy. It will create a common economic area (Efegil, 2008:4).” These sentences reflect to a great extent the romanticism of Turkish foreign policy. The Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum natural gas pipeline or the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway will naturally encourage the regional states to improve mutual economic and commercial relations amongst themselves.

This is a natural process. But it does not mean that it will change a historical process. For example, the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline has not changed Eurasian geopolitics or the structure of the international system. Russia and China still, in spite of the US and Turkey's attempts, have a considerable influence upon the regional states. Turkey has to accept that Azerbaijan, the Central Asian republics and Turkey are equal partners and that relations among them are based on mutual interests. Historical ties can only help them to have close relations, and no more. Historical ties cannot control all of Turkey's relations with other countries or vice versa. With this perspective, the AKP has to improve its perceptions about the region according to the actual regional conditions (Efegil, 2008:5).

They should not make speeches that aim at solving fundamental problems of the regional states, which are much bigger issues than Turkey, which lacks enough capability to solve them alone, can tackle. Turkish policymakers have begun to see the regions, once perceived as centers of chaos and instability, as new areas of opportunity (Aras, 2008:2).

### **New Era in Turkish Foreign Policy?**

Within the context of this new strategy, the Central Asian region and the Caspian Basin stand out as a potential sphere of influence, in which Turkey seeks an active role. In a sense, Central Asia expanded the borders of the Middle East northward, introducing a new sense of depth for southern Asia, and connected the peoples of both West Asia and East Asia to the Eurasian region. Turkey's policy toward Central Asia reflects the new characteristics of a foreign policy line. Turkey pays serious attention to preserving good neighborhood policies with Iran and Russia, while attempting to prevent their policies that may harm the peace and stability in the region. Turkey's other priority in its Central Asian policy is to make sure that these new states acquire the necessary abilities to establish stability and security at home. In this way, they may develop the capability of effectively coping with regional and domestic problems. In this regard, the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA) have played a crucial role. Turkey has provided funds to Central Asian countries since their independence. The funds are comparable to those allocated by European countries. TIKA's role has changed under the premise of a new foreign policy vision. TIKA's diverse activities in various fields and substantial development aid are important in terms of demonstrating Turkey's vision of sharing its gains with relative states and communities (Aras, 2008: 3-4).

Businessmen and civil society organizations are seen as essential for Turkey's commitment to the stability and welfare of the region. These connections have helped Turkey to gain self-confidence to develop a more durable and constructive policy toward Central Asia. Turkish policy makers see this new policy line in a wider framework, that of following balanced relations with regional countries like Russia, Iran, Pakistan, India and China. The collapse of the Soviet Union removed the old Soviet threat, while at the same time creating a power vacuum on Turkey's borders (Davutoğlu, 2011:125). In this environment, Turkey became an important actor in the region as a result of its strong historical connections. While Turkey had traditionally avoided involvement in regional politics, it has since been drawn into the volatile new politics of the region.

Turkey is a connection point as well as a bridge located at the centre of Eurasia which is one of the world's three most productive regions in terms of oil and gas. Brzezinski (1997:31) thus points out that "Eurasia is the chessboard on which the struggle for global primacy continues to be played". Turkey as a 'geopolitical pivot' must keep playing an active role in this region by providing emergency assistance, conceding a number of bilateral agreements, covering trade, people to people exchange programs together with business cooperation, education, communication and public administration (Bal,2000). Turkey must be taken into consideration by the Turkic republics in order to diversify oil and gas transit routes, provide the security of the significant pipelines and pacify the ethnic confrontations in the region. Turkey's proximity to the region, the historical and cultural ties, the linguistic advantages and sharing the same motto (peace at home peace in the world) will always help the Turkic republics build mutual trust. To claim further, if Turkey and the Turkic republics act together as one in all spheres they may even constitute a major financial and political force, taking into consideration of their population of more than 120 million, Turkic republics including Turkey can make use of the advantages posed by their lying in a significant productive area and by their sharing the same religious, language and cultural heritage (www.economics inislam.net, 2013).

### **Why Matters?**

This region plays an important role as the main transit route between Europe and China. Caspian Sea provides diversification of Turkey's energy import for domestic consumption and it might make Turkey as a substantial transit hub in Eurasia with Nabucco and TANAP. According to Balcer (2012:152), this region is a key arena of competition and constitutes Russia's underbelly,

Iran's backyard and gate to Afghanistan where Turkey seeks military and economic engagement together with regional and global security. Turkey is accompanied by the Turkic republics within the framework of NATO's Partnership for Peace as Kazakh and Kirghiz officers have participated in training exercises so far. Another importance of the region for Turkey is the similarity of culture and identity that it accommodates millions of Muslims and Turkic people. Turkey as a country is regarded as the main promoter of the idea of collaboration, science and education between Turkic states and peoples.

In a sense, these republics are a kind of laboratory to discern many different tastes, and safeguard cultural, ethnic and religious diversity. Today, they are being monitored by other countries including Turkey for their economic modernization and attempt to be open to foreign countries in order to attract foreign capital investments in their studies such as construction, telecommunication and infrastructure and energy sector being in the first place. In addition to that, Turkish investors have put huge amounts of investments in the region that Turkey in a way should pursue a long-term politics towards the region. The transportation to the region is not at the required level, the information about Turkic republics are generally obtained from English or Russian resources and the fail in the development of satellite and other publishing politics affect Turkish investors ([www.usak.org.tr](http://www.usak.org.tr), 2007).

Relations with the Caucasia and the Turkic republics are quite important for Turkish foreign policy. This is not just the implementation of a nationalist, Turanian, or a racist ideology, is also one of the foremost tools for reaching the two objectives of the Turkish foreign policy; first is to be a regional leader, second is to become a full member of the European Union. That is to say: the EU, which was then called the European Community or the Common Market, signed the Ankara Agreement with Turkey on 12 September 1963 and Turkey became the associate member accordingly. This agreement envisaged three periods for Turkey's full EU membership: a) Preparatory Period, b) Transition Period, c) Final Period. The Additional Protocol, which was signed on 13 November 1971, allowed the transition from preparatory period to transition period, and the Customs Union Agreement on 31 December 1995 allowed the passage from transition period to final period.

Turkey had declared that making foreign trade, customs taxes, decreasing or, if possible, eliminating taxes, and implementing a common external tariff trade as a process of liberalization with Iran - Pakistan - Bangladesh - Azerbaijan - Turkmenistan - Uzbekistan - Kazakhstan - Kyrgyzstan - Tajikistan and Afghanistan would make no harm to the Customs

Union with the EU. In other words, what the EU was expecting from Turkey was to be able to export duty-free/quota-free industrial goods with lower taxes to the Central Asian countries and import cheap natural gas and oil sources and other raw materials from Central Asian countries through Turkey.

Furthermore, what we assume is that with the establishment of a new, what we call, Collective Security Organization which replaces the Baghdad Pact – CENTO, the security gap of the West (USA, EU) may be filled and the safety zone will be re-established by repairing the broken chains set by the Containment Policy of the USA and the EU. Collective Security Organization will be committed the nations to mutual cooperation and protection of the Central Asian countries including Azerbaijan.

Ultimately, effective and efficient use of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), located in Istanbul, will settle the continuous economic commitment of the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasia to Turkey. It will also resolve the EU's "Energy Security" problem and will make it possible for the EU to easily enter new markets. Thus, the EU will be forced to accept Turkey's EU membership and Turkey will become the leader country in the Balkans, the Black Sea basin, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East and the Caucasus Region.

## **Turkic Council**

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union the world political map got bigger as the Central Asian Turkic republics obtained their independence and they immediately began to investigate the ways to enhance further development with the world outside. The most acceptable way to build a democratic and a secular state seemed to show interests in establishing ties with Turkish government. When these republics emerged as separate political structures, Turkey had the

chance to expand political, economic and social ties with these countries (www.turkishweekly.net, 2011). During the Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel's visit to the region in May 1992, he suggested holding a summit of the leaders of the Turkic republics including Azerbaijani leader. However, the first meeting was held in Ankara in October 1992 hosted by the President Turgut Özal with the participation of the leaders of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. President Özal noted that (Mamedli, 2013),

“This is the first meeting of the leaders of the Turkic republics and it is of great significance. We will focus mainly on developing economic relations among our countries. And it stands to reason that we will also deal with organizational issues. This kind of meeting should be held every year. Our peoples are united by the same religion, language, origin and culture. By joining hands, we should use these factors to raise the prosperity of our peoples.”

The declaration signed at the end of the summit and the idea of getting together was translated into reality as a result. Despite the striving of Turgut Özal's organizational efforts, the summits were not held on a regular basis. As of today, a total of ten summits have been held since 1992: 1992 in Ankara, 1994 in Istanbul, 1995 in Bishkek, 1996 in Tashkent, 1998 in Astana, 2000 in Baku, 2001 in Istanbul, 2006 in Antalya, 2009 in Nakhchivan, and 2010 in Istanbul. It can be argued that Russia played an important role in hindering any success that would come from these summits as the Turkic republics were still being ranked as Moscow's backyard. In addition to this, as Lale Kemal puts forward that “Turkey also had a limited ability to develop sophisticated national strategies in response to emerging new situations” (www.todayszaman.com, 2009).

However, the Nakhchivan summit held in 2009 was a historic summit as it was instrumental in establishing the Turkic-speaking Countries Cooperation Council, in short “Turkic Council”, a new international organization. The Turkic Council, which aims to institutionalize cooperation and solidarity between Turkic countries, was approved and ratified by the leaders of the republics. Furthermore, during the summit the secretariat and subunits of the council were set up, and the Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic-speaking countries (TÜRKPAA) has been placed under the jurisdiction of the Turkic Council. Another organization that has been transferred to the Turkic Council is the Joint Administration of Turkic Culture and Arts or International Organization of Turkic Culture (TÜRKSÖY), which has been organizing cultural activities in the Turkic world since 1993. Also institutions like Turkic academy in Kazakhstan, the General

Secretariat of the Turkic Council in İstanbul, and the headquarters of TURKPA in Baku were agreed to open during this summit ([www.todayszaman.com](http://www.todayszaman.com), 2009).

According to Mamedli (2013), these summits bear great significance both for Turkic-speaking republics and Turkey in terms of their contribution to building spiritual bridges in the Turkic world. These summits also formed universal consciousness and solidarity among all the Turkic peoples. However, as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu elucidates that there is a lack of institutionalization and as we observe that in order to ease the problem of institutionalization, the leaders of these republics including Turkey should put forward new tangible strategies and vision and participate in meetings at presidential level. They better stop repeating the same expressions for another ten years. Another way of solving this problem is to implement the bilateral and multilateral agreements that have already been signed by the leaders of these countries.

Bear that in mind, in terms of overcoming the lack of institutionalization, a Permanent Secretariat of the summits, Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic Speaking Countries (TURPA), Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States, and Council of Elders (Aksakallar) have been formed ([www.turkkon.org](http://www.turkkon.org), 2013). Lately, the establishment of Yunus Emre Institute, TRT Avaz and the Presidency of Turks Abroad and related Communities are a sign of institutionalization of relations. Turkish foreign policy makers have slightly become aware that these countries have different and distinctive properties; therefore they deserve more attention as they hold excessively natural resources and maintain overly foreign direct investment alternatives. As Martha Brill Olcott (2010:3) points out that not only Turkish officials and businessman are interested but also “western businessmen and politicians have already been interested in the fate of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan, where the bulk of Caspian reserves are found”. To make the argument stronger, the Turkic republics play important role as they are potential sources of diversification of gas supplies from the Caspian Sea and according to Balcer (2014:4), this substantial significance could enable Turkey to become an energy hub in Eurasia.

Turkish republic, as the first country to recognize the independency of Turkic countries, established diplomatic ties and put its embassies into operation in the capitals of these countries. In other words, Turkish officials played a door opening role and Turkish businessmen made use of the opportunity to invest in the region. Today Turkey is almost the most important trade

partner of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan as Turkish investors have taken projects worth 2.5 billion dollars in Kazakhstan, 4.6 billion dollars in Azerbaijan, and 20 billion dollars in Turkmenistan. Turkish companies have contributed to the employment of these countries by hiring thousands of local employees. For instance, % 22.7 percent employment in Kazakhstan has been provided by Turkish companies (Durmuş & Yılmaz, 2012:483-586).

It can be argued that the existence of Turkish foreign policy in these republics has been achieved partly by the attempts of Turkish investors as Turkish investments have given directions to the relations between Turkey and the Turkic republics. With regards to politics, the stronger steps Ankara takes the more important and attractive it will be as an ally for these republics. Regardless of what is happening in Turkey's periphery Turkish officials should not allow anything to overshadow other vectors and issues related to Central Asia. Especially a fashionable debate embraced lately by the Turkish officials called "precious loneliness" should not be remembered at all when it comes to the relations with these republics.

## **Conclusion**

With the demise of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, Turkey launched a campaign to establish strong and good ties with Central Asian Turkic Republics. Turkish foreign policy undertook a diplomatic function of building trust between the western political, economic and military organizations and the Turkic republics as it may be argued that without Turkish intermediation these republics could not make their voice heard in OECD, IMF, the Council of Europe, EU and NATO. These republics feel obligated to take Turkey as a way of solving their

problem of isolation from international organizations, regional and cooperation efforts (Çaman & Akyurt, 2011:47).

Turkey should never miss the chance to become one of the most important crossroads in the frenzy flow of energy in the Eurasia as can be stated that countries are using their control of energy as a political coercion and influence over the other countries as Russia constitute the primary example of this. Turkey's position in Central Asia will depend, to a certain degree, on its ability to condense economic and political relations with the Turkic republics. Close relations, historical ties and approximation with these republics could be of great benefit to Ankara in counterbalancing Moscow.

As a whole, Central Asia should never drop from Ankara's foreign policy agenda. The stance of Turkish foreign policy for the Central Asian Turkic republics should be praised for its relative successes as much as it should be criticized for its failure. Turkey should never forget that there are other actors who have active roles in the region but values such as sustaining cooperation, moderate and realistic goals should be aimed. Turkey should use its significant importance as transporting Central Asian energy sources to the European market. Gradually over the years, Turkey has understood the significance of the means of Russia to the Turkic republics and has set good relations and cooperation with it. Turkey has drawn a realistic framework in order to sustain peace and stability in the region and developed economic, cultural and strong political (except Uzbekistan) ties to act as a soft power. We assume that Turkey should urgently put a new road map to normalize the relations with Uzbekistan as it is the second most populous Turkic country and has the second largest economic potential after Kazakhstan.

However, we presume that Turkey, regardless of the recent significant increase of its exertion, remains a second-rank player in Central Asia compared to other major actors. What we have observed with this study is that Turkish engagement for this region is sometimes regarded as rather cautious but sometimes reactive. The Turkish stance prefers a step-by-step approach and unassertive agenda when it comes to comprehensive modernization, democratization and energy transportation. Whether Turkey will be able to appreciate her potential to further enhance relations with the Turkic republics will depend on how Turkish official cope with several internal challenges. Turkey is not challenging herself enough for the Turkic republics due to her internal instability, too reliant of Turkish economy on hot money, the PKK issue, uprising in the countries that are in Turkey's periphery and the occupation of Turkish foreign policy with Egypt and Syria. The relations with Turkic Council in this regard should be kept at

high level and Turkey has this chance to expand political, economic and social ties with these republics. Turkish foreign policy should pay attention to the Turkic Council as it is a great asset to the strengthening of interstate integration in different fields.

With that in mind, the Russian influence on the republics should not be underestimated and Russia should be integrated into the cultural and education policies that Turkey is experiencing with the Turkic republics. For instance, the Mevlana Exchange Programme<sup>3</sup> seeks to set students-lecturers exchange between Turkey and other countries must be explained to Russian officials well enough. By means of this policy, cultural prejudices will be minimized, reciprocal understanding will be maximized and common awareness will be created amongst all students. The financial scope of Mevlana programme must be expanded to not only state universities but also private ones as this program is not reimbursing the expanses of students in private universities. Turkish Institution of Higher Education (YÖK) should extend the students quota for the Turkic republics to get more students from them.

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<sup>3</sup> Mevlana Exchange Programme is a programme which aims the exchange of students and academic staff between the Turkish higher education institutions and higher education institutions of other countries. With the regulation published in August 23, 2011, students and academic staff exchange between Turkish higher education institutions and higher education institutions of other countries has been possible. For more information see <https://mevlana.yok.gov.tr/?page=anasayfa&dil=en> Accessed Date, 08.08.2013.

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