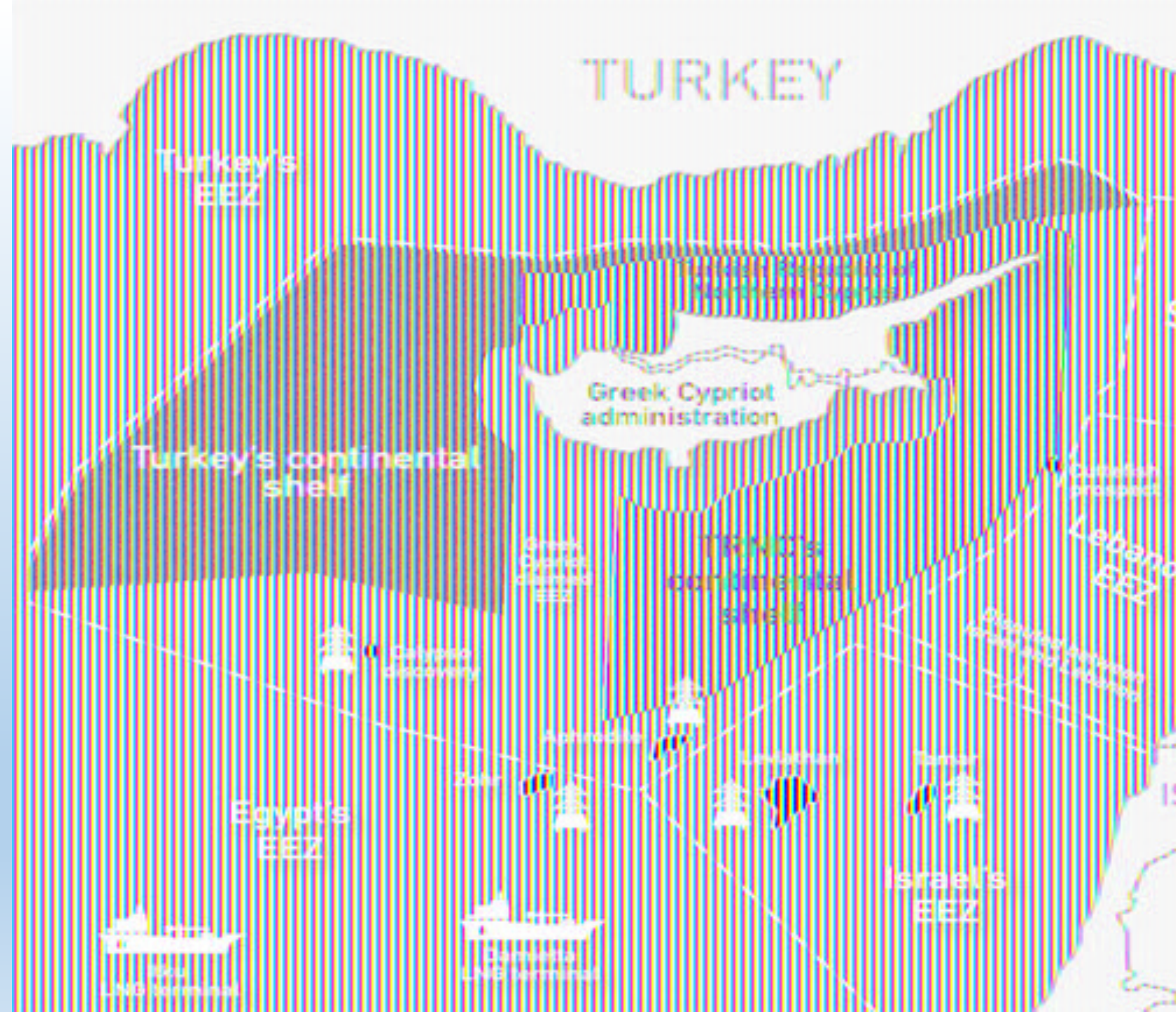


# Erdogan's Turkey 2002-?





# Turkey: Between East and West ?

- "East or West ": between Asia, the Middle East and the “West”

- **The Young Turks - Enver Pasha**

- **Turkish Nationalism: Pan Turanism**

(According to Turanism, all the Turkish peoples: from the Uzbek and the Crimea to the Balkans are interconnected)

## End of World War I:

- Treaty of Sèvres, Treaty of Lausanne, Treaty of Versailles
- War of Independence - "The West Will Divide Turkey"



# Turkey - Turkish Nationalism: The Limits of "National Consent"

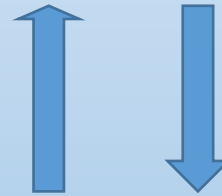




# Kamalism - Erdoganism: Continuity or Breakage?



- Principle of the Republic
- Principle of Nationalism / Islamic Nationalist Islam - Pan Turan
- Populism
- Revolutionary
- Secularism
- Atheism (state-controlled economics)



/ Islam

•Reforms

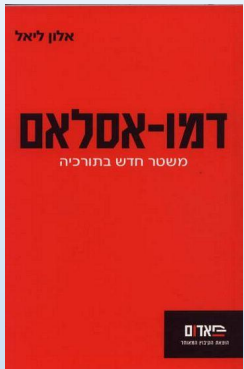


# מאתא תורכ לארדואן/ חזרת האיסלאם

- **מנדרס** - The Rise of Islam & 1960 Coups: Islam is **נוכח נפקד**
- 1976 – 1980 – The War of Right on the Left - Chaos, Economic Crisis, Coups
- Revolution of 1980 - Secularism, Army and What's in Between.
  - **Turgut Ozal ("I am a Muslim - The State is Secular"):**
    - Economic turnover: 19% growth in 1981
    - The 1990s. Gulf War: The Kurdish Uprising & the Economic Crisis
    - 1996: Welfare, Justice and Development: Erbakan and Political Islam
- 1997: "The White Revolution"
- 2002 - Elections: IT IS THE ECONOMY

# Rise of Erdogan: Reforms - The West and the Weakening of the Army

- 2002 - 2007 The Great Reformer
  - Demo Islam
  - Economic Reform
- “Housing and Construction”: Economic Development and Growth
  - Economics, Higher Education, Infrastructure
- 2007 - 2013 Weakening of the Army, Erdogan and Fethullah Gülen



# 2013-2019: The Beginning of the End?

- 2013 GEZI PARK Riot. ("The street against the regime")
- 2014 - Islamic coup d'état? "Gulen against Erdogan and his government"
- 2016 pro-Gulenist coup in the army "Gulen against Erdogan and his family"
- 2017 regime change and transition to authoritarian presidential regime
- 2019 **Erdogan loses control of Ankara, Istanbul and major cities**



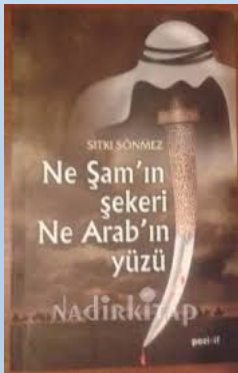


# Turkish Attribution Threats

- Kurdish separatism
- Russia - Problematic History vs. Present Saturated with Interests.
- Iran - "Tight Tango Dance" and 400 Years of Peace.

# Turkey - Foreign Relations: From "zero problems with neighbors" to problems with all neighbors

- 2003 "Strategic Depth": The Middle East and the Balkans - Neo-Ottoman "Hung Over Imperial"
- From "Don't Taste of Damascus Sweets, lest I have to see the Arab's face" to - "Damascus, the gateway to the Middle East" and back ...: Assad is in love with the enemy.
- The Arab Spring - "Broken Dreams" ("New 'o'na Middle East")
- Loneliness: "Turkish's best friend is - Turkish."



# **“Spill Your Internal Problems Outside”**

## **“The Angry Man on the Bosphorus”:**

- Erdogan - Greece: "Lausanne agreements robbed from Turkey islands in the Aegean"
- Erdogan - USA: "We Will Recognize the Native American Holocaust"
- Erdogan - Europe: "We will only be accepted to the EU if we convert"
- The West - Turkey: "Problematic ally"
- Erdogan - Egypt, Saudi Arabia - Islamic Rift: Moderate Sunni - Sunni  
'o"nλ
- And:  
Erdogan - Israel



# "Tell me who your friends are and I will tell you who you are"

- **Erdogan - Hamas**



Erdogan's military adviser:

Turkey must help the Palestinians establish an army that can fight in Israel

Erdogan - Qatar: Turkey has established a military base in Qatar

- Erdogan - Libya (Sarraje): Gas. Turkey is examining the establishment of a military base in Libya
- Erdogan - Bashir (Sudan)

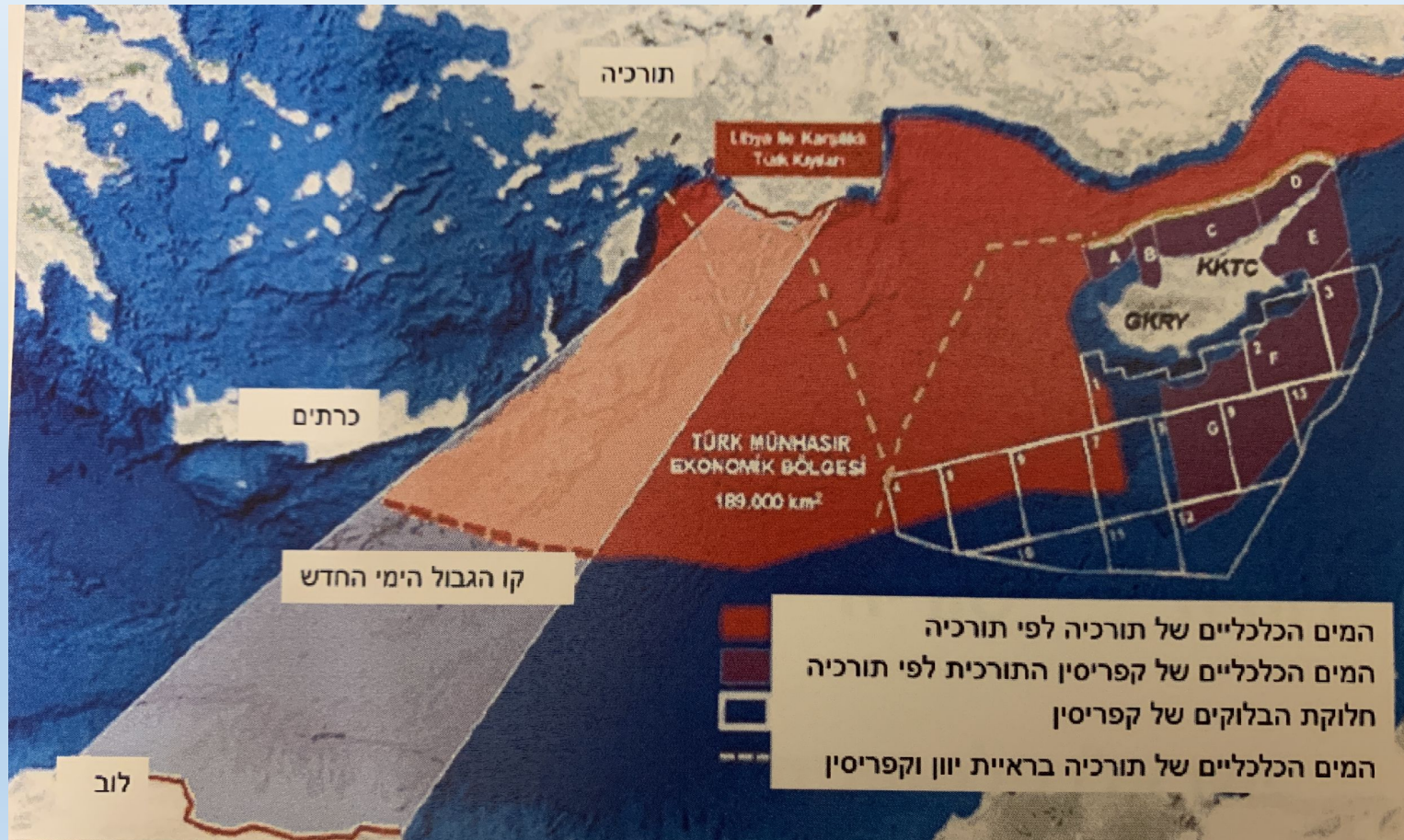
# Turkey - Israel "or" with such friends, who needs enemies "...

- 1952 - "As far as Turkey is concerned, the army marches forward" (M. Sharett in his diary)
- The 1958 Peripheral Alliance
- "Honeymoon" in the 90's
- 2005 - The withdrawal from Gaza:
- 2006 - Second Lebanon War
- 2008 - "Cast Lead"
- 2010 - "The Marmara"
- FRENEMIES- 2016 Interests / Gas
- 2018 - "LEAVE FOR A WHILE"
- Ideological consideration is mounting





# Mediterranean Gas: More To Come





# What's Next?

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## Q & A