

12 HAZİRAN 2011 TÜRKİYE GENEL SEÇİMLERİNİN ORTADOĞU ÜLKELERİNDEKİ YANSIMALARI

REFLECTIONS OF 12 JUNE 2011
TURKEY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
IN THE MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES

أصداء الانتخابات النيابية التركية
الجارية في ١٢ حزيران/ يونيو ٢٠١١
لدى بلدان الشرق الأوسط

ORTADOĞU STRATEJİK ARAŞTIRMALAR MERKEZİ
CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STRATEGIC STUDIES
مركز الشرق الأوسط للدراسات الاستراتيجية



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ORTADOĐU STRATEJİK ARAŐTIRMALAR MERKEZİ

Tarihçe

Türkiye’de eksikliği hissedilmeye başlayan Ortadođu araŐtırmaları konusunda kamuoyunun ve dıŐ politika çevrelerinin ihtiyaçlarına yanıt verebilmek amacıyla, 1 Ocak 2009 tarihinde Ortadođu Stratejik AraŐtırmalar Merkezi (ORSAM) kurulmuŐtur. Kısa sürede yapılanan kurum, çalışmalarını Ortadođu özelinde yoğunlaŐtırmıŐtır.

Ortadođu’ya BakıŐ

Ortadođu’nun iç içe geçmiŐ birçok sorunu barındırdığı bir gerçektir. Ancak, ne Ortadođu ne de halkları, olumsuzluklarla özdeşleştirilmiş bir imaja mahkum edilmemelidir. Ortadođu ülkeleri, halklarından aldıkları güçle ve iç dinamiklerini seferber ederek barıŐçıl bir kalkınma seferberliği başlatacak potansiyele sahiptir. Bölge halklarının bir arada yaşama iradesine, devletlerin egemenlik halklarına, bireylerin temel hak ve hürriyetlerine saygı, gerek ülkeler arasında gerek ulusal ölçekte kalıcı barıŐın ve huzurun temin edilmesinin ön şartıdır. Ortadođu’daki sorunların kavranmasında adil ve gerçekçi çözümler üzerinde durulması, uzlaŐmacı inisiyatifleri cesaretlendirecektir. Sözkonusu çerçevede, Türkiye, yakın çevresinde bölgesel istikrar ve refahın kök salması için yapıcı katkılarını sürdürmelidir. CepheleŐen eksenlere dâhil olmadan, taraflar arasında diyalogun tesisini kolaylaŐtırmaya devam etmesi, tutarlı ve uzlaŐtırıcı politikalarıyla sağladığı uluslararası desteği en etkili biçimde deđerlendirebilmesi bölge devletlerinin ve halklarının ortak menfaatidir.

Bir Düşünce Kuruluşu Olarak ORSAM’ın Çalışmaları

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TAKDİM

12 Haziran 2011 tarihinde yapılan Genel Seçimler sadece Türkiye’de değil aynı zamanda Türkiye’nin son on yılda iyi ilişkiler tesis ettiği Ortadoğu’da da gündemin en önemli konuları arasında yer etmiştir. Türkiye’nin 2011 başından beri Ortadoğu’da yaşanan ayaklanmaların çalkaladığı gündemde önemli bir aktör olarak izlediği politikalar gerek bölge içi gerekse de bölge dışı diğer devletler tarafından yakından takip edilmektedir. Böyle bir ortamda, Türkiye’de siyasi şekillenmeyi belirleyecek olan genel seçimler bölgesel politikaları da gayet yakından ilgilendirir hale gelmiştir.

Ortadoğu kaynaklı birçok yayın organı Türkiye’de seçim sürecini ve sonuçlarını yakından takip etmiş ve okurlara aktarmıştır. Aynı derecede önem taşıyan bir başka husus ise seçim sonuçlarının Ortadoğu’da nasıl yorumlandığı hususudur. Bilindiği üzere Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, seçim akşamında ‘Türkiye’nin Batı’da Ortadoğu’nun sesi olacağı ve bu zaferin Lübnanlı, Suriyeli ve Filistinlilerin de zaferi olduğu’ yönünde bir açıklama yapmıştır. Bu açıklamanın Ortadoğu’da nasıl bir yankı uyandırdığını, nasıl tepkiler aldığını ve ne şekilde değerlendirildiğini tespit etmek ise Ortadoğu kaynaklı medya organlarının takibiyle mümkün olacaktır. Bu tepkilerin ve yansımaların değerlendirilmesi önümüzdeki dönemde Türkiye’nin Ortadoğu politikalarının şekillenmesinde ve yönetilmesinde önemli bir faktör olabilir.

İşte bu sebeple, ORSAM olarak, 12 Haziran seçimlerinin sonrasında internet üzerinde Ortadoğu medyasını taramak suretiyle, Türkiye’deki seçimlere dair değerlendirmelerin, köşe yazılarının, başyazıların ve yorumların bir dökümünü yapma girişiminde bulduk. Elinizdeki rapor bu değerlendirme ve yorumların dökümünü ve kısa bir özetini sunmaktadır.

Son gelişmeler ışığında Ortadoğu’da Türkiye’nin nasıl algılandığına yönelik bir fikir vereceğini düşündüğümüz bu çalışma Türkiye’de Ortadoğu’yu anlama ve anlamlandırma çabalarına da önemli bir katkı sunacaktır.

Saygılarımızla.

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12 HAZİRAN 2011 TÜRKİYE GENEL SEÇİMLERİNİN ORTADOĞU ÜLKELERİNDEKİ YANSIMALARI

Giriş ve Değerlendirme

Irak basınında Türkiye 2011 genel seçimlerinin yansımalarına bakıldığında Kürt basınının daha ilgili olduğu görülmektedir. Peyamner, Rudaw ve Ak news'te yer alan köşe yazıları, blok halinde seçimlere giren BDP'ye ağırlık verdikleri ve yeni anayasa tartışmalarına değindikleri görülmektedir. Seçim sonrası parlamento dağılımının AK Parti'ye yeni anayasayı tek başına hazırlayacak yetkiyi vermediğini ve bu nedenle BDP ile uzlaşma yoluna gidileceği öngörüsünün ağırlık kazandığı bu yazılarda yeni anayasa çalışmalarının Kürt sorunun çözümünde olumlu bir gelişme olacağı savunulmaktadır.

Lübnan ve Ürdün basınında yer alan köşe yazılarında ise AK Parti'nin seçim'de büyük bir başarı elde ettiği söylenmektedir.

Pan-Arap gazeteleri olan Al Arabiya, Asharq Al Awsat, Dar-al Hayat ve Middle East Online'da yer alan köşe yazıları ise 2011 Genel Seçimleri'nin daha geniş yelpazede ele almaktadır. Bu yazılarda, AK Parti'nin %50'yi bulan seçim zaferinin altında yatan etmenler, yeni anayasa çalışmaları, ekonomik politikalar, Kürt sorununun geleceği, seçim sonuçlarının BDP, CHP ve MHP açısından değerlendirilmesi ve yeni anayasa ve başkanlık sistemine dair tartışmalar yer almaktadır. Türkiye iç politikasına dair analizlerin yansırı Türkiye ile Arap ülkelerinin karşılaştırıldığı da görülmektedir.

Körfez ülkelerinin basınlarının ilgi düzeylerinin Türkiye 2011 Genel Seçimleri'nin Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri, Bahreyn, Katar ve Suudi Arabistan'la sınırlı kaldığını söylemek mümkündür. Bahreyn gazetesi olan Gulf Daily News, seçimleri Kürt sorunu çerçevesinde ele almış, Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri'nde balsa gazeteler ise Kürt sorunu, Erdoğan ve AK Parti'nin seçim zaferi ve seçim sonrası olasılıklar çevresinde değerlendirmiştir. Katar gazetesi olan Al Jazeera'de yer alan bir yazı AK Parti'nin seçim zaferini demokrasi adına bir başarı olarak ele almış ve bir diğer yazı ise kadın sorunu bağlamında seçim sonuçlarını analiz etmiştir. Suudi Arabistan basını ise AK Parti'nin seçim başarısını değişim ve geleneğin uyumu olarak yorumlamış ve bu bağlamda bir değerlendirme yapmıştır.

Kuzey Afrika basınındaki yansımalar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, Türkiye 2011 Genel Seçimleri'nin Mısır dışında ilgi görmediği fark edilmektedir. Al Ahram'da yer alan yazı seçim sonuçlarını, Türkiye- Mısır, AK Parti- Müslüman Kardeşler karşılaştırması üzerinden analiz yaparak Türkiye modeli tartışmaları çerçevesinde değerlendirmiştir.

İran'da haber ajansları IRNA, Mehr News ve Fars News'ın yanı sıra Tehran Times gazetesi ve Press TV yayın organı Türkiye'deki seçimlerle ilgili değerlendirmelere yer vermişlerdir. Bu değerlendirmelerde esas olarak mevcut hükümetin başarıları vurgulanmaktadır. Bu başarıların iç ve dış politika ve ekonomi alanlarında olduğu vurguları hemen hemen her değerlendirmede mevcuttur. Bütün bu alanlardaki performansından ötürü AKP'nin seçim başarısının bir sürpriz olmadığı iddia edilmektedir. Ayrıca, İran medyasında Türkiye'deki seçimlere dair dikkat çeken bir başka husus Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu'ya yönelik aktif dış politikasının önümüzdeki dönemde de artacağı öngörüsüdür. Aynı zamanda Türkiye'deki seçim sonuçlarının Ortadoğu'da İslami eğilimlere yönelik değişimi de yansıttığı ifade edilmektedir.

Pakistan'da Pak Observer, the Express Tribune, The Nation, Dawn ve Asia Times gazeteleri Türkiye'deki seçimlerle ilgili değerlendirmelere yer vermişlerdir. Pakistanlı yorumcular, son on yılda AKP hükümetlerinin ekonomik büyüme, işsizlik, enflasyon, kamu hizmetlerindeki gelişme, siyasi ve sosyal alanda ilerlemeler ve dış politika alanlarındaki performansının üçüncü dönemde seçimleri kazanmaları açısından kilit önemde olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Pakistan medyası seçmenin hükümetin siyasi ve ekonomik icraatlarından memnuniyetini sandıkta dile getirdiğini ifade etmektedir. Yapılan değerlendirmeler Türkiye'de gerek iç politika ve ekonomi gerekse de dış politika alanlarında atılımların AKP'nin üçüncü döneminde de devam edeceği beklentisini yansıtmaktadır.

Hindistan'da The Hindu gazetesi Türkiye'deki seçimlere ilişkin değerlendirmelere yer vermiştir. Buna göre, Türkiye'nin 2003'den bu yana yaşadığı köklü değişimin en büyük unsuru AKP'nin demokrasi, İslam ve kapitalizmi bir araya getirmesidir. Böyle bir temel üzerinde yaşanan dönüşümler, değerlendirmelere göre, Türkiye'nin Batı Asya'ya örnek olacak bir konuma gelmesini sağlamıştır.

İsrail'de Haaretz gazetesi seçim sonrası Türk dış politikasına ilişkin bir değerlendirme yayınlamıştır. Bu değerlendirmede Erdoğan'ın, AKP'nin zaferini Ortadoğu'nun zaferi olarak betimleyen konuşması nemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Haaretz, seçim sonrasında Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu politikasında yer etmesi beklenen bazı sıkıntılara değinmiştir.

Palestinian News Network ve Palestinian Telegraph Erdoğan'ın zafer konuşmasıyla ilgili olarak uzlaşma mesajlarına değinilirken, özellikle 'Türkiye'nin Batı'da Ortadoğu'nun sesi olacağı ve bu zaferin Lübnanlı, Suriyeli ve Filistinlilerin de zaferi olduğu' şeklindeki ifadelerine vurgu yapmaktadır. Bağımsız milletvekillerinin seçilmesi ise 'Kürt başarısı' başlığı altında belirtilmiştir. Bu konudaki yorum ise bu durumun, uzun süredir dile getirilen Kürt kimliğinin resmi tanınması ve özerklik talepleri konusunda hükümet üzerindeki baskıları artıracığı şeklinde. Ayrıca 2003 yılından bu yana iktidar olan AKP hükümetinin ülkeyi güçlü ekonomik büyüme ve iddialı bir dış politika ile yönettiği de yorumlar arasındadır.

IRAK

Peyamner News

Kurdish Candidates Successful in Turkey's Elections

13 Haziran 2011 - Editorial

The Justice and Development Party (AKP) of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan won the majority of votes in Turkey's elections on Sunday.

Fifteen parties ran in the parliamentary elections where PM's AKP party secured a third term in office. AKP's parliamentary seats however, went down from 341 in the 2007 elections to 326 and this is short of the two-thirds of total seats that AKP needs to have a super majority.

In a victory speech to thousands of his supporters in the capital Ankara, PM Erdoan said that, "People gave us a message to build the new constitution through consensus and negotiation. We will discuss the new constitution with opposition parties. This new constitution will meet peace and justice demands."

To draft a new constitution Mr. Erdogan will certainly need the support of deputies from outside his party since AKP did not win the total of 330 seats needed to amend the constitution without consulting the opposition or holding a referendum.

The Republican People's Party (CHP) came in second place and won 135 seats--a rise from the 112 it held in the last parliament.

Turkey's Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) lost a considerable number of votes. Its parliamentary seats were reduced from 71 to only 54.

Independent Kurdish candidates supported by the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) did

very well and secured 35 seats.

Prime Minister Erdogan may seek the support of the Kurdish deputies to fulfil the changes he has promised.

The head of the Republican People's Party (CHP), Kemal Kilicdaroglu was also considered a winner. His party managed to secure 26% of the votes from only 20% in the last elections.

The independent Kurdish candidates also surprised everyone by winning 5.9% of the total votes of the entire country.

Most Kurdish cities except Dersim, succeeded in electing at least a deputy for Turkey's next Grand National Assembly.

Also in all Kurdish areas save for Mus, Sert, Batman and Igridir, the rate of Kurdish votes went up dramatically in comparison to all previous elections. In Istanbul, Turkey's largest city the Kurds won 3 seats where in the last elections they got only one.

One other victory for the Kurdish bloc was that six imprisoned candidates were elected for the next parliament. They were: Hetice Dicle, Selma Irmak, Kemal Aktas, Feysal Yidlz, Ibrahim Ayhan and Gulser Yidirim. By winning 85,945 votes, Hetice Dicle, the jailed candidate from Diyarbakir won more votes than any other Kurdish candidate.

In Sunday's elections, Erol Dora, an Assyrian candidate from Mardin city was elected and this is the first time an Assyrian reaches the Turkish parliament. Ahmet Turk, the prominent Kurdish politician from Turkey who was a candidate from Mardin, voted for Erol Dora.

Hamit Geylani, the head of the Peace Democracy Party (BDP) told Rudaw, "despite all the challenges we were successful."

Regarding the city of Dersim where the Kurds didn't win any seats, Geylani said that it was

unexpected. “But we didn’t expect to win any seats from Bingol either,” said Geylani.

<http://www.peyamner.com/details.aspx?l=4&id=236860>

Özet:

Irak'taki en güçlü iki Kürt partisinden biri olan ve Bölgesel Kürt Yönetimi lideri Mesut Barzani'nin başkanlığındaki KDP'ye bağlı olan Peyamner Haber Ajansı'nın isimsiz yayınladığı bu analizde seçimlerdeki Kürt adayların başarısını ön plana çıkarılmıştır. AK Parti Genel Başkanı ve Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın seçim günü balkon konuşmasındaki yeni anayasaya ilişkin sözlerine dikkat çekilen analizde, yeni bir anayasa yapılması için dışarıdan destek aranacağı ifade edilmiştir. Bu nedenle Erdoğan'ın söz verdiği değişiklikleri yapabilmek için seçimlerde çok iyi bir performans gösterdiği ifade edilen Kürt milletvekillerinden destek isteyebileceği belirtilmektedir. Bağımsız Kürt adayların, Tunceli dışındaki Kürtlerin çoğunluk olarak yaşadığı şehirlerin tamamından milletvekili çıkarmasının önemini vurgulandığı analizde, Muş, Batman ve Iğdır gibi yerlerde Kürt oylarının geçen seçimlere göre artış gösterdiğine dikkat çekilmiştir. Aynı zamanda haklarında tutuklama kararı olan altı Kürt adayın seçildiği de belirtilmiştir. BDP Başkanı Hamit Geylani'nin sözlerine yer verilen analizde, Geylani'nin Tunceli'den milletvekili çıkarmayı umduklarını ancak Bingöl'den milletvekili çıkarmayı beklemediklerini söylediği belirtilmiştir.

Turkey's Constitutional Reform, Rights Of Kurdish People And Erdogan's Challenge

20 Haziran 2011- Editorial

People of Turkey again chose AKP party for third times and confirm their action, but they did not give him absolute power to changing the constitution of this country.

Rajab Tayeb Erdogan ,for third times consecutive ,guidance his party to win ,this action in the history of modern Turkey is unprecedented .the voters ,nearly 50 percent show trust vote to polices and ruling party programs .but this party still needs to gain support from other parties to help change the Turkish constitution provides.

The recent election of Turkey's Parliament, 326 seats were belong to AKP party, even while the party was hoping for 367 seats, two-third of its seats of parliament and their determination to obtain a majority .

Erdogan's party has had good gains for people of Turkey, but still suggested great promise and its mandate to have duty it.

Preparation and approval of constitutional and democratic, solving peaceful of Kurdish people's problem, continue reforms and fight corruption and prevent military ambitions, these matters, attention of the Turkish nation and its ruling party. This party wants, economy of Turkey put in order to do that globally.

The current constitution of the Turkey, the generals in its latest coup, in the early 80s of last century, adopted according to their interests. Erdogan 's party should be able provide freedom, human rights and other slogans were raised to Turkish and Kurdish people.

Certainly, minority of Kurdish will be achieved, in fact already has taken steps forward.

Turkey also will have broader foreign policy development. because ruling party (AKP), develop positive relationships ahead and has had and from any way, following positive role modeling.

Now, Turkey with free elections and adherence to the principles of democracy, the internal front of Turkey will strong and the message of “strong and effective” in international

policies will give to the neighboring nations and other.

<http://www.peyamner.com/details.aspx?l=4&id=237623>

Özet:

AK Parti'nin Türkiye'de benzeri görülmemiş bir biçimde seçimleri kazandığının belirtildiği analizde, bu zafere rağmen anayasayı tek başına değiştirme gücünü elde edemediği ifade edilmiştir. Analizde, AK Parti'nin Türkiye için büyük kazanç olduğu vurgulanarak, özellikle yolsuzlukla mücadele, Kürt halkının sorunlarının barışçıl yollarla çözülmesi, reformların devam etmesi, askeri müdahalelerin önüne geçilmesi gibi konularda adımlar atılması gerektiği belirtilmiştir. Analizde, Erdoğan'ın partisi olarak ifade edilen AK Parti'nin Türk ve Kürtler için özgürlük, insan hakları gibi sloganları gerçekleştirmesi gerektiği vurgulanarak, Kürt halkının kesinlikle başarılı olacağı ifade edilmektedir. Türkiye'nin geniş tabanlı bir politika geliştireceğinin söylendiği analizde, gelişecek pozitif ilişkilerin bir rol model olacağı belirtilmektedir. Türkiye'nin serbest seçimler ve demokrasi ilkelerine bağlılıkla iç politikasında güçlenmesinin, uluslararası politikada komşuları ve diğer ülkeler için güçlü ve etkili bir mesaj olacağı dile getirilmiştir.

Rudaw

Western Experts: Kurds Make Gains in Turkish Elections

19 Haziran 2011- Hawar Abdulrazzaq

Western experts believe Kurds are the real winners of last week's Turkish election but are skeptical that the new parliament will significantly change the political system.

Independent Kurdish candidates won 36 seats in the June 12 parliamentary election,

up from 22 seats in the last parliament. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Justice and Development Party (AKP) won the most votes, 50 percent, which will give the party about 326 seats.

"For the most part, I think the results will mean that the government will continue largely as it has been. The victory will likely make the AKP safe from interference by the military," said Paul Kubicek, a professor in the Department of Political Science at Oakland University and an expert on Turkish internal policy.

Experts believe that Kurds have for first time become an important element in Turkey's political arena.

One of the key issues in the election was amending the constitution. Earlier this week Erdogan said the AKP and other parties "civilian, free constitution which embraces all parties of the society together."

But AKP will need the support of other MPs to amend the constitution, and Kurds can play an important role.

"AKP does not have enough seats in the assembly to unilaterally change the constitution. Erdogan has said he wants to work with all parties," Kubicek said.

During his campaign, Erdogan took a more nationalist tone and accused the main pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) of having links to Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). He has also said that his party will not recognize any languages other than Turkish as official state languages.

Asked if this election brings changes in Turkish domestic politics, Kubicek told Rudaw "If the EU continues to put some pressure on the Turkish government and the Kurdish deputies resist doing anything too provocative, some progress will be made, but I do not see

a major overhaul of the political system to decentralize it or make it a federal state.”

Parliamentary candidates can only be elected if their parties or coalitions win at least 10 percent of the vote. Kubicek expected Turkey's election threshold may change.

“One reform that seems likely to take place is lowering the country's election threshold from 10 percent to something close to 5 percent which could help the Kurds greatly,” he said.

Observers believe the new election law could reward Kurds with around 70 parliamentary seats.

BDP leaders let their candidates run independently rather than within the party to circumvent the threshold.

“Although a lot of attention has focused on Erdogan's success, I would argue that the Kurdish BDP was the real big winner from these elections,” said Gareth Jenkins, an independent Istanbul-based British analyst.

“Its candidates increased their votes by a large margin. At the same time, they have raised the bar in terms of their demands, from greater cultural and political rights for Turkey's Kurds to political autonomy. Importantly, the younger generation of Kurds wants even more. Many support full independence.”

<http://www.rudaw.net/english/news/turkey/3762.html>

Özet:

Analizde, Batılı uzmanların görüşlerine dikkat çekilerek, Türkiye'deki seçimleri asıl kazananın Kürtler olduğu, ancak siyasal sistemde önemli bir değişiklik olup olmayacağı konusunda şüpheli bir yaklaşım bulunduğu dile getirilmektedir. Amerika'daki Oakland Üniversitesi Siyaset Bilimi Bölümü'nde profesör ve Türk iç politikası konusunda bir uzman

olan Paul Kubicek'in görüşlerine yer verilen analizde, bu seçim zaferinin askerlerin müdahalesinden AK Parti'yi koruyacağı belirtilmiştir. Analizde, Kürtlerin ilk kez Türk siyasetinde önemli bir unsur haline geldiği ifade edilmektedir. AK Parti'nin anayasa değişikliği için diğer milletvekillerinin desteğine ihtiyaç duyacağı belirtilmiştir ve Kürtlerin önemli bir rol oynayabileceği dile getirilmektedir. Kubicek'in görüşlerine dikkat çekilen analizde, Avrupa Birliği'nin Türkiye üzerindeki baskısı ve Kürt siyasetçilerin direnişi sonucunda Türkiye'nin siyasal sisteminin değişmesine ilişkin bazı adımlar atılabileceği ifade edilirken, siyasal sistemin federalizme doğru evrilmesinin mümkün olmayacağı dile getirilmektedir.

Kurdish Solidarity Felt in Turkey's Elections

16 Haziran 2011 - Editorial

The newly elected deputy from Mardin, Ahmet Turk said that the election results showed the Kurds are united.

“The election results mean that the Kurdish people are united and our demands are going to be on the national agenda. If not, there will be more pain and more problems in the future,” he said.

In an interview with Dicle News Agency, Turk said that despite the success in last week's elections, the Kurds of Turkey still have a struggle ahead of them.

“We participated in the election for a democratic constitution, for democratic autonomy and we are still struggling for education in our own language and to free our friends from prison.” Turk said.

Six Kurdish candidates were elected in the June 12 elections while held in Turkish jails. They were: Hetice Dicle, Selma Irmak, Kemal

Aktas, Feysal Yidlz, Ibrahim Ayhan and Guls-er Yildirim.

In Sunday's parliamentary elections, the independent Kurdish candidates recorded a major success. They won 36 seats into Turkey's Parliament. Ahmet Turk said that people should stand behind the candidates and carry on with their civil disobedience for their rights.

"The message is very clear," Turk said. "The state needs to pull itself together. We are calling for a democratic solution to the Kurdish issue. We will no longer accept a life like this. We will continue to be united and we will continue doing peaceful civil disobedience actions."

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan whose Justice and Development Party (AKP) won a third term in office by securing 326 seats has promised to draft a new constitution for the country. However, his party didn't win two-thirds of the votes needed to carry out this promise independently.

In a victory speech to thousands of his supporters in the capital Ankara, PM Erdogan said, "People gave us a message to build the new constitution through consensus and negotiation. We will discuss the new constitution with opposition parties. This new constitution will meet peace and justice demands."

For his part, Turk said that democratic autonomy for the Kurds should be the main focus of the new constitution.

"The new constitution must be based on democratic autonomy, which must be a topic for discussion," he said. "We will work towards this. If our demands are ignored by the state, the people will create their own method to establish the system they are aiming for."

Turkey's large Kurdish population has been struggling for political and cultural rights for

decades, and the Turkish military has always suppressed them heavy-handedly while radical national parties have bitterly barred any Kurdish initiative in parliament.

In the 2007 elections the Kurdish candidates won only 22 seats, down by 14 compared to now. Ahmet Turk, the former co-chair of the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) said that the Kurdish people were this time more aware of their rights and they practiced solidarity.

"Indeed, our people have proven how much they are linked to the struggle for freedom, our demands and the way we practice politics," he said. "This solidarity is definitely very important and it has put great responsibility on our shoulders. Our people have done their duty. From now on, our friends and we will perform our parliamentary duty."

<http://www.rudaw.net/english/news/turkey/3757.html>

Özet:

Irak'ta Kürt Bölgesel Yönetimi'nin önemli gazetelerinden biri olan Rudaw Gazetesinde editör yazısı olarak yayınlanan bu analizde, "Türkiye'deki seçimlerde Kürt dayanışması hissedildi" başlığı ön plana çıkarılmıştır. Mardin'den Milletvekili seçilen bağımsız aday Ahmet Türk'ün sözlerine yer verilen analizde, bu seçimlerin Kürtlerin birliğini gösterdiği ve sivil itaatsizliğin devam etmesi gerektiği ifade edilmiştir. AK Parti'nin yeni anayasa söylemine yönelik Ahmet Türk'ün ifadelerini kullanan Rudaw, anayasal özerkliğin taleplerin başında geldiğini dile getirmiştir. Türkiye'deki Kürt nüfusun on yıllar boyunca siyasi ve kültürel haklarını elde etmek için mücadele ettiğini vurgulayan Rudaw, Türk askeri gücünün her dönemde Kürtlere karşı sert uygulamaları neticesinde Kürtlerin bu haklarını elde edemediği öne sürmektedir.

Ak News

KRG official predicts bright new era for Turkey's Kurds

16 Haziran - Fryad Mohammed

After bagging more seats than ever in the recent Turkish elections, the country's Kurds can look forward to more openness towards their plight for cultural recognition, says a senior Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) official.

Head of the region's presidential office, Fuad Hussein told AKnews that he expects Turkey's 'open policy' towards the country's 20,000 Kurds – engendered by the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) – will continue to develop during this, the party's third term in power.

The AKP led by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan secured 49.9% of the national vote on Sunday – giving them 326 seats in the 550-seat parliament.

Independent candidates, representing the pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) in the country's predominantly Kurdish southeast, polled 5.9% of the votes – according them 36 parliamentary seats – up from 21 in the previous term.

Although the BDP did not assure a seat in the National Assembly which under the Turkish electoral system requires a minimum 10% vote, the AKP also fell short of its 330-seat target which would have allowed them to unilaterally re-write the Turkish constitution.

The Kurds want the new Turkish constitution to recognize a form of 'democratic autonomy' in the predominantly Kurdish southeast as

well as addressing wider issues such as the recognition of a 'Kurdish identity' or the right to education in the Kurdish language.

The electoral results not only oblige the AKP to include all opposition factions in the constitution-writing process, but provide the country's Kurds with a greater say.

Hussein believes that relations between Turkey and the Iraqi-Kurdistan region will also continue to develop. In previous terms, the Turkish state had refused to recognize the semi-autonomous northern Iraqi enclave but strong economic ties have developed between the two over recent years.

<http://www.aknews.com/en/aknews/4/246762/>

Özet:

Kürt Bölgesel Yönetimi Başkanlık Ofisi Sorumlusu Fuad Hüseyin, son seçimle mecliste şimdiye kadarki en fazla koltuk sayısına ulaşan Kürtlerin, kültürel tanınmayla ilgili sözlerine karşı artık daha fazla açıklık bekleyebileceği yönündeki sözlerine yer veren analizde, AK Parti'nin açılım politikasının devam etmesine dikkat çekilmektedir. Analizde Kürtlerin, AK Parti tarafından oluşturulması planlanan yeni anayasanın Kürt nüfusun yoğun olarak yaşadığı güneydoğu bölgesinde bir 'demokratik özerklik' biçiminin tanınmasını istediği vurgulanırken, ayrıca 'Kürt Kimliği'nin tanınması, Kürtçe eğitim hakkı gibi daha geniş kapsamlı konulara da yer verilmiştir. Analizde seçim sonuçlarının AK Parti'yi yalnızca anayasa sürecine muhalefeti dahil etmeye değil, Kürtlere daha büyük sözler vermeye da zorladığı görüşüne yer almaktadır. Analizin sonunda Fuad Hüseyin'in sözlerine yer verilerek, Türkiye ile Kürt Bölgesel Yönetim arasındaki gelişen ilişkilerin devam edeceğine vurgu yapılmaktadır.

ÜRDÜN

Ammon News

Turkish PM 'to govern for all' after poll win

13 Haziran 2011- Editorial

Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) has won a third term in parliament, winning nearly 50 per cent of the vote in the country's general election.

But the AKP, led by Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the country's prime minister, fell short of its target of 330 seats on Sunday, which would have allowed it to press ahead with its plans to unilaterally rewrite the country's constitution.

In a victory speech before thousands of flag-waving supporters in the capital Ankara, Erdogan pledged "humility" and said he would work with rivals.

"People gave us a message to build the new constitution through consensus and negotiation," he said.

"We will discuss the new constitution with opposition parties. This new constitution will meet peace and justice demands."

Erdogan said a new constitution, replacing one introduced under martial law in 1982, was needed to make Turkey more democratic and to enhance individual freedoms.

Celebrating crowds waving Turkish and AKP flags gathered outside the party's headquarters in Ankara, where Erdogan addressed supporters.

Crowds also gathered in Istanbul's main Taksim Square to watch the speech on big screens, Al Jazeera's Ayse Alibeyoglu reported from the scene.

Turkey's booming economy during the AKP's decade-long stewardship, as well as the country's heightened international profile, had been seen as Erdogan's main strengths going into Sunday's vote.

Consolidating Power

Opponents say the AKP wants to write the constitution to consolidate its grip on power, and said Erdogan wants to introduce a system with more executive powers for the president - a role they accuse him of coveting.

Erdogan's socially conservative party won 49.9 per cent of the vote, with the main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP) getting 25.9 per cent, and the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) 13 per cent.

Independent candidates, representing the pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) in the Kurdish-majority southeast, polled 5.9 per cent of votes.

Under Turkey's electoral system, a party must gain at least 10 per cent of the national vote to win seats in the National Assembly.

Final results indicate that the AKP will have 326 seats in the new parliament, the CHP 135, the MHP 53, and independents 36.

'End of long marathon'

Kemal Kilicdaroglu, the leader of the CHP, who voted in Ankara, said: "We have come to the end of a long marathon ... There is a good mood. There is a democracy feast".

The CHP, a secularist centre-left party, had built its election campaign on pledges of democratic reform, arguing that the AKP was turning Turkey into a "police state".

Sex tapes forced 10 leading members of the MHP to quit the election race, prompting speculation over whether the party could slip under the 10 per cent threshold.

Voters cast their ballots in transparent plastic boxes, rather than traditional wooden boxes, for the first time - a measure introduced to prevent allegations of fraud.

Istanbul will be represented by 85 deputies in the new parliament, while Ankara gets 31 seats. Many of Turkey's less populated provinces will be represented by a single deputy.

Seats are awarded on the basis of proportional representation, with each party gaining a number of seats in each district based on its share of the local vote.

<http://en.ammonnews.net/article.aspx?articleNO=12369>

Özet:

Ürdün Gazetesi olan Ammon News'de editör yazısı olarak yer alan analizde, Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın yeni anayasa yapımına ilişkin kapsayıcı politikalar izleyeceğine yönelik açıklamaları öne çıkarılmıştır. Yazıda, on yıllık AK Parti yönetimindeki Türkiye'deki ekonomik gelişmeler ve Türkiye'nin uluslararası politikada artan profilinin, AK Parti'nin seçimlerdeki ana gücünü oluşturduğu ifade edilmiştir.

LÜBNAN

Al-Manar TV

Erdogan's Party Wins Third Term in Turkish Elections

13 Haziran 2011- Local Editor

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's party, Justice and Development (AKP), secured on Sunday a third term in office, winning about 326 seats in the Parliament.

However, the party fell short of the 367-seat majority (two-third) needed to make unilateral constitutional changes. The party will not be able now to make constitutional changes without putting it to a public referendum.

Erdogan said he would build consensus with rivals, as he pledged "humility".

"People gave us a message to build the new constitution through consensus and negotiation," he said in a victory speech as he addressed celebrating crowds outside the party's headquarters in Ankara. "We will be seeking consensus with the main opposition, the opposition, parties outside of parliament, the media, NGOs, with academics, with anyone who has something to say."

Erdogan added that he would write a "civilian, free constitution which embraces all parties of the society together".

"We will discuss the new constitution with opposition parties. This new constitution will meet peace and justice demands".

Erdogan also said a new constitution, replacing one introduced under martial law in 1982, was needed to make Turkey more democratic and to enhance individual freedoms.

Opponents say the AKP wants to write the constitution to consolidate its grip on power, and said Erdogan wants to introduce a system with more executive powers for the president.

"Believe me, Sarajevo won today as much as Istanbul, Beirut won as much as Izmir, Damascus won as much as Ankara, Ramallah, Nablus, Jenin, the West Bank, Jerusalem won as much as Diyarbakir", Erdogan said.

More than 50 million people, about two-thirds of Turkey's population of 73 million, were eligible to vote in Sunday's election. NTV television said turnout was 84.5%.

Opposition Share

The main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP) secured 25.9 per cent, while the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) got 13 per cent.

Independent candidates, representing the pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) in the Kurdish-majority southeast, polled 5.9 per cent of votes.

Under Turkey's electoral system, a party must gain at least 10 per cent of the national vote to win seats in the National Assembly.

Final results indicated that the AKP would have 326 seats in the new parliament, the CHP 135, the MHP 53, and independents 36.

<http://www.almanar.com.lb/english/adetails.php?eid=18876&frid=23&seccatid=55&cid=23&fromval=1>

Özet:

Lübnan'daki Hizbullah hareketine bağlı El-Manar Televizyonu'nun internet sitesinde, editör yazısı olarak kaleme alınan analizde, seçimlerin galibi AK Parti'nin, üçüncü dönem için de güven kazandığı ifade edilmiştir. Yine de AK Parti'nin seçim zaferinin anayasası tek başına değiştirmeye vakıf olamadığının belirtildiği analizde, bu nedenle Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın rakiplerine tevazu göstererek uzlaşmacı bir yöntem izleyeceği belirtilmiştir. Buna karşı muhalefetin görüşlerine de yer veren analiz muhalefetin yaklaşımını Erdoğan'ın planladığı anayasa için yürütmenin olması gerekenden fazla iktidarın elinde olacağı yönünde eleştirel bir bakış açısına sahiptir. Belirtilen bir diğer önemli husus ise Türkiye'nin seçim sistemi altındaki bir partinin millet meclisinde sandalye elde edebilmesi için ulusal oyların en az %10'una sahip olması gerekliliğidir.

Daily Star

EU hails AK Party's election victory, but Israel wary June

14 Haziran - Editorial

The European Union Monday hailed Turkey's ruling party election victory while Israel was more cautious, calling on Ankara to act "responsibly" and prevent fresh tensions in the region.

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Islamist-rooted AK Party won a crushing majority in Sunday's parliamentary elections for a third straight win, with nearly 50 percent of the vote.

EU President Herman Van Rompuy and Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso applauded the poll results, saying they provided the AK Party with fresh impetus to pursue reforms and boost Turkey's EU entry bid.

The reforms, including a promised constitutional overhaul, should "strengthen confidence between Turkey and all EU member states," they said in a joint statement.

"Progress in these fields should also give new impetus to the accession negotiations with the European Union ... We would welcome you to Brussels at your earliest convenience," they added.

Turkey's neighbor Iran also congratulated Erdogan, with Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Salehi declaring that "the prospect of expansion of bilateral ties is very bright."

But its other regional neighbor Israel took the opportunity to call on Turkey to block a flotilla of activists hoping to sail to Gaza, warning a go-ahead would mar bilateral relations.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu welcomed the "free and fair" election but

Deputy Foreign Minister Danny Ayalon told public radio, “We hope that a responsible government will not act against international law and will stop its citizens from entering dangerous zones.”

A group of pro-Palestinian activists, led by several Turkish groups, have said they plan to sail to Gaza in June, in a repeat of a mission they undertook in May 2010 which resulted in bloodshed when Israeli commandos raided the ships as they approached Gaza. Nine Turks were killed in the assault.

“This election is an occasion to open a new page. This doesn’t depend on us, but on the Turks, and we hope to see from them a policy that is more thought-out and balanced and responsible,” Ayalon said.

<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/International/2011/Jun-14/EU-hails-AK-Partys-election-victory-but-Israel-wary.ashx#ixzz1PEjCR6zf>

Özet:

Lübnan’ın yüksek tirajlı gazetelerinden Daily Star, Türkiye’deki seçimlerin uluslararası ve bölgesel yansımalarını konu edinen bir analiz yapmıştır. Avrupa Birliği’nin AK Parti’nin seçim zaferini övgüyle karşıladığını belirten gazete, İsrail’in Türkiye’deki seçimleri “özgür” ve “adil” olması dolayısıyla kutladığını, ancak ihtiyatlı davrandığını ifade etmiştir. İsrail’den yapılan açıklamalara dikkat çeken yazıda, İsrail’in Türkiye’nin Ortadoğu’daki sorunlara yaklaşımında sorumlu davranmasını ve yeni gerilimleri önleyici politikalar yürütmesini istediği dile getirilmiştir. Yazıda, Avrupa Birliği yetkililerini Türkiye’deki seçimleri olumlu karşıladığı ve Türkiye’nin Avrupa Birliğine tam üyeliği için yapması gereken reformlara destek olunması için yeni bir ivme kazanacağı belirtilmiştir. İran’ın da Erdoğan’ı kutladığı belirtilen yazıda, İran Dışişler Bakanı Ali Ekber Salih’inin sözlerine yer verilerek, Türkiye ile İran arasında ikili ilişkilerin geliştirilmesinin yolunun açık olduğu ifade edilmektedir.

PAN-ARAP GAZETELERİ

Al Arabiya

Erdogan wins Turkey parliamentary election with reduced majority

12 Haziran 2011 - Mustapha Ajbaili and Sara Ghasemilee

Turkey’s ruling Islamist-rooted party clinched a record landslide in Sunday’s parliamentary polls but was short of the two-thirds majority it needs to amend the constitution, near-complete results showed. With 99 percent of the votes counted, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s Justice and Development Party (AKP) was leading with 50 percent of the vote for a third straight win, according to results on television channels.

It was the party’s highest electoral score since it came to power in 2002 but appeared to fall just short of the 367-seat majority in the 550-member parliament it was seeking to unilaterally amend the constitution, the legacy of a 1980 military coup.

A Muslim democracy and candidate for the European Union, Turkey has become an economic powerhouse and influential player on the global stage since Mr. Erdogan’s AK Party first swept to power in 2002.

The AK will be forced to compromise with other parties to press on with plans to replace the existing charter, written almost 30 years ago during a period of military rule.

“The people gave us a message to build the new constitution through consensus and negotiation,” Mr. Erdogan said in a victory speech to supporters from the balcony of the AK Party headquarters in Ankara. “We will discuss the new constitution with opposition parties.”

Advocating the spread of democracy in the region as the “Arab Spring” takes hold, Mr. Erdogan will now be under scrutiny over how he handles the hottest foreign policy issue of the moment, with thousands of Syrians fleeing to Turkey to escape a brutal crackdown by his friend President Bashar Al Assad.

“It seems the election outcome is heading toward the best-case scenario for the markets: a solid majority for AKP but short of the 330+ seats required to amend the constitution and put it to a referendum,” said Wolfango Piccoli, an analyst at Eurasia Group risk consultancy in London.

The result boosted the lira currency in early Asian trade, and analysts expected to see further gains against the dollar.

“Falling short of 330 seats, the AKP would be forced to enter into negotiations with the opposition for the desired changes: a scenario that should help to limit the risk of further polarization,” Mr. Piccoli said.

AK supporters celebrated regardless, honking horns and waving flags as they drove around towns across the country.

The center-left Republican People’s Party (CHP) took 25.9 percent of the vote while the far right Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) got 13 percent, exceeding the 10-percent threshold required for parties to enter parliament. The election board will ratify official results in coming days.

Kemal Kilicdaroglu, who gave the CHP new direction when he took over leadership of the party last year, said it was the best showing by the party of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish republic, since a military coup in 1980.

“We wish all success to AKP, but they must remember there’s a stronger main opposition party now,” he told CHP supporters.

There were few reports of trouble during the vote, though there were some clashes afterwards in Diyarbakir, the main city in the restive Kurdish region, where a strong showing by independents fielded by the pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) played a big part in denying the AK’s advance.

“Our people want the Kurdish issue to be solved through peaceful and democratic methods. We will work for it and will struggle to meet the demands of Kurdish people with the new constitution,” Serafettin Elci, a prospective Kurdish MP for the southeastern city of Diyarbakir, told Reuters. “This is a huge success for us. We expect the PM to signal a strong hope for the solution of the Kurdish problem for Turkey’s future.”

Mr. Erdogan’s support has been built on his success in creating a booming economy and in ending decades of chaotic coalitions, military coups and failed international financial bailouts.

The only doubt hanging over Sunday’s vote had been over the margin of Mr. Erdogan’s victory, given aims for a new constitution. There has been speculation that Mr. Erdogan will seek to move Turkey toward a more presidential system of government, with an ultimate aim of becoming president himself. Mr. Erdogan, whose party evolved from banned Islamist movements, says the new charter will be based on democratic and pluralistic principles that will bring Turkey closer to EU standards.

Turkey and the AKP are often cited as models for supporters of democracy living through the “Arab Spring” in parts of the Middle East and North Africa. But while foreign investors traditionally have seen AK as the most market-friendly party; Mr. Erdogan’s critics say he has an authoritarian streak.

Opponents point to rampant use of wiretaps by state agencies, the detention of journal-

ists critical of the government, nepotism and a widening gap between rich and poor. Analysts have warned the new government will face sobering economic challenges. The current account deficit is ballooning, fiscal policy needs tightening to cool overheating and youth unemployment is high in a country where the average age is 28.

<http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/06/12/152903.html>

Özet:

Yazıda İslami kökenli olarak tanımlanan AK Parti'nin parlamentoda tek başına anayasa onaylamak için ihtiyacı olan sandalyesine ulaşmasa da seçimleri oyların neredeyse %50'sini alarak kazandığı belirtilmiştir. Bir Müslüman demokrasi örneği ve AB adayı olan ülke 2002 yılından itibaren Sayın Erdoğan önderliğinde bölgede önemli bir ekonomik bir güç ve aktör haline geldiğinin de belirtildiği yazı da yaklaşık 30 yıl önce askeri darbe ile hazırlanmış olan mevcut anayasayı değiştirmek için diğer partileri de ikna etmeye çalışacağına dair bir öngöründe bulunulmuştur. Ayrıca, bölgeyi saran Arap Baharı ve demokratikleşme rüzgarı ile Suriye'deki gelişmeler ve Türkiye sınırında akan mülteci akınları bağlamında Erdoğan henüz bu yeni dönemde nasıl bir dış politika izleyeceği konusunda açıklama yapmadığına yer verilmiş ve seçim sonuçlarının özellikle ekonomi çerçevesinde istikrar getireceği vurgulanmıştır.

Muhalefet partilerinin seçim sonuçlarına da yer veren yazıda CHP Genel Başkanı Kılıçdaroğlu'nu partiye yeni bir yön veren lider olarak tanımlanmış ve seçim sonuçlarının Kılıçdaroğlu tarafından olumlu değerlendirildiğini belirtilmiştir. CHP'nin yanı sıra BDP'ye de değinen yazı Şerafettin Elçi'nin sözlerine ve ülkede yaşanan şiddet olaylarına yer vermiştir.

Yazıda Başbakan Erdoğan'ın seçim başarısı, ekonomik başarı, kaotik koalisyon ve askeri

darbe dönemini sona erdirmesi ve bankacılık sektörünü iyileştirmesine dayandırılmıştır.

Seçim sonrası döneme ilişkin ise yeni Anayasa ve Başkanlık sistemi konusundaki tartışmalara kısaca değinilmiş, gelecekte ekonomik sorunların AK Parti'yi zorlayacak sorunlara olarak ortaya çıkacağı öngörüsü yapılmıştır.

After the elections

16 Haziran 2011 - İhsan Yılmaz

Last Saturday I wrote here: "I believe that at least half of the electorate can see what I can see. In this sense, tomorrow we will not only hold an election but a census too." And, exactly 50 percent of Turkey voted in favor of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party). Yet, despite this, the party couldn't secure the 330 deputies it needed to take a new constitution to referendum. This will bring some advantages and disadvantages.

First, let us start with the advantages. It now seems that everybody is strangely happy about the election results. The Republican People's Party (CHP) claims to be the only winner in these elections as only the CHP increased its number of deputies and they now have 3.5 million more voters. The Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) is just relieved to have passed the 10 percent election threshold. The Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) almost doubled its deputies. This will ease the pressure on the AK Party. It is also beneficial in the sense that the bureaucratic oligarchy will not lose hope from democracy, the only game in town. I believe that they will give Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu one more chance, hoping that a CHP-MHP coalition dream can come true in four years and everything lost to democratic forces will be taken back. This is what happened after the Turgut Ozal decade when the Süleyman Demirel-Erdal İnönü coalition came to power. Why should history not re-

peat itself? Mathematically speaking, thanks to the Supreme Election Board's (YSK) political engineering maneuvers, with 50 percent of the votes the AK Party could only get 325 deputies into Parliament. If votes recede to 40 or so percent, it may not be able to win a majority of seats and the establishment will make sure that an anti-AK Party coalition is formed.

The major disadvantage is that the AK Party may never deliver a new constitution. Even though all parties state that they want a new constitution, in practice their voters may not penalize them if they did not help in the preparation of a new constitution. The MHP and CHP will easily explain away their lack of compromise by saying, "the AK Party wanted to end the Turkish Republic and we prevented this." If the Kurdish BDP tells its voters that there are not enough rights in the proposed draft then most of its voters will also not be content.

As far as I can see there is only one credible possibility that will help the MHP and CHP. If they fear that they will not win at the next elections they will prefer the government's powers are weakened with a new constitution. Take the presidency for instance. It was designed as pro-establishment and preferably for a retired military general. Thus, it is not merely a symbolic position and has crucial powers that are now being used by a former member of the AK Party. He keeps appointing non-oligarchic university rectors and constitutional court judges. Another case is Higher Education Board (YÖK). Thanks to a new YÖK administration universities are no longer castles of Kemalism and Turkish nationalism. The MHP and CHP would welcome any changes that would weaken the presidency and YÖK.

Another possibility is pressure by civil society organizations and big businesses such as Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD) that may influence the

CHP and MHP. In this sense, the MHP is influence-proof but the CHP is open to influence as they want to come to power. In this case we can never be sure about big business and TÜSİAD as they are open to the oligarchy's influence. All in all, I am not so optimistic about a new constitution but this does not mean that democratization will stop in this country. It will only take a little more time.

<http://english.alarabiya.net/views/2011/06/16/153503.html>

Özet:

Seçim sonuçlarında AK Parti'nin aldığı yaklaşık %50'lik başarıya ve yeni anayasa için yeterli milletvekili sayısına ulaşamamış olması konusu ile başlayan yazı, bu durumun avantajları ve dezavantajlarına odaklanmıştır.

İhsan Yılmaz avantajların başında seçim sonuçlarından CHP daha fazla oy aldığı, MHP barajı geçtiği ve BDP milletvekili sayısını neredeyse iki katına çıkardığı için her partinin memnun olduğunu belirtmektedir. Yazar gene bu bağlamda bürokratik oligarşinin önümüzdeki dört yıl içinde CHP-MHP koalisyonu için umutlandığını ve şu ana kadar verilmiş tüm demokratik hakların geri alınabilme olasılığının mevcut olduğunu söylemektedir. Bu duruma örnek olarak da Özal sonrası Demirel-İnönü koalisyonunu göstermektedir. Öte yandan yazıda YSK'nın yaptığı siyasi manevra ile AK Parti aldığı oylara nispeten daha az sayıda milletvekilini partiye sokabildiği, böylece bir sonraki seçimlerde oyların %40'ın altına düşmesi halinde koalisyon yolunun açılabilirdiği iddia edilmektedir.

Yazar seçim sonuçlarının dezavantajları arasında ise AK Parti'nin tek başına anayasa oluşturamamasını saymaktadır. Tüm partilerin yeni bir anayasa talep etme konusunda mutabık olduklarını belirten yazı öte yandan seçmen tabanını kaybetmekten korkan CHP ve MHP'nin bu konuda çekimser kalabileceği

ni belirtmektedir. YÖK ve Cumhurbaşkanlığı yetkilerini sınırlandırma konusunda hevesli oldukları belirtilen CHP ve MHP'nin bu sürece dahil olabilmeleri için bazı baskıların ortaya çıkması gerektiğini vurgulayan yazar, MHP'nin bu baskılardan etkilenmeyeceğini ancak CHP'nin TUSİAD başta olmak üzere işadamları dernekleri ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarından gelen baskıyı göz önünde tutabileceğini söylemektedir. Yazının sonunda İhsan Yılmaz tüm olasılıklar konusunda iyimser olmadığını, ancak demokratikleşme sürecinin devam edeceğine yer vermektedir.

It's the economy, stupid. Or how Recep Erdogan won Turkey's election

15 Haziran 2011 - Muna Khan

At a time when election results anywhere tend to show voter apathy, there are many lessons to learn from Turkey's turnout at the polls.

Namely that at the end of the day, when it comes to voting, it's usually the economy that is the decisive factor.

Recep Erdogan secured his third term as prime minister with results that are the stuff leaders can only dream of.

When his party the AKP first won the elections in 2002, it received 10.7 million votes. On June 12 those figures doubled to 21.4 million. While Mr. Erdogan falls short of the parliamentary seats required to overhaul the Constitution without a referendum, he has a strong enough mandate to do this and one hopes he does with a consensus.

These formidable results are down to one thing: the economy. Its growth rate is 9 percent, the country's GDP has doubled since he first came into power and IMF data suggests it could cross \$1 trillion this year and exports have almost tripled. The IMF estimates that

by 2015, Turkey's economy will be the world's 16th largest.

The stunning facts and figures are irrelevant to the Turks whose lives have changed under Mr. Erdogan's tenure. The dramatic improvement in their living standards is what got him the votes to soldier on with his ambitious plans. They are confident that he will be able to address investor concerns about the country's fast growing credit and a fiscal policy that needs to be tightened.

Although Mr. Erdogan campaigned on domestic issues, his immediate priorities are foreign policy related: one, the most pressing, is relations with Syria and two, a potential confrontation with Israel over the upcoming flotilla carrying goods to Palestine.

Over the years, Mr. Erdogan has matured into a leader that handles foreign policy issues firmly without fear of reprisal from the West. Whether it is rebuilding once fractious relations with Syria and then chastising President Bashar Al Assad for his crackdown or showing that he is able to stand up to the bullying tactics of Israel (Mr. Erdogan is still remembered and beloved for walking out of a World Economic Forum discussion in Davos to protest what he saw was the moderator's favoring of Israel), a majority of Turks say they are proud of his leadership.

Admiration aside, Mr. Erdogan's desire to push ahead with ambitious plans need to be met with caution. The party's plans to rewrite the Constitution with an enhanced role for the presidency (which Mr. Erdogan is vying next) and a diminished role for the military do not have the overwhelming support that his economic policies do. The largely secular military and judiciary is apprehensive of any changes that threaten the secular fabric of Turkey.

While the economy came out trumps as the decisive factor, there are other issues at stake

here which is where society can step in and step up to the task of ensuring Mr. Erdogan doesn't quash issues in his journey to becoming an emperor.

<http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/06/15/153385.html>

Özet:

Seçim sonuçlarında belirleyici faktörün ekonomi olduğunu savunan Muna Khan, yazısında 2002 yılından itibaren AK Parti'nin başarısını arttırdığını belirtmektedir. Başbakan Erdoğan'ın yeni anayasa için yeterince güçlü olduğunu ancak uzlaşma şartı aramasını temenni ettiğini de belirtmektedir. Şimdiye kadar ulaşılmış ekonomik başarı, hayat standartları iyileştirilmiş insanların AK Parti'ye oy vermesini ve Erdoğan'a güvenmelerini sağladığına yer veren yazı seçim buna ek olarak Türk dış politikasının da seçim sonuçlarında etkili olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Yazıda seçim öncesi meydanlarda Erdoğan'ın iç politik meselelerin yanı sıra, dış politika söylemlerine de, özellikle son gerilimler bağlamında Suriye ile Mavi Marmara ve Davos başta olmak üzere belli başlı nedenlerle ilişkilerde gerilme yaşanan İsrail'e yer vermesi, Batı'dan korkmayan ve bağımsız bir dış politika savunucusuna dönüşen Erdoğan'a güvenin artmasını sağlamış ve genel olarak Türklerin ondan duymasını da beraberinde getirmiştir denilmektedir.

Yeni dönemde Erdoğan'ın yapmak istediklerini ihtiyat çerçevesinde gerçekleştirmesi gerektiğini belirten yazar, yeni Anayasa ve başkanlık sistemi etrafında şekillenen yeni projelerin özellikle seküler askeri ve hukuki kurumlar tarafından Türkiye'nin seküler yapısına bir tehdit olarak algılandığını belirtmektedir. Son söz olarak yazar ülkede ekonominin yanı sıra başta çözülmesi gereken sorunlara da işaret etmektedir.

Change has won in Turkey

13 Haziran 2011 - Abdullah Bozkurt

If one thing was clear in the aftermath of Turkey's national elections on Sunday, it was the appetite for reform of Turks whose demand for a better Turkey was clearly displayed by a landslide. The only party that lost big time was the nationalist party, which lost not only the number of seats representing it in Parliament but overall the percentage points it scored with voters as well.

Turks rewarded parties that have shown flexibility in accommodating a broader audience, while punishing status quo parties that have resisted change in the country.

The ruling Justice and Development Party (AK Party) led the pack—winners in a landslide victory with 50 percent of votes cast, a record for any political party in Turkish history. The fact that the AK Party has shown it could spearhead change based on a track record of almost nine years of its rule carried the party into a third term with a higher percentage of votes. Results defied the wearing-down impact of continuous governance for two terms.

The main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP) also enjoyed an increased percentage of votes based on the last national election outcome in 2007 as well as the larger number of seats it picked up. The CHP tried to appeal to a larger electorate and did not campaign on ideological divisions. That won points for the CHP. But the final tally was not enough to carry the party over the critical threshold of 30 percent—a benchmark set by the CHP's new leader as a measure of success. The nomination of highly controversial coup-plotting Ergenekon suspects on the CHP ticket thwarted the rise of the party to 30 percent.

Voters exacted the heftiest price from the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), the ultimate

loser in Sunday's election, because the party resisted all calls for reform and change. The hard-line attitude of the MHP with regard to constitutional changes and its irreconcilable position when it comes to the solution of the decades-long Kurdish problem did not bring votes to the party. Scaremongering tactics to pump up the public's fear of the separation of Turkey's Southeast backfired on the MHP. The scandals over womanizing deputies in the MHP leadership on the eve of elections cost the party, resulting in a huge exodus of women voters.

Independents endorsed by the pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) also reaped the benefits of opening up to a broader support base. The alliance the BDP made with two other pro-Kurdish parties—the conservative Participatory Democracy Party (KADEP) and the federalist Rights and Freedoms Party (HAK-PAR)—paid off by drawing support from religious voters and others. The party secured 35 seats in Parliament, an increase of 15 deputies from 2007. Despite the alliance, however, the AK Party collected almost half of the seats in the Southeast and kept its strong support in the Kurdish electorate.

The myth about the threat to our way of life during the AK Party government in coastal provinces of the West and South has collapsed with the strong showing of the AK Party in these provinces. In provinces such as Antalya, Manisa, Aydın, Uşak, Balıkesir and Çanakkale, where the AK Party lost the local elections two years ago, the unprecedented increase in the number of votes carried the AK Party to the lead in these provinces. In İzmir, the third largest city in Turkey, the AK Party challenged the CHP's lead with a 6 percent rise over the 2009 results of the local elections in the province, while the CHP votes fell by 5 percentage points when compared to the 2009 results.

As for the nomination of suspects charged with the membership in Ergenekon, a crimi-

nal network alleged to be behind coup plots to topple the AK Party government, voters punished both the CHP and the MHP, which allowed these suspects to run on their party tickets. Both parties had to spend considerable time and resources to explain themselves to the public over the nomination of these suspects. Not only did Ergenekon suspects alienate activists in district offices of the MHP and the CHP but they also turned off a good number of voters who traditionally cast their ballots for either party. In the western province of Denizli, for example, CHP candidate/Ergenekon suspect İlhan Cihaner avoided public appearances and campaigned in the shadows. Another Ergenekon suspect, Mehmet Haberal, from the CHP set up an independent campaign office in the northwestern province of Zonguldak and worked in competition with the CHP district office.

A decision by the MHP to nominate retired Gen. Engin Alan, who is currently standing trial in the Sledgehammer case, which allegedly sought to undermine the government and lay the groundwork for a military takeover, as a candidate has damaged the party as shown in the outcome of the elections. While the MHP campaigned with a pro-freedom stance on the Islamic headscarf, the use of which had been banned in Turkey's universities for many years, Alan is known to have kept tabs on headscarf-wearing women in the past.

The elections proved people vote overwhelmingly for parties willing to change in order to accommodate a larger electorate. The AK Party, the BDP and to some extent the CHP made this leap in this election period and won. The MHP was not able to show this flexibility and paid the price for it. Now the overhaul of the Constitution will be at the top of the agenda in Parliament. The party or parties that make an extra effort to change will be winners in the next round.

<http://english.alarabiya.net/views/2011/06/13/153131.html>

Özet:

Seçim sonuçlarından çıkan en önemli vurgunun Türk halkının oyunu reformdan yana kullanması olarak yorumlayan Abdullah Bozkurt yazısında seçimin tek kaybedeni olarak hem seçmen sayısında hem de milletvekili sayısında düşüş yaşanan MHP'yi göstermektedir. Yazı ana hatları ile değişimden yana olan partilerin seçmen tarafından ödüllendirildiğine ancak değişim karşıtı statüko yanlısı partilerin ise cezalandırıldığı savı üzerinde durmaktadır. Türk siyasi tarihinin en yüksek oyu olan %50 başarıyı bu bağlamda değerlendiren yazar, CHP'nin oy oranlarındaki artışı yeni söylemlerine, daha geniş kitlelerle seslenme çabasına ve yeni lidere dayandırmaktadır. Benzer bir şekilde yazıda BDP'nin seçime diğer Kürt partileri olan HAK-PAR ve KADEP ile blok halinde girmesi başarı oranını arttırmış, daha geniş bir kitlenin desteğini almasını sağlamıştır denilmektedir. Ancak yazar CHP'nin Ergenekon sanıklarının aday yapmasının partiye seçmen kaybettiğini, BDP'nin ise yaptığı bloğa rağmen AK Parti'nin güneydoğu'da milletvekillerin yarısını alarak Kürt seçmen desteğini sağladığını belirtmektedir. Yazıda MHP'nin ise değişim ve reform karşıtı tavrının seçmen tarafından cezalandırılmasının yanı sıra son skandallarla kadın seçmeninde bir düşüş yaşadığına yer verilmektedir.

Erdoğan and Turkey's quest for greatness

14 Haziran 2011 - Mustapha Ajbaili

I spent one day in Istanbul on my way from Dubai to Morocco last month. I stayed in a two-floor house converted into a pension located on a charming, cobblestoned street in a quiet area of Istanbul's historic Sultanahmet district. The owner, Orhan, greeted me with a Turkish cup of tea, and then we began talking about the change taking place in the Arab world.

As we spoke, an election campaign van passed by. The van bore the slogan of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) "İstikrar sürsün" (let the stability continue). I asked Mr. Orhan if Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan would be re-elected. He replied: "Oh yeah, there is no doubt about this. With Erdoğan, Turkey will be great again."

For the ordinary man, Orhan, elections in Turkey were not merely about improving economic conditions or creating more jobs but more about restoring to the nation the greatness it had once enjoyed during the Ottoman Empire.

Mr. Orhan's remarks made me reflect on the history of the power struggle in Turkey and how differing parties all unite around the common goal of building a great state.

Modern Turkey came to being following a war of liberation fought by Turkish nationalists against the Allies. Turkey was partitioned by the Allies following the Ottoman Empire's defeat in World War I.

The Ottoman Sultanate was overthrown and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk came to power seeking to build a great state. Most successive leaders followed Mr. Kemal's quest and ambition to build a great state but none was ever compared to him as Mr. Erdoğan has been.

Suzy Hansen, an American journalist based in Istanbul recently wrote of Mr. Erdoğan: "By now, Erdoğan is more than merely popular. He is a once-in-a-lifetime phenomenon, with all the political genius of a Bill Clinton and none of the personal excess [...] If the AKP wins the June 12 elections, as is widely expected, Erdoğan will become the most powerful Turkish leader since Kemal Atatürk."

<http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/06/14/153178.html>

Özet:

Mustapha Ajbaili yazısında normal seçmenin kararlarının ekonomik büyüme ya da iş olanaklarının artırılmasından ziyade Osmanlı İmparatorluğu dönemindeki itibarın ve büyüklüğün geri kazanılması tarafından yönlendirildiğini iddia etmektedir. I. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yıkılması ve ardından Mustafa Kemal Atatürk tarafından Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurulmasına kısaca değinen yazar, Mustafa Kemal'in büyük bir devlet kurma idealinden yola çıktığını, Türk siyasi tarihinde pek çok liderinden de bu idealin peşinden gittiğini ancak Mustafa Kemal'den sonra en başarılı liderin Erdoğan olduğunu belirtmektedir. Yazı Suzy Hansen'e ait olan "Erdoğan, Atatürk'ten sonraki en güçlü lider" sözleri ile son bulmaktadır.

Asharq Al Awsat**When will Arab Islamists sing like Erdogan?****16 Haziran 2011 - Adel Al Toraiifi**

Over the past decade, the Turkish "Justice and Development" Party [AKP] has achieved numerous successes, most prominently winning a third term in office this week, increasing its parliamentary share from 43 percent at the 2007 elections to 51 percent. Of course, this success stems from the fact that the party has made Turkey more affluent, and enhanced its ability to compete in global economic markets. Indeed, the UK based Financial Times newspaper claimed that global markets reacted with relief at the news of the Turkish party's electoral victory, and its continued control of the Turkish economy until 2015.

Ever since the ruling party first came to power in 2002 it undertook a series of liberal economic reforms. These measures gained widespread appreciation, doubling Turkey's gross

domestic product and achieving a growth rate exceeding 11 percent in 2010. This distinguished performance was accompanied by diplomatic openness and strong Turkish diplomatic activity between 2002 and 2005, with the aim of securing Turkish membership to the EU. Following the 2007 election, Turkey exhibited a strong trend towards the Middle East, maximizing the AKP's chances of remaining in power after the army and the nationalist/secular currents suffered a number of legislative and judicial defeats. In addition to this, the party has pushed through a set of legislative reforms that expanded personal freedoms as well as the rights of minorities, which is something that has earned the party great respect, even among the ranks of its [political] opposition.

However, despite all these successes, the AKP continued to raise doubts and cause national disputes with regards its attempts to change some "secularist" features of Turkey. This includes the issue of the hijab among female university students, support for religious schools, and the government targeting journalists and political opponents by launching media and judicial campaigns against them which is something that has resulted in Turkey having more political prisoners than China! However the major concern – especially in the West – is in Turkey distancing itself from its allies, Washington and NATO, and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan attempts to increase his popularity in Arab and Muslim countries by playing the "Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories" card, and defending Arab leaders like [Sudanese President] Omar al-Bashir, with regards to the International Criminal Court case.

Recently, Turkish foreign policy has been affected by the events of the so-called "Arab Spring", with Prime Minister Erdogan rushing to call for Muammar Gaddafi in Libya and Bashar al-Assad in Syria to step down from power. This was seen as a sudden change by Erdogan, who had previously been awarded

the Gaddafi International Prize for Human Rights [by the Libyan regime], and had adopted a policy of rapprochement with the Baathist regime in Syria.

There are other causes of concern that pertain to Erdogan's ambition to amend the Turkish constitution, which aim to transform the country into a presidential regime similar to that of France, particularly after he pledged to do this in the event that his party wins the required two-thirds parliamentary majority [required to implement a constitutional amendment in Turkey]. This is something that has increased fears that Turkey could become an authoritarian regime that would enable Erdogan's party to tighten its grip on the country's constitution and legislation. Perhaps this is what prompted The Economist magazine, which has long praised the party's economic performance, to call upon the Turks to vote against the AKP, in order to protect Turkish democracy. The publication stated: "The AK party is all but certain to form the next government. But we would recommend that Turks vote for the CHP [the Republican People's Party]. A stronger showing by Mr Kilicdaroglu's party would both reduce the risks of unilateral changes that would make the constitution worse and give the opposition a fair chance of winning a future election. That would be by far the best guarantee of Turkey's democracy." (2 June 2011).

In the Arab world, admirers of the AKP were pleased with the news of the party's electoral victory, indeed many demanded that Islamist parties [in our region] are given the same opportunity – as in Turkey – to prove themselves, or at least given the opportunity to participate in the political experience which may lead them to mature and become more moderate, rather than continuing this state of hostility that has existed for decades.

In fact, if Islamic parties in the Arab world showed the same level of intelligence and diplomacy as the AKP, they would not need

anybody to grant them an opportunity [to participate in politics]. Yet Islamic parties, and the ideology they adopt, do not seem to produce positive results. Indeed radical movements like the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and other groups in Jordan, Kuwait, and Yemen, are decades away from recapturing the intellectual and political experience of the AKP. In addition to this, the AKP's success can be attributed to the existence of a civil environment, and the secular legacy of Turkey, which enabled this party to move towards moderation, which is something that its Arab counterparts have failed to do.

Here we must distinguish between the good and the bad aspects of the AKP's experience. The economic performance achieved by the party has been as a result of following liberal Western economic policies, rather than transforming the Turkish economy into an Islamic one. As for foreign policy, the AKP has been successful thanks to its intellectuals and theorists, such as Ahmet Davutoğlu and Ibrahim Kalin, not thanks to any hard-line anti-Israel or anti-Western stances. These intellectuals have all stressed the necessity of diplomatic openness towards the Middle East and North African market, with the objective of consolidating Turkey's investment and economic opportunities, rather than gaining popularity in Gaza, Kuwait, or Cairo.

In an interview with the Turkish "Hurriyet" newspaper, Professor Gün Kut argued that the AKP did not chart a new course in Turkish politics, but rather succeeded in following the path of economic and commercial openness with neighboring markets that previous fragile coalition governments failed to achieve during the 1990s. Perhaps the most notable proof of this can be seen in the reconciliation policy adopted by the AKP towards neighboring countries; from Armenia and Cyprus to the Kurdistan Region [of Iraq] and Syria. Indeed [Turkish Foreign Minister] Ahmet Davutoğlu's rhetoric can be considered an extension of the same policy undertaken by

[former Turkish Foreign Ministers] Hikmet Cetin (1991 – 1994) and Ismail Cem (1997 – 2002). As for Turkey distancing itself from the West, Professor Kut stressed that the West has also been distancing itself from Ankara, saying that Turkey has been dissatisfied with the US and Israel reducing their involvement in cooperative projects with Turkey.

The Arab world is misreading the AKP experience, attributing the party's success to its Islamist identity or to Erdogan's public stances and popular speeches. In reality, the AKP has been successful because it plays the game according to the political rules, and according to the constitution and the laws, rather than going against the state's institutions. Indeed although almost a decade has passed since the AKP first came to power, the party has not moved to change Turkey's secular constitution or impose religious guardianship of people's freedoms.

If we compared this to the demands and slogans raised by Islamists in our region, we will see that there is a huge difference between the two. In Egypt, for example, we have seen calls for more than a million bearded Islamists to gather to demonstrate the presence of Islamists in the Egyptian [political] arena. Whilst in Kuwait, government operation has been thwarted for years due to the segregation of male and female university students. Whilst in Iran, there has been a governmental campaign to remove home satellite dishes under the pretext of protecting morality. So can the region's Islamists be compared to those in Turkey?

There are two aspects to the AKP experience, one is positive whilst the other is negative. It is wrong to view the party's failures – and the desires of some of its figures – as being a cause for its success. Islamist parties and societies in the region can benefit from the AKP's experience by focusing on its positive elements, rather than by simply viewing the party as proof of the success of the Islamist

political model. Erdogan's public statements and speeches are not the party; rather there is an entire team of influential thinkers and administrators behind him who have all contributed to the party's success. Erdogan's own personal charisma has been important for the AKP, yet we have witnessed several occasions in which those behind him sought to remove certain content from his speeches should they feel that this might jeopardize the party's interests.

These [AKP] figures were students of Necmettin Erbakan and other hard-line Islamists, and their success can be seen in their overthrowing of the old guard and their transformation of the party's ideology and the manner in which it deals with politics to conform to the civil and secular requirements of the Turkish state. If the Islamists in the region are seeking to be inspired by the experience of the AKP in Turkey, then this is precisely what they must do.

Erdogan once appeared on Turkish television singing the AKP election campaign song in order to attract voters. The question that must be asked here is: Will the Arab Islamists follow the Erdogan model and sing to Arab voters?

<http://www.asharq-e.com/news.asp?section=2&id=25557>

Özet:

Adel Al Toraişi tarafından kaleme alınan yazıda AKP'nin seçim başarısı ile 2002 yılında iktidara geçmelerinin ardından elde edilen ekonomik başarı arasında doğrudan bir bağ kurulmakta, bu bağlamda uygulanan ekonomik politikalarından kısaca bahsedilmektedir. Ayrıca başarıya temel olarak uygulanan liberal ekonomik politikaların yanı sıra AB konusunda atılan adımlar, yeni Ortadoğu politikaları ve askeri ile yargı kurumlarının ülkedeki rollerinin yeniden düzenlenmesi konusunda yapılanlar işaret edilmektedir. Bu değişim-

lerin yanı sıra Türk siyasi yapısının seküler özelliğinin değiştirilmesi konusundaki endişelere de yer veren yazı, Türkiye’de Çin’den bile fazla politik tutuklunun bulunduğunu iddia etmiştir. Batı içinse en önemli hususun özellikle yeni Ortadoğu politikaları bağlamında daha bağımsız bir dış politika izlemeye çalışan Türkiye’nin müttefiklerinden ayrılması olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Ayrıca yazar Türkiye’nin bu yeni dış politikasında özellikle Uluslararası Ceza Mahkemesi’ne sevk edilen Ömer Beşir gibi İsrail-Filistin meselesine vurgu yaptığını söylemekte ve Arap Baharı’nun etkisi ile yakın ilişki içinde olunan Kaddafi ve Esad ile gerilimli bir yöne saptığını belirtmektedir.

Yeni anayasa ve başkanlık sistemi tartışmaları çerçevesinde Türkiye’nin daha otoriter bir sisteme doğru kayacağı yönünde endişelerin varlığından bahsedilen yazıda the Economist’in CHP lehine yaptığı çağrıya da yer vermektedir.

Yazının önemli bir kısmında ise Arap dünyasındaki İslamcı partiler ile AKP ararsında karşılaştırma yapan yazar Mısır’daki Müslüman Kardeşler ile Ürdün, Kuveyt ve Yemen’deki İslamcı partiler ararsında entelektüel ve diplomatik birikim ve bakış açısı farklılıkları bulunduğunu söylemekte ve Arap dünyasındaki İslamcı partilerin ana hatları ile AKP’yi yanlış okuduğu iddiasında bulunmaktadır. AKP’nin Türkiye’deki başarısını Arap devletlerinde olmayan seküler gelenek ve sivil toplum varlığına bağlayan yazar, AKP’nin ülke ekonomisini İslami ekonomik yapı yerine Batı tarzı liberal sisteme dönüştürdüğünü, Türk dış politikasının başarısının da İsrail ve Batı karşıtlığından ziyade Davutoğlu ve Kalın gibi önemli isimlerin oluşturduğu diplomasiye borçlu olduğunu belirtmektedir. Bu tespitlere ek olarak yazar tarafından uygulanan dış politikanın ve ekonomik politikaların 1990’larda zayıf koalisyonların uygulamaya çalıştığı ancak başaramadığı politikaların devamı olarak gördüğü anlaşılmaktadır.

Dar Al Hayat

The Victory of Damascus in...Ankara!

14 Haziran 2011 - Elias Harfoush

The strength of countries lies in their internal immunity rather than in the functions and roles they play on the external level. This is proven once again by the developments of the crisis in Syria and its outcomes, which include the regression of the Syrian role from its former positions of power. This is confirmed by the growing Turkish role in the region’s events and policies, from Palestine to Libya, as well as the Turkish position regarding the Syrian events.

As a result of this growing role and the excessive Turkish confidence, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was able to stand on the balcony of his party’s headquarters to celebrate his electoral victory and to announce that “the victory of Ankara is that of Damascus, and the victory of Izmir is that of Beirut, and the victory of Diar Bakr is that of the West Bank and Jerusalem and Gaza”...

For decades, Damascus made use of its regional extensions on the Palestinian arena, and in Lebanon, Iraq, and sometimes all the way to Egypt and the Gulf countries in order to gain external support that would protect the regime and provide it with power. From the repeated interferences in Lebanon; to the participation of the Syrian Baath regime in supporting the Western alliance against the Iraqi Baath forces in the war of the liberation of Kuwait; to using the relationship with Iran in order to serve the Syrian project... The swaps used to be based on luring the external world, particularly the Western one, by playing the required parts in the different crises in order to serve the objectives and purposes of the foreign sides in return for providing a cover for internal legitimacy. This swap – with its well known objectives – never prevented the Syrian media from depicting the

external support as being biased toward Syrian immunity and “opposition”, based on the so-called “central” role of Damascus in the regional situation.

By gaining this external legitimacy, the regime did not think that the internal front was an important one. There was a conviction that internal support, i.e. the one provided by the people to the party and to the “leader of the state and the society” is granted as long as this party is performing the regional tasks required by the nationalistic battle “that rises above every other voice.”

In the face of this situation, the Syrian regime today finds itself in a quandary. It has lost the card of external support it used to enjoy, and which it used to seek to obtain for its regional roles. It has also lost the internal card that it had neglected for a long time because it had been busy with these [external] roles instead of caring for the political, social, and daily livelihood issues that represent the daily concern of Syrian citizens, in the same way they represent the daily concerns of any other citizen in a normally-structured country. The Syrian regime has discovered – as reminded by its friend Erdogan a few days ago – that it is difficult for anyone to defend the oppression practiced on the internal front, even from the part of a side that supports the Syrian regime. This is even harder for the adversaries who have been warning the Syrian regime, after the latest events, that it is threatened with “losing its legitimacy.”

On the other hand, the latest Turkish elections and the popular support gained by the Justice and Development party headed by Recep Tayyip Erdogan provide lessons about the importance of building the internal political immunity that represents the main basis in confronting the external interests and “conspiracies” in case they do exist. The strength of the democratic regime that Turkey currently enjoys is what protects it in the face of

the recent crises, including the confrontation with the Israeli politics, the difficulties to join the European Union, and the reservations concerning the roles of NATO in Libya and elsewhere, while Turkey is actually an active member in NATO. Erdogan could not have taken such stances or raised his voice in the face of the Western forces, if he did not share a platform with these forces – the platform of legitimacy and democratic rule that allows him to speak in the name of 75 million Turkish citizens.

The strength of the popular base is protecting the regime and not vice versa. Pending a similar force that would allow the Syrians to raise their voices, the regime will keep looking – to no avail – for external functions in order to cover for its neglect on the domestic level of its people’s affairs.

<http://www.daralhayat.com/portalarticlen-dah/278099>

Özet:

Elias Harfoush, yazısında genel olarak Suriye ile Türkiye’yi özellikle son gelişmeler ışığında karşılaştırmaktadır. Bir ülkenin başarısını, iç politik destek bağlamında değerlendiren yazı, dış politikaların ve dış desteğin rejimi meşrulaştırma ve iç dinamikleri bastırma amacıyla kullanıldığı Suriye’de daha fazla geçerli olmadığını ancak Türkiye’ninse içerden aldığı destekle dış politikada da etki alanı genişlettiğine yer vermektedir. Yazar, Türkiye’nin iç siyasi yapısının ve politik desteğin güçlü olması ile demokratik rejiminin de bu bağlamda önemli bir etken olduğunu söylemekte ve Türkiye’nin tüm bu nedenlerden ötürü son yaşadığı İsrail gerginliği, AB üyelik sürecinde yaşanan sorunları ve NATO’nun Libya’daki misyonu hususundaki krizlerden korunduğunu belirtmektedir.

Middle East Online

Behind Turkey's No-Surprise Election

15 Haziran 2011 - Wendy Kristianasen

There were no surprises in Turkey on Sunday. As expected, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Justice and Development Party (AKP) won another major victory, with 326 seats in parliament out of 550. Since the start of multi-party politics in Turkey in 1946, the AKP is the first to get a third consecutive term and increasing share of the vote, now reaching 50%.

The results have not given Erdoğan the "super majority" he wanted, which would have allowed him to draft a new constitution without consulting parliament, and institute a presidential system. He has reassured Turks that his party "will be humble" and seek a broad consensus with opposition parties and NGOs on constitutional reform.

The failure to gain a super majority, requiring 330 seats, was partly due to an inability to prevent the far-right National Movement Party (MHP) from passing the 10% barrier, despite well-publicised sex scandals targeting many of its leaders; the party secured 54 seats, 13% of the vote. The 36 independent candidates, supported by the Kurdish bloc, were all voted in.

The party that may be feeling most disappointed is the secular Republican People's Party (CHP), the party of Turkey's founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, out of power for decades. It has been made over under Kemal Kilicdaroglu, who replaced its discredited former leader Deniz Baykal, and has attempted to fill the vacuum in Turkish politics that left secular upper-middle-class Turks without any credible representation.

The CHP came second in the election, with 135 seats -- a gain of 23 -- and 26% of the vote, having campaigned on a platform of

greater individual freedoms and democracy, supported and publicised by Turkish secularists, and by others abroad. The Economist's editorial on 2 June said that "The best way for Turks to promote democracy would be to vote against the ruling party." There has been much emphasis on 60 journalists currently in prison, with other critics and opponents of the government, many on suspicion of security-related offences. (Turkey's inadequate judicial system is mired in the Ergenekon trials, meant to uncover a conspiracy to overthrow the government.)

Kilicdaroglu, nicknamed Gandhi for his ascetic ways, is a modest civil servant who can understand the concerns of ordinary Turks. His overhaul of the CHP aimed to present it as a true social democratic party that was moving away from its Kemalist roots and close association with the generals towards greater individual freedoms and rights for underprivileged minorities, such as the Kurds and the Alevis. Kilicdaroglu is an Alevi and led his party in campaigning in the southeast.

Yet the CHP, divided as a result of its recent history, is a broad coalition that cannot attract new supporters. Kilicdaroglu, despite some good and innovative policies, found it difficult to broaden its appeal and still satisfy his party base. On major issues, the CHP now seems to be roughly in the same place as the AKP: adherence to the EU, progress on the Kurdish issue (the AKP government initiated a significant Kurdish "opening" in 2009), the return of the military to their barracks (the AKP's major achievement), constitutional reform.

Kilicdaroglu says: "Europe is the very top of our agenda" -- a turnaround from previous CHP policy. "Today the process is in almost total deadlock, but whether or not we are accepted, we are determined to achieve EU norms." In other foreign policy, Professor Sencer Ayata, CHP deputy chairman and chief strategist, says that he shares "the neo-

Ottoman outlook” attributed to the AKP -- a reference to Turkey’s expanding relations in the Middle East and North Africa -- and seeks “to rebuild relations in Turkey’s old areas of influence, but not on the basis of faith or ethnicity,” as he believes the AKP has done. The AKP has rejected the neo-Ottoman label, arguing correctly that it has made much wider relations with the Caucasus, Russia and Africa.

The CHP is critical of the economy, concerned at Turkey’s mounting current account deficit, modest by Mediterranean standards. Ayata calls the AKP government’s rescue of the economy in 2002 “no miracle, just the good luck of an expected bounce back.” Yet the economy under the AKP has proved remarkably resilient to global financial crisis. Last year it grew faster than any other big economy except China and India, and is now the world’s 17th-biggest. A leading member of the G20, it has widened its business and trade reach, becoming not just a regional but a global player.

The AKP and CHP agree that constitutional reform is a necessity, not just for greater democracy and modernity, but to find a peaceful solution to the Kurdish situation. Kurds would prefer a greater degree of autonomy within Turkey to a unified transnational Kurdistan. But they demand, as the basis for progress to a resolution of the conflict, that the constitution be comprehensively changed, dropping references to Turkish identity and replacing them with inclusive values such as democracy and citizenship. Only then, Kurds argue, can moves towards demilitarisation of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) advance.

That the AKP failed to win its super majority is all to the good. Turkey is already centralised enough and does not need a presidential system. (Even within the AKP, many were opposed to such a radical shift, in which Erdogan would presumably have displaced President Abdullah Gul.) But will Erdogan, accused of highhandedness, want to work with opposition

MPs for a lesser constitutional reform which falls short of his original ambition? This reform is a priority for the next government: the existing constitution, amended several times, was drafted after the military coup in 1980. And a consensual approach would be good for the nation.

<http://www.middle-east-online.com/english/?id=46720>

Özet:

AKP'nin Türkiye'de çok partili sisteme geçilen 1946 yılından itibaren bir partinin alabildiği en yüksek oy oranına ulaşıldığına işaret eden Wendy Kristianasen yazısında sonuçları AKP, MHP, CHP ve BDP açısından kısaca değerlendirmektedir. Seçim sonuçlarında AKP'nin elde ettiği önemli başarıya rağmen Başbakan Erdoğan'ın arzu ettiği “süper çoğunluğa” ulaşamadığı bu nedenle de partinin tek başına yeni anayasa ve başkanlık sistemi için gerek düzenlemeleri yapamayacağı, sonuç olarak da uzlaşma yönünde adımlar atılacağını söylemektedir. AKP'nin amaçladığı milletvekili sayısına ulaşamamasını, MHP'nin seks skandalına rağmen barajı aşmasına ve Kürt bloğunun milletvekili sayısını arttırmasına bağlayan yazar, en çok hayal kırıklığı yaşayan partinin ise CHP olduğunu öne sürmektedir. The Economist'in seçim öncesi CHP lehine yaptığı çağrıya ve Ergenekon kapsamında tutuklanan gazetecilere de değinen yazı, partinin yeni lideri Kılıçdaroğlu ile birlikte Kemalist köklerinden kopmaya başladığını ve sosyal demokrat bir partiye dönüşmeye çalıştığını söylemektedir. Ancak geçen süreçte parti tabanını tatmin etme sorunun aşamayan CHP'nin geldiği noktanın AKP ile aynı olduğu, KÜRT sorunun çözümü, AB üyeliği, askeri kurumların sınırlandırılması ve anayasal reform gibi konularda fikir birliğinin oluştuğuna yazı yer verilmektedir.

Yazının sonunda Türkiye'nin hâlihazırda fazlası ile merkezi olduğu için başkanlık sistemine ihtiyaç olmadığı ve yeni anayasa için uzlaşmanın ülkeye fayda getireceği belirtilmektedir.

BASRA KÖRFEZİ

BAHREYN

Gulf Daily News

Turkey and the Kurds

19 Haziran 2011 - Jonathan Power

In last Sunday's general election, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his Islamic, centrist, Justice and Development Party won a substantial victory, returning to office for the third consecutive time, making his the strongest presidency since Attaturk.

The Kurds who live mainly in the southeast, although there are substantial numbers in Istanbul and Ankara, voted for the Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party, giving them 35 seats in parliament. The urban Kurds, as always, voted for the mainstream parties.

The Kurds have had a chequered history. First, they tried passive protests against their inferior position and the draconian rule of Ankara which didn't allow them cultural freedoms - the right to have their own language, media, or teach Kurdish in schools. Some turned into guerillas under the banner of the PKK, which was ruthless. So was the army, destroying hundreds of villages and torturing at will.

A decade ago PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan from his jail cell ordered the insurgents to implement a ceasefire. But as the years passed he too became convinced that the government was not serious about implementing the reforms it talked about. It wasn't and under the leadership of his brother, the fighting began again.

Some 20 million Kurds live in the rugged mountains where Turkey, Iraq and Iran meet. Another million are overseas, some of whom fund the PKK. Many are in prominent positions and a Kurd was prime minister not that many years ago.

When the Ottoman Empire collapsed, a casualty of the First World War, most of its subject peoples knew what they wanted. The Kurds lacked the resolve that comes from possessing a single ethnic origin, religion, language or leadership, and were relegated to the sidelines of the nationalist drama.

Attaturk, the founder of a secular, post-war Turkey, thought it would be easy to make a Faustian bargain with the Kurds, offering them citizenship in exchange for them giving up their language and identity. But as the years passed many Kurds didn't sit easy with the arrangement. They resented the ban on the use of the Kurdish language in schools and courtrooms.

In 1995 general elections, the Kurdish People's Democracy Party (since banned), despite the sympathies of some members for the PKK, was allowed for the first time to contest without harassment. But out of 6m Kurdish voters, only 1m voted for it. The Kurds voted for mainstream parties, and there was a rejection of Kurdish nationalism, even of the democratic variety, much less that of the PKK, then at the height of its power.

The message for the PKK was that the cause it pursued and the means it used were not widely shared. For authorities also there was a message they have never fully absorbed - that they have exaggerated the PKK's potency and popularity. Through one administration after another - Erdogan's is no exception - they and the army, which often called the shots, have misled the public on why they had to be so unsparing and tough on Kurds who did rebel, whether they were violent or non-violent.

Under Erdogan, many promises have been made - allowing Kurdish in schools, a Kurdish TV station and the economic development of this poor region. But many have not been satisfactorily implemented. There is not much investment or development. Although the PKK and its methods don't speak for the

mass of the Kurds, they represent their anger. That is why the insurgency has re-started, albeit still on a low level.

Erdogan blames the PKK for its provocations. Yet it is the army that often has done the provoking and dragged the government into the fray.

Now, with Sunday's election, the Kurds can see some light. In the run-up to the election Erdogan was not particularly caring of them. But if he wants the European Union to allow Turkey's election, he has to do much more for the Kurds. He has no excuse. He has subdued the army's political influence. He has a strong mandate. The economy is doing well. If he fails to do what is right and just for the Kurds, he will have himself to blame if the insurgency flares up again.

<http://www.gulf-daily-news.com/NewsDetails.aspx?storyid=308233>

Özet:

Jonathan Power tarafından hazırlanan yazı genel olarak 2011 genel seçim sonuçlarını Kürt sorunun çerçevesinde ele almaktadır. Yazar, Başbakan Erdoğan'ın seçim sonuçları ile elde ettiği başarıyı onu Atatürk'ten sonraki en önemli lider konumuna getireceği öngörü ile birlikte yeni dönemde Kürt seçmene yönelik yapılacak reformların ve ekonomik yatırımların ülkenin geleceği açısından önemini açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. Kürt sorununun cumhuriyet tarihinde ortaya çıkışını genel hatları ile anlatmaya çalışan yazı kırsalda yaşayan Kürtlerin Kürt milliyetçiliğini savunan BDP gibi Kürt partilerine yöneldiği ancak şehirli Kürt nüfusun ise genel itibari ile ana akım partilere yöneldiğini, bu durumun ise Kürt milliyetçiliğinin çoğunluk tarafından kabul edilmediği şeklinde yorumlanması gerektiğini söylemektedir. AB üyeliği için sorunun çözülmesi gerektiğine işaret edilen yazıda yeni dönemde reformlar ve yatırımlar yapılmasına ihtiyaç olduğuna yer verilmektedir.

BİRLEŞİK ARAP EMİRLİKLERİ

Gulf News

Erdogan has raised Turkey's profile in the Arab world

Analysts see strengthening ties between Ankara and Muslim nations

15 Haziran 2011 - Jumana Al Tamimi, Associate Editor

If the outcome of the parliamentary elections was up to the Arab masses, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan would have won by a landslide.

Erdogan's conservative Islamic Justice and Development Party (AKP) has won a third term in parliament in Sunday's elections in what many Turkish analysts believe will lead to the continuation of the country's strong relations with both the Arab and Muslim worlds.

Erdogan's successful efforts commenced eight years ago to diversify Turkey's foreign policy portfolio by opening up to the Arab countries, said Abdullah Bozkurt, columnist at Today's Zaman, Turkey's leading English-language newspaper.

Policy to continue

"That policy of opening up to the Arab world is going to continue," Bozkurt told Gulf News.

While the AKP won the elections, it failed to secure the needed majority in parliament to draft a new constitution without the consent of other parties.

Analysts say among the electorate the domestic policies are the key determining factor in elections, closely followed by foreign policy matters.

Ties with Israel

During the election campaign, some AKP candidates were “campaigning on foreign policy issues, including opening up to the Muslim world, relations with Israel and therebuff of ErdogantoIsraeliPresident Shimon Peres at the World Economic Forum in Davos. [Foreign policy] played a small role, but it was-mentioned,” Bozkurt added. “Foreign policy issues also brought in some points to the parties.”

At the 2009 Davos WEF summit, Erdogan walked off the stage after an angry exchange with Peres during a panel discussion on Gaza vowing never to return to the annual meeting. That issue sharply raised the already growing popularity of the Turkish leader among the Arabs.

Flotilla

Last year, activist groups in Turkeyorganised a flotillato the besieged Gaza Strip to break the Israeli blockade. But Israeli commandos raided the ships on May 31 as they approached Gaza. Nine Turks were killed in the assault, which further strained Turkish-Israeli relations.

Turkey-based groups are planning to send a second flotilla to Gaza Strip this month. Yesterday, Israel expressed thehopethatErdogan’s governmentwillblock the second flotilla.

As Turkey is emerging as a regional power, its relations with the Arab countries have been steadily growing in the past few years. Erdogan has beeninvited to several activities in the regionandwashonouredfor his stancevis-avisMuslimissues.

Mediating

Ankara has also been playing a mediating role in many other issues related to the region, including the Arab-Israeli conflict, especial-

ly between the Syrians and the Israelis. Recently, it began mediating in the unrest that is sweeping many Arab countries, such as Libya and Syria.

At the same time, Turkey, which is a Natomember, has been attempting to join the European Union.

‘Providing a balance’

Asked whether Turkey’s eyes will be on the East or the West in the future, Turkishpoliticalprofessor Mehmet Seyfettin Erol told Gulf News, “It is very important for AKP to provide a balance” between the two.

“The new Turkey, or the new Ankara, believes that if Turkey has to be powerful in front of the West... it must develop a powerful relation with the IslamicandArabworlds.... It is a rationalapproach,” said Erol, a coordinator at the Eurasian Strategic Research Centre, ASAM.

Erol, who is also professor of internationalrelations at Gazi University, stressedthat since building strong bridges with the Arab world is a strategic goal for Ankara, stability in the Arab region and the larger Middle East is also a priority. That is why Turkey took the initiative and tried to mediate in different issues, ranging from the controversialIraniannucle-arprogrammetotherevolution in Libya and the unrest in Syria.

However, Erdogan’spopularity in both Syria and Libya suffered, because “MrErdogan, AKP and Turkey were not up to the expectations of the opposition in both Syria and Libya,” accordingto Erol, Erdogan’spopularity in the Arab world, “is still higher than in some areas of Turkey”.

<http://gulfnews.com/news/region/erdogan-has-raised-turkey-s-profile-in-the-arab-world-1.821683>

Özet:

Erdoğan'ın muhafazakâr İslamcı partisi AKP'nin üçüncü kez iktidara gelmesiyle bir çok analistin Arap dünyasıyla var olan bağların daha da güçleneceği yönünde yorum yaptığı belirtilen yazıda, Arap dünyasına açılma politikasının devam edeceği belirtilmektedir. Yazıda Today's Zaman gazetesi yazarı Abdullah Bozkurt'un görüşlerine yer verilmekte ve seçim dönemi boyunca adayların İslam dünyasına açılmak ve İsrail ile ilişkiler gibi dış politika konuları üzerinde durdukları belirtilmektedir. Yazar ayrıca Erdoğan'ın 2009'da Davos Dünya Ekonomi Forumu'nda, Gazze ile ilgili konuşmalar sırasında Forum'u terk etmesiyle, Araplar içindeki popüleritesini artırdığını belirtmektedir. Geçen sene Türkiye'nin Gazze'ye gönderdiği filonun, İsrail blokajına uğraması ile Türkiye- İsrail ilişkilerinin gerilmesine değinen yazar, Türkiye'nin bölgesel bir güç olarak belirlediği son yıllarda Arap dünyası ile ilişkileri gün geçtikçe büyüdüğü yönünde bir tespit yapmaktadır. Ayrıca yazı, Türkiye'nin özellikle Suriye İsrail ilişkileri ile ilgili olarak Arap- İsrail uyuşmazlığı da dahil olmak üzere, bölgeye ilişkin birçok konuda ve Libya ile Suriye'de olduğu gibi Arap ülkeleri içindeki sorunlarda da arabuluculuk yaptığını belirtmesinin yanı sıra NATO üyesi ve AB adayı olarak Türkiye'nin, Doğu ve Batı ile olan ilişkileri arasında bir denge kurması gerektiğine de yer vermektedir.

Yazarın AKP'nin Suriye ve Libya'da muhalefetin isteklerini tam olarak karşılayamadığı için popüleritesinin sarsıldığı iddiası ile Erdoğan'ın Arap dünyasındaki konumunu 'hala Türkiye'nin bazı bölgelerinden daha fazla' yönündeki değerlendirmesi öne çıkmaktadır.

Khaalej Times**Turkey's Kurd paradox****17 Haziran 2011 - Jonathan Power**

In last Sunday's general election Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his Islamic, centrist, Justice and Development Party won a substantial victory at the polls, returning it to office for the third consecutive time, making his the strongest presidency since Attaturk.

The Kurds who live mainly in the south east, although there are substantial numbers both in Istanbul and Ankara, voted in large numbers for the Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party- giving them nearly six per cent of the vote and 35 seats in parliament. This was also a substantial achievement, even though the urban Kurds, as always, voted in large numbers for the mainstream parties.

The Kurds have had a chequered history in modern Turkey. First, they tried passive protests against their inferior position and the draconian rule of Ankara which didn't allow them cultural freedoms- the right to have their own Kurdish language, media or to teach Kurdish in schools. Then, out of frustration, some turned into guerrillas under the banner of the PKK. The PKK was ruthless. But so was the army, destroying hundreds of villages and torturing at will. A decade ago the leader of the PKK, Abdullah Ocalan, from his jail cell ordered the insurgents to implement a cease-fire. But as the years passed he too became convinced that the government was not serious about implementing the reforms it talked about. It wasn't and under the leadership of Ocalan's brother the fighting began again.

Some 20 million Kurds live in the rugged mountains where Turkey, Iraq and Iran meet. There are another million overseas, some of who fund the PKK. In Turkey many Kurds are in prominent positions in many walks of life and a Kurd was prime minister not that many years ago.

In Turkey's 1995 general election the Kurdish People's Democracy Party (since banned), despite the sympathies of some of its members for the PKK, was allowed for the first time to contest the election without harassment. But

out of six million potential Kurdish voters only one million Kurds voted for it. The Kurds voted principally for mainstream parties, and there was a significant rejection of Kurdish nationalism, even of the democratic variety, much less that of the PKK, then at the height of its powers.

The message for the PKK was that the cause it pursued and the means it used were not widely shared. But for the authorities there was also a message, one they have never fully absorbed - that they have exaggerated the potency and popularity of the PKK. Through one administration after another—and Erdogan's is no exception — have misled the public on why they had to be so unsparing and tough on those Kurds who did rebel, violent or non-violent.

Under Erdogan many promises have been made - allowing Kurdish in the schools, a Kurdish TV station and the economic development of this very poor region. But many the promises have not been satisfactorily implemented. Most importantly, there is not much investment or development. Although the PKK guerrillas and their methods don't speak for the mass of the Kurds they do represent their anger. That is why the insurgency has re-started, albeit still on a low level scale compared with before.

Erdogan blames the PKK for its provocations. Yet it is the army that often has done the provoking, even on occasion using agents provocateurs, and dragged the government into the fray. Erdogan has often had to bow before the army to keep the generals' urge to run Turkey in check.

If Erdogan ever wants the European Union to allow Turkey's election he has to do much more for the Kurds. He has no excuse now. He has subdued the political influence of the army. He has an overwhelmingly strong mandate. The national economy is doing well. If he fails to do what is right and just for the

Kurds he will only have himself to blame if the insurgency flares up again.

http://www.khaleejtimes.com/DisplayArticleNew.asp?xfile=/data/opinion/2011/June/opinion_June84.xml§ion=opinion

Özet:

NOT: Bu yazı Gulf Daily News'de "Turkey and the Kurds" başlığı altında da yayınlanmıştır.

Jonathan Power tarafından hazırlanan yazı genel olarak 2011 genel seçim sonuçlarını Kürt sorunun çerçevesinde ele almaktadır. Yazar, Başbakan Erdoğan'ın seçim sonuçları ile elde ettiği başarıyı onu Atatürk'ten sonraki en önemli lider konumuna getireceği öngörü ile birlikte yeni dönemde Kürt seçmene yönelik yapılacak reformların ve ekonomik yatırımların ülkenin geleceği açısından önemini açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. Kürt sorunun cumhuriyet tarihinde ortaya çıkışını genel hatları ile anlatmaya çalışan yazı kırsalda yaşayan Kürtlerin Kürt milliyetçiliğini savunan BDP gibi Kürt partilerine yöneldiği ancak şehirli Kürt nüfusun ise genel itibari ile ana akım partilere yöneldiğini, bu durumun ise Kürt milliyetçiliğinin çoğunluk tarafından kabul edilmediği şeklinde yorumlanması gerektiğini söylemektedir. AB üyeliği için sorunun çözülmesi gerektiğine işaret edilen yazıda yeni dönemde reformlar ve yatırımlar yapılmasına ihtiyaç olduğuna yer verilmektedir.

The National

Election victory for Erdogan boosts Turkey's standing in region

14 Haziran 2011 - Thomas Seibert

Turkey's elections, which balanced a stable government with a requirement for politicians to forge a broad agreement for a new constitution, have strengthened the country's

role as a political model with a functioning Muslim democracy, analysts say.

The religiously conservative Justice and Development Party (AKP) of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the prime minister, scored a record 49.9 per cent of the vote in Sunday's parliamentary elections to win its third straight term in power. The AKP raked in almost twice as many votes as the second party, the secularist Republican People's Party (CHP) which came in at 25.9 per cent.

Despite the resounding AKP triumph, voters rejected Mr Erdoğan's plea to give the party the two-thirds majority in parliament needed to exclusively alter the constitution. With 326 seats in the 550 seat assembly in Ankara, the AKP will have to seek agreement with other parties if it wants to carry out its promise of a new constitution, replacing one written under orders by the military in 1982 after a coup d'état.

Mr Erdoğan left no doubt that he thinks the election outcome has strengthened Turkey's role in the region.

"Believe me, tonight Sarajevo has won as much as Istanbul has," Mr Erdoğan said in his victory speech to thousands of cheering supporters who had gathered in front of the AKP headquarters in Ankara late Sunday.

"Beirut has won just as much as Izmir has, the West Bank and Gaza have won just as much as Diyarbakir has. Tonight, the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus have won just as much as Turkey has.

"We will become much more active in regional and global affairs," Mr Erdoğan said.

Turkey, a Western-style democracy with a Muslim population, has been described as a model state for countries caught up in the uprisings of the Arab Spring. The outcome of the election has boosted that function, political analyst Celalettin Yavuz said.

Mr Yavuz, the deputy director of the Centre for International Relations and Strategic Analysis, or Turksam, a think tank in Ankara, said in an interview yesterday: "After the election, Erdoğan is more powerful [in the region] than he was before."

People in the Middle East saw Mr Erdoğan "as a leader of a Muslim, but democratic state," something demonstrators around the region want for their own countries, Mr Yavuz said.

Despite not getting the majority that would allow him to amend the Turkish constitution, Erdoğan's record-breaking third election win shows his stock is still rising.

Afshin Molavi

Veysel Ayhan, an analyst at the Centre for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies, or Orsam, another think tank in Ankara, said the Turkish election result carried an important message for both the people and the governments in the region: "You can be successful if you are close to the people," Mr Ayhan said.

He also pointed to protests outside the Turkish embassy in Damascus late Sunday, which showed that authoritarian regimes in the region were not happy with the effectiveness of the democratic process in Turkey, he said. About 2,000 supporters of the Syrian regime gathered in front of the Turkish embassy in the capital and tried to take down the Turkish flag, news reports said.

In Ankara, the issue of the new constitution has dominated from the moment Mr Erdoğan's victory became clear. The prime minister, who has been accused of autocratic tendencies, said he would work with the opposition and pledged to protect the rights and the lifestyle of all Turks, not just of the predominantly conservative circles that voted for him.

"The nation has given us the message that the new constitution should be created through

agreement and negotiation,” Mr Erdogan said in his victory speech. “We will go to the opposition. We will look for consultation and agreement with the media and academics. We will not close our doors.”

He also stressed that the AKP, supported by many observant Muslims but despised by many Turkish secularists, would form a government that was respectful to everyone in the countr

“No one should have doubts that [protecting] the lifestyle, faith and values of both those who voted and did not vote for us will be a matter of honour for me,” Mr Erdogan said.

Leaders of Turkey’s business community called on politicians to resolve their differences and get to work on the new constitution. Parties should act quickly, Hacı Boydak, a leading industrialist, told Zaman, a newspaper close to the government.

Political observers said the election had given Mr Erdogan, whose government spent years trying to strip the once-powerful military of its political influence, a good chance to seek a compromise with the opposition.

Four years ago, the AKP victory in the elections came after the military threatened to stage a coup against Mr Erdogan, but today, “there are no more excuses” for the ruling party, Rusen Cakir, a television and newspaper commentator, told the NTV news channel.

Others agreed. “We have a level playing field now,” columnist Mumtażer Turkone wrote in yesterday’s Zaman. “A new constitution is possible at last.”

<http://www.thenational.ae/news/worldwide/europe/election-victory-for-erdogan-boosts-turkeys-standing-in-region?pageCount=2>

Özet:

Thomas Seibert’in kaleme aldığı yazıda Türkiye’deki önemli uzmanların ve gazetecilerin görüşlerine ve Başbakan Erdoğan’ın seçim sonrası yaptığı açıklamalarına dayanarak Türkiye’deki seçimlerin ülkenin bölgesel rolüne etkilerine ve yeni anayasa çalışmaları bağlamındaki olasılıklara yer verilmiştir. Seçim sonuçları ve AKP’nin %50’yi bulan başarısı yeni anayasa için geniş bir uzlaşa sağlandığına değinen yazı Türkiye’nin bölgede Müslüman nüfus ile demokratik yönetimi bir araya getiren özellikle Arap Baharı yaşayan ülkeler için önemli bir model olduğunu da belirtmektedir. Yeni anayasa hazırlama süreci içinse yazar uzlaşma mesajlarına vurgu yapmaktadır.

KATAR

Al Jazeera

A triumph for Turkish democracy

14 Haziran 2011 - İbrahim Kalin

Prime Minister Erdogan’s victory brings aspirations of unity and increasing regional power for Turkey.

Turkish prime minister reaches out to opposition after winning half of votes but falling short of target of 330 seats.

The June 12 election, which gave the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) 50 per cent of the votes and a clear majority in the parliament, is a victory not only for Prime Minister Erdogan but also for Turkish democracy. With a new mandate to govern for another term, the AKP will now seek a broad consensus to write a new constitution and find a peaceful solution to the Kurdish issue.

Since the start of multi-party politics in 1946, no political party in Turkey has been able to

rule for three consecutive terms while increasing its votes. The AKP came to power at the end of 2002 and has since then implemented numerous political and judicial reforms, boosted the Turkish economy, and expanded foreign policy. The results from Sunday's elections show that the vast majority of the Turkish public approve of this model of development that has been spearheaded by Prime Minister Erdogan.

RecepTayyipErdogan, Turkey's re-elected prime minister, has pledged to build a new constitution for the country by consensus after winning a third straight term in parliamentary elections.

Erdogan's Justice and Development Party (AKP) won nearly 50 per cent of the vote on Sunday, but came up just short of its target of 330 seats in the new parliament, which would have enabled it to draft a new constitution without consulting other parties.

In a victory speech before thousands of flag-waving supporters in the capital, Ankara, Erdogan pledged "humility" and said he would work with rivals.

"People gave us a message to build the new constitution through consensus and negotiation," he said. "We will discuss the new constitution with opposition parties. This new constitution will meet peace and justice demands."

Erdogan put his plans for constitutional change at the heart of his party's election campaign, arguing that a new one was needed to make Turkey more democratic and to enhance individual freedoms, replacing a document drafted under martial law in 1982.

But his opponents said Erdogan and his party, which mixes social conservatism with liberal economics, would use a dominant parliamentary majority to consolidate their own grip on power.

<http://english.aljazeera.net/indepth/opinion/2011/06/201161310911608762.html>

Özet:

Ibrahim Kalin'in kaleme aldığı yazısına Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın oyların yarısını kazandığını ancak 330 sandalye hedefine ulaşamadığını, bu nedenle ilginin muhalefet partileri üzerine kayacağına dair tespitleri ile başlamakta ve seçim sonuçlarını Türk demokrasisi için de bir zafer olarak yorumlamaktadır. Yazara göre AKP şimdi yeni bir anayasa hazırlayacak ve Kürt sorununa barışçı bir çözüm bulmak için geniş bir uzlaşma arayacak. Çok partili sisteme geçilen 1946 yılından itibaren AKP dışında hiçbir partinin üç dönem üst üste seçilmediğini ve son seçimlerde alınan oy oranına ulaşamadığını belirten yazar, bu durumun AKP tarafından sürdürülen gelişim modeline onay anlamını taşıdığını söylemektedir. Erdoğan'ın seçim sonrası yaptığı açıklamalar ışığında yazar yeni anayasa için uzlaşma aranacağını belirtmektedir.

Al Jazeera

Time for Turkish women's voices to be heard

17 Haziran 2011 - Diba Nigar Goksel

In a society still marked by deep gender inequalities, Erdogan's rhetoric about women's choices has real consequences.

Turkey's elections resulted in an increase in the number of women in the 550-seat parliament from 48 to 78.

At 14 per cent, the proportion of women in the new parliament is higher than in at least two European Union states, Romania and Cyprus, according to figures compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. But it still falls well

below the EU average, and even the world average of about 19 per cent.

In his victory speech, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the prime minister, said that “no one should doubt that we will protect the dignity, faith and lifestyles of those who did not vote for us”.

But the fact is, some do doubt - among them a dynamic movement of women’s NGOs that both pressured and assisted Erdogan’s Justice and Development Party (AKP) in legislating pro-women reforms between 2002 and 2005.

The AKP has been applauded by liberal Turks and Western observers alike for being receptive to the lobbying of these women’s organisations, and for enshrining gender equality in Turkey’s civil and penal codes, as well as launching progressive initiatives to combat domestic violence and increase the rate of girls’ education.

In the past few years though, trust has dipped and friction has increasingly surfaced between the ruling party and these same activists.

Only a few days before the election, the Women’s Platform for Equality Mechanisms - a coalition of 71 women’s NGOs - was up in arms because of an announcement that the State Ministry for Women and the Family would be restructured and renamed the Ministry of Family and Social Policies.

Women activists argue that a distinct mandate to ensure gender equality should be preserved. They point out that, in its new form, the ministry falls short of responsibility to ensure equality - and instead is tasked only with protecting weak social groups such as children, the disabled, the elderly, veterans and women, as well as strengthening “the institution of the family”.

Rising tension

While Erdogan responded to this criticism as “a detail,” the tense exchange reflects how terse relations have become between women’s NGOs and the prime minister.

The friction dates back to 2004, when, on the eve of passing a progressive penal code, the AKP attempted to introduce an article that would have criminalised adultery. Though the attempt was aborted due to domestic and European outcry, the incident cast doubt about whether party leaders genuinely agreed with the spirit of the laws legislated.

Since then, other incidents have driven a wedge between feminist women and the prime minister. While Erdogan underlines the inherent differences between women and men, and argues against a quota to balance the playing field in political representation, feminists perceive this to evoke the traditional view that women are fit to run the household, while public life is the man’s domain.

Erdogan’s calls for Turkish women to have at least three children each, which he reiterated on the campaign trail, and his argument that birth control was advocated by those who wanted to weaken Turkey, are all the more controversial given that state childcare facilities are practically absent.

The women’s movement attributes Turkey’s rising figures of domestic violence and decreasing levels of female participation in the workforce to a lack of political will.

While Erdogan maintains that his party is simply socially conservative and pro-family, the backdrop is a failure by state institutions to provide the support needed for women who choose to break out of abusive family environments.

In a society still struggling with repression and violence under the guise of protecting

morality or ‘honour’, the political rhetoric of a charismatic leader about women’s choices can have real consequences.

In the run-up to the election, morality debates again stole the spotlight. Blackmail and video recordings showing candidates from the opposition Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) secretly filmed in sexually explicit situations led to the resignation of ten high ranking party officials.

Raising eyebrows, Erdogan opined that such indiscretions do not qualify as “one’s private life”, because they did not involve legitimate experiences between a man and his wife.

Rejection of a restricted internet

Meanwhile, protests were held against expanding internet restrictions that have rendered adult material virtually inaccessible. Blocking sites deemed “obscene” is justified by officials as reflecting the will of the citizens, who complain about “content inappropriate for Turkish families”.

The new government inherits not only a sceptical audience of women’s NGOs but also deep gender inequalities that could limit the ruling party’s ability to achieve some of the top items on its agenda.

Erdogan has pledged a new constitution that will be pro-individual, as well as ambitious economic growth. Indeed, economic advances and a strong democracy are crucial to furthering women’s rights and freedoms, but they also require women’s active participation.

The Women’s Platform of the Constitution - composed from more than 200 women’s organisations - advocates that not only gender but also “sexual orientation” and “gender identity” (to include groups such as gay and transvestite people) should be clearly included in any elaboration of equality and nondiscrimination.

Based on experience of how the Turkish judiciary can twist vague notions such as “public order”, “general health”, or “moral values” to the detriment of women, the platform argues that such subjective, arbitrary and abstract words be weeded out of legislation. Defining the “values of the Turkish society”, or what is moral, is not the business of the state.

The ruling party’s campaign slogan in this election was “Goal 2023”. The stated target is to make Turkey one of the world’s top ten economies by the 100th anniversary of the Turkish Republic.

Today in Turkey, less than one quarter of women of working age participate in the labour force, including those engaged in informal work or carrying out subsistence agriculture.

In a report analysing economic growth in the Central Anatolian province of Kayseri, the European Stability Initiative has noted that the role of women in the economy “may yet prove to be the Achilles’ heel of Central Anatolia’s ambitions to catch up economically with the European Union”.

In a nutshell, Turkey’s competitiveness will hit a ceiling if its labour market does not effectively capitalise on half of its human resources.

Tyranny of the majority

Though Erdogan stated that his party would govern the coming term with modesty, such a strong showing in the polls may fuel what some have already referred to as tendencies towards the tyranny of the majority.

It was reassuring to those critics that Kemal Kilicdaroglu, the leader of the main opposition Republican People’s Party (CHP), underlined in his post-election speech that his party would be a strong opposition looking out for freedoms, as well as equality between men and women.

The post-election political constellation suggests that the AKP and the CHP will need to work together to find lasting solutions for the complex and dynamic realities of women in Turkey.

Women's rights, just like the freedom of expression and press, rest on the rule of law as well as checks and balances. It is essential that the judiciary be independent and that law enforcement agencies or state service providers do not act on the basis of political allegiances or subjective notions of morality.

Jumpstarting the EU integration process can help Turkey overcome its democratic deficits and inject confidence among the AKP's domestic sceptics. Turkey should also avoid draining confrontations by looking to positive examples in Europe. It is possible for children to be protected from harmful internet content while respecting the right of adults to access legal adult content.

Welfare policies can ensure that being a mother is compatible with economic participation. Anti-discrimination mechanisms can be formulated to ensure that women - be they wearing short skirts or headscarves - are not harassed, stigmatised, or disadvantaged.

For a consensus to be struck, the goal must be to serve the naturally expanding range of different choices Turkish women make, not to impose one set of values or lifestyle.

The elections were but a small step forward for Turkish women. What matters now is that women both inside and out of the parliament can take part in shaping Turkey's democratic contours and driving Turkey's economic development.

<http://english.aljazeera.net/indepth/opinion/2011/06/2011614125644439453.html>

Özet:

Diba Nigar Goksel'in kaleme aldığı yazıda seçim sonuçları Türkiye'deki kadın sorunları çerçevesinde ele alınmıştır. Bu bağlamda öncelikle yazıda parlamentodaki kadın milletvekili sayılarının karşılaştırması yapılmış, ardından kadın sorunları ile ilgilenen kadın kuruluşları ve AKP arasındaki ilişkiye değinilmiştir. Kadınların toplumsal ve ekonomik hayattaki yerine dair tartışmalara da değinen yazar Başbakan Erdoğan'ın 3 çocuk sahip olunmasına yönelik çağrısı üzerinde de durmuştur. MHP'li adaylara ait seks kasetlerinin yayınlanmasının ardından ortaya çıkan özel hayat tartışması da yazarın ele aldığı bir başka gelişmedir. İnternet için yapılması planlanan yeni düzenlemeler çerçevesinde çok tartışılan internet yasakları bağlamında ise yazar ülkedeki kadın hakları ile birlikte basın ve fikir özgürlüğü konusunda da görüşlerini aktarmış, kadın sorunu ile yeni anayasa hazırlıklarını bir arada ele alarak yazısını tamamlamıştır.

SUUDI ARABİSTAN

Arab News

Editorial: Deserving win

Turkish PM Erdogan proves once again that tradition and change can coexist

It is another historic vote in Turkey. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's AK (Justice and Development) Party has been granted another resounding victory and a third term by the voters in Sunday's general elections. In a way, the thumping electoral win didn't come as a surprise to anyone. The outcome had been inevitable. The only issue that really mattered was the margin and vote share of Erdogan's mandate.

This election had been turned, not for the first time, into a virtual referendum on Erdogan's leadership and the groundbreaking policies and sweeping changes introduced by the AK Party since it swept into power nearly a decade ago in 2002. For his part, the popular and charismatic premier sought a new and decisive mandate for more comprehensive constitutional and political changes that he wanted to introduce.

So while this massive electoral victory is an emphatic "yes" by the voters and thumbs up for the AK Party rule and reaffirms the confidence in Erdogan's leadership and policies, it falls just short of giving him a carte blanche, or two-third majority in Parliament, to introduce the necessary constitutional changes to build a new Turkey for a new age. Already, Erdogan has transformed the face of his county. He has accomplished what no one since Mustafa Kemal Atatürk has dared — successfully clipping the wings of the notoriously powerful military and militant judiciary. Defying the pro-Western, Kermalist secular establishment and military, Erdogan has pursued a just, balanced more reasonable agenda both domestically and externally.

From introducing political reforms granting minority rights to recognizing the nation's strong, long suppressed bond with Islam and the Muslim world, Erdogan's Turkey has been aggressively marching on the road to change for the past 9 years. By successfully marrying tradition with modernity, the AK Party has demolished the canard that Islam and democracy cannot coexist or are antithetical to each other. At the same time, the country connecting Europe and Asia has sought to act as the much-needed bridge between the West and the Islamic world. It has also revived and strengthened relations with estranged neighbors like Greece, Armenia and even Cyprus.

However, the most dramatic result of the stark change in Ankara has been seen in Turkey's equation with Israel. By repeatedly con-

fronting the rogue regime on its persecution of the Palestinians, Ankara sent the message to the world that the days of molycoddling Israel while ignoring its crimes are over. Indeed, under Erdogan, Turkey has not just increasingly sought to play a more effective role in the neighborhood that it ruled not long ago, it's also looking to play a more eminent role on the world stage, a role befitting its size and stature. This has gone rather well with its amazing economic growth, which has unaffected by global recession.

All this, of course, requires greater public support. So with this win Erdogan's job hasn't become any easier. He will have to continue his quest to rediscover the lost glory of a great nation and press on with his agenda of change. He has already earned himself many an admirer far beyond the borders of Turkey — and not just in the Arab and Islamic world. Three cheers for the Ottoman — or should we say, Erdogan? — country.

<http://arabnews.com/opinion/editorial/article454093.ece>

Özet:

Seçim sonuçlarını AK Parti için "tahmin ve hak edilen bir başarı" olarak tanımlayan yazı bu seçimlerin Başbakan Erdoğan'ın liderliği hakkında bir referandumla dönüştüğünü söylemektedir. Bu bağlamda yazıya göre seçim sonuçları hem AK Parti'nin politikalarına hem de Başbakan Erdoğan'ın liderliğine yönelik bir onayı temsil etmektedir. Ayrıca AK Parti'nin seçimlerde elde ettiği büyük başarı yeni anayasa için gerekli gücü de Başbakan Erdoğan'a sağlamıştır denilmektedir.

Yazının devamında ise Başbakan Erdoğan'ın Türkiye'nin çehresini değiştirdiği, uygulanan iç ve dış politikalar sayesinde daha etkin bir ülke haline geldiği, gelenek ve moderniteyi, İslam ve demokrasiyi uyumlu bir şekilde bir araya getirdikleri, Türkiye'nin İsrail'le eşit algılanmasının sona erdirildiği, komşu ülke-

lerde daha aktif bir aktör haline geldiği ve ekonomik anlamda başarılı olunduğu vurgulanmaktadır.

KUZEY AFRİKA

Al Ahram Online Mısır

The Turkish model

Everybody now seems to have something to say about Turkey

16 Haziran 2011- Mona Anis

It is impossible to have a political conversation these days – and politics is all Egyptians ever talk about – without the word Turkey cropping up within minutes. Turkey is the topic of interest: meetings are being held to discuss it, and writers, journalists, bloggers and even tweeters write incessantly about the lessons the Turkish model holds for Egypt at this crucial juncture while the country readies for a democratic transformation following the great uprising of 25 January.

Many of these speakers and writers, including the present one, have had the opportunity to visit Turkey over the last couple of months at the invitation of one or other Turkish institution, many of which are currently conducting a highly successful public diplomacy campaign.

Naturally, such visits increased on the eve of the Turkish elections, as many interested groups, including a group of “Young Revolutionaries,” were invited to follow the Turkish democratic experiment at close range. This specific youth group was invited by the Turkish Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research, and they toured Konya, Ankara and Istanbul, being received separately by Turkish President Abdullah Gül, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu.

Not surprisingly, most delegates came back impressed, especially as this week’s elections in Turkey ended in the third consecutive victory for the ruling Justice and Development Party, adding grist to the mill of comparisons. At the centre of the debate is the comparison between Turkey’s Islamists and their Egyptian counterparts. But while the Turkish model may be of relevance to the Islamists of Egypt as regards gaining power, one should not overlook the fact that many differences exist in the respective social formations of Egypt and Turkey, as well as many differences between formative influences on the Islamist movements in each country.

Admittedly, there are some common features between the two countries. Both embarked on a modernisation project inspired by the French model at roughly the same time: Egypt under Muhammad Ali and Turkey under the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II. Both suffered the same disillusionment regarding this project, which sought to make of the two respective nations “part of Europe,” in the famous words of Muhammad Ali’s son the Khedive Ismail. However, Turkey, guarding the division between Europe and Asia, with the Bosphorus providing the only sea passage out of the Black Sea into the Mediterranean, had a legitimate claim to belonging to Europe, while Egypt had only the dreams of a ruler who was duly deposed by the European powers in 1879.

Besides, we should not forget that Turkey at the height of Ottoman power was an empire with vast territories, while Egypt’s attempts to free itself from the Ottoman yoke ended with falling under British occupation in 1882. By the beginning of the 20th century, when Turkey was dubbed the “sick man of Europe,” it had lost much of its territory and had become increasingly dependent on the financial control of the European powers, but it still had a powerful army with an imperial history, which, despite the crippling defeat dealt to it in World War 1, was still able to lead the

country into the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923.

Another important difference between Egypt and Turkey is that while the Islamist organisations in Turkey are a fairly recent phenomenon which started to gain political influence in the 1980s with Erbakan's Welfare Party (the predecessor of today's Justice and Development Party), the Muslim Brotherhood, the main Islamist organisation in Egypt, has been around for more than eight decades with many of its ideological precepts unchanged.

This is not to argue that the Muslim Brotherhood, seemingly the best-organised political force in Egypt now, is incapable of restructuring itself along similar lines to those followed by the Turkish Islamists. The point I am making relates to the history of both movements, not to the future development of the Brotherhood, which could benefit from the experience of both the Welfare and Justice and Development parties.

When I visited Istanbul ten years ago, I could feel the tension between those who wanted Turkey to remain totally westernized and the emerging Islamist forces. Last month, I was glad to see the city evidently more self-confident under the leadership of the Islamists, who seem to have allayed a great part of the secularists' fears regarding the path they are taking. I felt that the city was more elegant and vibrant than ever before, with a happy co-existence between secular and religious people; that old feeling of being in a place torn between two worlds had totally disappeared.

As I was preparing for the trip to Istanbul, I picked up a Globetrotter travel guide to the city purchased ten years earlier. In the short introduction on "government and economy in Turkey" I read the following: "Turkey's big problem is that there are too many political parties and too little power for any one party. In June 1999, a coalition government was formed... During this time, the only constant

has been the Islamic fundamentalist Welfare Party, which now holds around 21 per cent of the seats in parliament. But with its anti-European and strong religious views, the Welfare Party has been unable to form a coalition. The army, in any case, firmly secular in outlook, will fight hard against a fundamentalist government."

So much for travel guides. I was very happy to find that the Islamists of Turkey, with their "zero conflict" strategy, had defied expectations of this kind, which have not been limited to travel guides. I would also like to see the Islamists in Egypt defy the expectations of their adversaries and emulate the Turkish model in this respect.

<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/4/14404/Opinion/The-Turkish-model.aspx>

Özet:

Mona Anis yazısını Mısır'daki gelişmeler, Türkiye'deki seçimler ve Türkiye modeli tartışmaları çerçevesinde kaleme almıştır. 25 Ocak sonrası Mısır'ında her tartışmada sözün Türkiye'ye geldiğini söyleyen yazar son birkaç ay içinde pek çok Mısırlının Türkiye'ye geldiğini ve etkilenerek geri döndüklerini belirtmektedir. Bu nedenle yazar Türkiye'de gerçekleşen seçimlere Mısır'daki ilginin arttığına değinmekte ve Genç Devrimciler Gençlik Örgütü'nün Türkiye'de seçimleri izlemek için davet edilmelerini bu bağlamda değerlendirmektedir. Mısır'da Türkiye modeli bağlamında süren tartışmanın merkezine ise yazar AK Parti ile Mısır'daki İslamcı grupları karşılaştırmasını koymaktadır. Yazı Türkiye modelini olumlu bulmasının yanı sıra sosyal anlamda Mısır ve Türkiye arasında belli başlı farklılıklar olduğunu belirtmektedir. Yazısında öncelikle ortak noktalara yer veren yazar, her iki ülkenin de modernleşmede Fransa'yı örnek aldığı ve bu bağlamda moderniteden kaynaklanan hayal kırıklıklarının benzer olduğunu söylemektedir. Farklılıklar hususunda ise yazı

öncelikle tarihsel farklılıklara ki yazar bu noktada Türkiye'nin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu mirası üzerinde yükseldiğini öte yandan Mısır'ın ise Osmanlı İmparatorluğun bağımsızlığını almaya çalışırken İngiliz işgaline sürüklendiğini dile getirmektedir. İkinci olarak ise Türkiye'deki siyasal İslam hareketlerinin tarihinin 1980'lere dayandırırken Mısır'daki siyasal İslam hareketlerinin geçmişinin ise daha eskiye dayandığını belirtmektedir. Anis yazısında Türkiye'ye dair on yıl önceki izlenimleri ile bugünkü izlenimlerini karşılaştırmakta önceki durumu daha gerilimli şimdiki durumu ise daha uyumlu bulduğunu söylemektedir.

İRAN

Tehran Times

Erdogan, a success at home and abroad

Haziran 2011- M.A. Saki

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Justice and Development Party (AKP) won another landslide victory in the general election on June 12.

The face of Turkey has changed since the AKP assumed power in 2002. It has emerged as an economic power and has transformed itself from a follower of the West into a key regional and international player.

The Turkish people open their arms to the AKP because it has created a dynamic economy, adopted policies in conformity with the socio-religious structure of the Turkish society, aligned itself with the Islamic world, and openly criticized Israel's policy in the occupied territories of Palestine.

Turkey has witnessed sustainable economic growth over the last nine years, to the extent that the AKP has succeeded in bringing Turkey into the ranks of the twenty wealthiest co-

untries in the world. And Goldman Sachs has predicted Turkey will break into the top ten by 2050, if things stay on the track.

To join the European Union, Turkey, under the AKP leadership, has also carried out many reforms to bring its laws into line with European standards. But the new generation of leaders in European countries, such as Germany and France, has blocked Turkey's efforts to join the EU.

However, although Europe is facing a debt meltdown and many of the countries in Eastern Europe have faced financial crises, Turkey has managed to rebound quickly from the global downturn and its economy grew 8.9 percent last year, the fastest rate of any large country except for China and India.

Turkey's rise as an economic powerhouse has created high self-confidence among its citizens, to the extent that they no longer see joining the European Union as a paradise. For example, Barin Kayaoglu, a Turkish citizen who is currently a Ph.D. student at the University of Virginia, shrugged off the recent remarks by French President Nicolas Sarkozy, who had said Turkey will not join the European Union for at least 15 years. Kayaoglu says Turkey will be politically and economically more successful than France in 15 years.

Erdogan also knows how to find a place in the hearts of people at home and abroad, and particularly in the hearts of Muslim nations. Well aware of the religious sentiments of the Turkish people, the AKP has been seeking to loosen the ban on hijab, which is seen as a sign of the expansion of civil liberties.

The Turkish prime minister visited the quake-hit areas of Pakistan in October 2005 and the flood-hit areas of the South Asian country in October 2010. During those trips, he expressed sympathy with the people of Pakistan and also pledged that Turkey would provide economic support and relief.

Despite being a Sunni Muslim, Erdogan visited the shrine of Imam Ali (AS) -- the first Shia Imam -- in Najaf in March and met with Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, the highest-ranking Shia cleric in Iraq.

Erdogan also enchanted the hearts and minds of the Arab people when he stormed off the stage at the World Economic Forum in Davos in January 2009 after a heated argument with Israeli President Shimon Peres about Israel's war on the people of Gaza.

Speaking at the victory rally in Ankara after his recent election triumph, Erdogan said, "Today the Western world, Tripoli, Gaza have won. The Middle East, the Balkans, Europe have won. Peace, justice and stability have won."

Turkey has also tried to play the role of a regional leader. For example, Turkey, together with Brazil, tried to broker a nuclear deal between Iran and the West in May 2010. It has also hosted meetings between Pakistani and Afghan leaders in its efforts to help end the insurgency in Afghanistan.

As a key member of NATO, Turkey is also challenging the West. For example, a joint aerial exercise conducted by the Turkish and Chinese militaries in central Anatolia shocked the West since such maneuvers were previously carried out jointly with the U.S., other NATO countries, and Israel.

Their success at home and abroad has prompted some analysts to surmise that the current rulers of Turkey have the ambition of reviving the glory days of the Ottoman Empire. But this Neo-Ottomanism would not have the imperialistic nature of the Ottoman Empire and would promote cooperation among nations.

http://www.tehrantimes.com/index_View.asp?code=242721

Özet:

AK Parti hükümetinin iç ve dış politikalarından bahsedilen yazıda öncelikle 2002'den bu yana Türkiye'nin kaydettiği ilerlemelere yer veriliyor. AB süreci ve ekonomik büyüme başlıklarının dikkat çektiği bu ilk bölümün ardından Türkiye'nin dış politikasının değerlendirilmesine geçiliyor. Yazıda Başbakan Erdoğan'ın yalnızca yurtiçinde değil aynı zamanda yurtdışında da insanların akıllarına ve kalplerine hitap edebilen bir lider olduğu belirtiliyor ve bu bağlamda Türkiye'nin Pakistan'a yaptığı deprem yardımı, Davos süreci ve İsrail-Filistin, Irak'da tüm gruplarla kurulan yakın ilişkiler gibi konular ele alınıyor.

IRNA

Turkey to proceed with proactive foreign policy

Haziran 2011

Securing 50 percent of the votes in the general elections on Sunday, the government of Prime Minister Recep Erdogan will proceed with proactive foreign policy in the Middle East.

With almost all of the ballots counted, local media said that Erdogan's Justice and Development Party AKP had secured about 325 of the 550 seats in parliament.

Erdogan, in an address to hundreds of cheering supporters at his party headquarters in Ankara, the capital, acknowledged the need to work for a consensus if constitutional reforms were to be realized, a priority shared by the country's political parties and civil organizations.

"Our nation delivered to us a call for consensus and dialogue in making this new constitution," Erdogan said.

“This constitution will be established upon brotherhood, support, sharing, unity and togetherness.”

The current Constitution was prepared after a military coup in the 1980s, and many here believe that it elevates protections for the state above those of citizens, at the expense of individual rights and freedoms.

Under Erdogan’s stewardship, the government restored political and economic stability after years of turmoil.

Supporters credit Erdogan with elevating Turkey’s profile in the Middle East, turning the country into an increasingly assertive regional player at a time when several of its neighbors are locked in sometimes violent struggles for democracy.

Erdogan has moved the country further up the road, although sometimes a bumpy one, to European Union membership. His party has brought the country strong economic growth of 8.9 percent, though unemployment remains stubbornly high at nearly 12 percent and income distribution remains uneven.

In his victory speech, Erdogan alluded to Turkey’s aspiration to be a voice in the West for the Middle Eastern region and Muslims, saying Bosnians, Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians also benefited from his victory.

‘Believe me, Sarajevo won today as much as Istanbul, Beirut won as much as Izmir, Damascus won as much as Ankara, Ramallah, Nablus, Jenin, the West Bank, Jerusalem won as much as Diyarbakir.’

<http://www.irna.ir/ENNewsShow.aspx?NID=30430395>

Özet:

Başbakan Erdoğan liderliğindeki AKP hükümetlerinin dış politikalarını değerlendiren bu

yazıda 12 Haziran seçimlerinden sonraki süreçte Türkiye’nin proaktif dış politika izlemeye devam edeceği vurgulanıyor. Yazı, Başbakan Erdoğan’ın Türkiye’nin imajını Ortadoğu’da geliştirdiğini ifade ediyor ve Erdoğan’ın seçim sonrası zafer konuşmasında sadece Türkiye’nin değil Ortadoğu halklarının kazandığını ifade ettiğine dikkat çekiyor.

Fars News Agency

Türkiye seçimlerinin mesajları

Prof. Dr. Nurettin Güz, Haziran 2011

Prof. Dr. Nurettin Güz, 12 Haziran seçim sonuçlarını değerlendirdiği yorumunda Türkiye seçmeninin siyasi partilere verdiği mesajları açtı.

Türkiye’de seçimler bitti, sandıklar açıldı ve sonuçlar açıklandı... Peki bu sonuçlar nasıl değerlendirilmeli, siyasiler bu sonuçları nasıl değerlendirmeli. Prof. Dr. Nurettin Güz, sandıktan çıkan sonuçlara göre seçmenin, tercihini bir kez daha istikrardan yana kullandığını söyledi. Muhalefetin kendisine çeki düzen vermesi gerektiğini ifade eden Güz’e göre iktidara seçim sonrası büyük iş düşüyor.

Haber5’te yer alan habere göre Türkiye, Erdoğan’ın balkon konuşmasındaki sözlerini tartışıyor. Muhalefetten helallik isteyen ve toplumun her kesimini kucaklayan mesajlar veren Erdoğan, anayasa değişikliği için de ilk startı verdi.

Peki Türkiye’nin seçimi, muhalefet ve iktidar için nasıl değerlendirilmeli? Siyasal iletişim uzmanı Gazi Üniversitesi Öğretim Üyesi Prof. Dr. Nurettin Güz’e göre bu sonuçlar malumun ilanından başka bir şey değil. İşte Güz’ün seçim değerlendirmesi;

Sizce seçim öncesindeki beklentiler gerçekleşti mi? Tahminlerdeki sapmalar nasıl oldu?

Aslında açıklanan seçim sonuçları biraz da malum ilanı gibi bir anlam taşımaktadır. Seçim öncesi tahminlerdeki sapma, bazı çevrelerin de etkisiyle, CHP'nin daha fazla oy alabileceğine ilişkin bir beklenti oluşmasına neden olmuştur. Açıkçası bu durum, seçim sonuçlarına ilişkin beklentide sapmalara sebep oldu.

Seçim süreci değerlendirildiğinde, AK Parti ile ilgili beklenti bir kaç puan gerideydi. CHP öngörülenden % 2-3 oranında daha az oy alırken, AK Parti öngörülenden % 2-3 daha fazla oy aldı. Kamuoyu araştırmaları ve bir kısım medyanın CHP'yi önde görme ve gösterme çabaları sonuçlardan da görüldüğü gibi tutmadı.

Seçmenin sağduyusu ile ilgili ne söylenebilir?

Hemen her seçim öncesi ve sonrası seçmenin sağduyusundan söz edilirse de siyasetin daha merkezinde yer alanla, bu sağduyuyu pek dikkate almadan durum değerlendirmesi yapılmaktadır. Seçim sonuçlarının belirlenmesinde, seçmenin kesin bir sağduyusu her zaman vardır. Sonuçlardan da görüleceği üzere seçmen "AK Parti'ye istikrar için sana oy veriyorum, ama Anayasayı tek başına değiştiremezsin, hatta değişiklik tekliflerini tek başına halk oyuna götüremezsin" mesajı verirken CHP'ye ise "muhalefet yap ama bazı bölgelerde ve özellikle doğuda yaptıklarını onaylamıyorum. Oyunu yükseltmek istiyorsan, popülizmin ötesinde bir şeyler yap" demiştir. Seçimlerde milletvekili sayısı düşen MHP'ye ise seçmen, "şayet iktidar olmak istiyorsan Türkiye'yi kucaklayacak, sadece eleştiriye değil ülke sorunlarına yönelik de politikalar geliştirmeli, tepeden tırnağa yenileşmen gerekir" mesajı vermiştir.

Tüm bu mesajlar irdelendiğinde aslında 12 Haziran seçimlerinin tek bir yorumu vardır. Seçmen, mevcut istikrardan memnun olduğunu, iktidarı eleştirse de istikrarın bozulmasını istediğini belirtmiştir. Yani seçmen bir kez daha tavrını istikrardan yana koymuştur.

Muhalefet ne yapabilirdi?

Seçim kampanyalarında da görüldüğü gibi seçim tartışmalarının odağında ülke ve millet sorunlarına ilişkin çok az şey tartışıldı. Ekonomi, insanların gelir ve giderleri, iç ve dış borçlanma seçmenin ne kadar gündemine gelebildi? Gelişmiş hemen her ülkenin en önemli seçim argümanı dış politikadaki mevcut politikalar ne oranda tartışılabilir?

Türkiye'nin gelecek dört yılı, 10 yılı, 20 yılına ilişkin hangi projeksiyonları siyasi partiler gündeme getirip seçmenin günlük tartışmaları arasına koyabildi?

Son seçimler gösterdi ki, sadece iktidar partisine yönelik, bilgi ve belgeye dayanmadan ortaya atılan iddialarla yürütülecek bir seçim kampanyası seçmeni fazla etkilemiyor. Siyasi partilerin seçmenin gündemine girebilmesi için daha ayrıntılı analizler üzerine inşa edileceği gerçekçi politikalara ihtiyacı olduğu dikkati çekiyor. Hiçbir gerçek veriye dayanmadan yapılan vaatlere Türk insanı artık pirim vermiyor. "Başkası ne veriyorsa ben daha fazlasını hatta iki katını vereceğim" diyen Demirel mantığı, size iki anahtar vermeye söz veriyorum vaatleri de seçmene cazip gelmiyor. Seçmenin partilere verdiği diğer bir mesaj, dersinize iyi çalışındır.

Bu seçimden ne dersler çıkarılabilir? Geleceğe yönelik olarak partiler ne yapabilir?

Seçmenin her partiye verdiği dersler farklıdır. AK Parti'ye mevcut politikalarını onaylıyorum, ama yeni bir Anayasa için diğer partilerle anlaş, CHP'ye daha fazla halka in ve demokrasi yolundaki çalışmalarını sürdür, MHP'ye seni dikkate alıyorum, kendini yenile mesajı vermiştir.

Geleceğe yönelik olarak bu seçim çok güzel mesajlar içermektedir. Diğer parlamenter sistemlere bakıldığında, bir kaç istisna dışında, hemen her ülkede seçmen üç dönemden fazla bir partiye üst üste iktidar şansı vermemektedir. AK Parti'nin bir sonraki seçimlerde iktidar olabilmesi çok zor. Türkiye'deki seçmen

profiline bakıldığında sol oyların % 20 – 30 aralığında olduğu düşünülürken, CHP'nin de iktidar olabilmesi de pek mümkün görülüyor. Mevcut şartlar devam ettiği takdirde iktidarın yeni adayı yeni bir sağ parti olabilecektir. Bu sağ parti toparlayabilirse MHP, toparlayamazsa yeni bir sağ parti olacaktır.

<http://turkish.farsnews.com/newstext.aspx?nn=9003230913>

Özet:

Bu yazıda 12 Haziran Genel Seçimleri sonuçlarının nasıl değerlendirilmesi gerektiği inceleniyor. Ajans bu konuda Prof. Dr. Nurettin Güz'ün fikirlerine başvuruyor. Buna göre sandıktan çıkan sonuçlara göre seçmenin, tercihini bir kez daha istikrardan yana kullandığı ifade ediliyor. Muhalefetin kendisine çeki düzen vermesi gerektiğini ifade eden Güz'e göre iktidara seçim sonrası büyük iş düşüyor. Peki Türkiye'nin seçimi, muhalefet ve iktidar için nasıl değerlendirilmeli? Siyasal iletişim uzmanı Gazi Üniversitesi Öğretim Üyesi Prof. Dr. Nurettin Güz'e göre bu sonuçlar malumun ilanından başka bir şey değil.

MEHR News Agency

Üçüncü Tur'da Türk İslamcılarının kesin zaferi: sebepler ve işaretler

Haziran 2011, Hasan Lascerdi

Türkiye'de parlamento seçimleri yapıldı, önceki seçimlere göre ülkedeki mevcut koşullarda önemli değişiklikler oldu, tam da bu yüzden bu belirleyici değişkenler, sonuç üzerinde de değişiklik yarattı.

Türkiye, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin (AKP) iki dönem iktidarında bazı siyasi ve sosyal engelleri başarıyla geçti. Bu cihetle kamu oyu ve görüş sahiplerinin inancı, bugünkü parlamento seçim sonucunun önceki seçimlere kıyasla

daha şeffaf olarak tahmin edilebilir olduğu yönünde...

Önceki dönemlerdeki geçmişten kalan siyasi ortam sebebiyle, hakim siyasi parti grupları, rekabet alanında AK Parti ile münasip şekilde rekabet edebilirlerdi. Çünkü Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi bugün bulunduğu yere sahip değildi. Aynı şekilde, milliyetçi, kürt, Kemalist partiler ve hatta Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi siyasi sorumluluklar açısından bazı rekabet alanlarında Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi ile bir yapı meydana getirebilirlerdi.

Erdoğan ve çevresi, geçtiğimiz iki dönem Türkiye'de iktidar olmayı başardılar. Bazı önemli toplumsal ve siyasi şahsiyetleri değiştirdiler ve değişiklikler kamuoyunun tavrında değişikliklere yol açmıştır. Bu cihetle, bugün birçokları bütün bu faaliyetlerin hedefinin zaman içinde devlet hakimiyeti olduğuna inanmaktadırlar ki bu partiye olan genel bakış her gün daha geniş bir boyutla artmaktadır.

AK Parti, Türkiye idaresi sırasında siyasi ve toplumsal güç anlamında bazı önemli değişiklikler yapmayı başarmıştır. Bu sebeple bugün gönül rahatlığıyla kamuoyu üzerinde kontrol sağlayabilmekte ve seçimdeki rakiplerinden daha yüksek bir sesle Türkiye'nin geleceğini çizebilmektedir. Bu bölümde en önemli faktörlere işaret edilecektir:

-Türkiye'de son on yılda, bilhassa milli üretimin yükseltilmesi, yatırımların artırılması, değişik sanayi kollarında varlık gösterilmesi ve dış ticaretin artırılması gibi belirgin noktalarda realist politikalarla ekonomik güç artışı sağlanmıştır.

-Ordunun siyasi karar almadaki rolünün azaltılması, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin özellikle genel sosyal işleyiş düzenine bakışını ifade etmektedir. Çünkü çok uzak olmayan geçmişte, Ordu'nun yeri daima kararların alındığı yer olarak görülmüş ve bu faaliyetlerin geliştiği yer olan Milli Güvenlik Konseyi'nde değişiklik yapılarak sivillere de konseyin karar alma mekanizmasında yer verilmiştir.

-Enflasyonun %7'ye indirilerek yaşam koşullarının kolaylaştırılması, dış borçların azaltılarak toplumun değişik kesimlerinde gelir artışı sağlanması, karşılığında yurtiçi yatırımların artması, yurt dışında yaşayan Türklerin getirileri, değişik alanlarda faaliyet gösteren Türk şirketlerinin Türkiye sınırları dışında bile istihdam yaratmaları, ülkenin erişilebilen bütün noktalarında fırsatlar yaratılması, ülkenin geçmiş on yıllarda düşüş gösteren değişkenlerinin değişmesine sebep olmuş ve Türkiye'yi Dünya'nın 17. ekonomik gücü haline getirmiştir.

-Reel dış politika alanı aktörlüğü, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin iktidarı döneminin diğer bir ürünüdür. Ankara, AK Parti'nin iktidarının ilk gününde Ortadoğu ve İslam ülkelerini yeni karargaha bağlayabilir ve uluslararası düzenden 180 derecelik bir dönüşle bölgesel bir düzene geçebilirdi. Fakat İslamcılar ikinci dönem iktidarlarında "realist fırsat yaratıcı" politikalarıyla ve hatta gelişmelerdeki olumlu müdahalelerini birçok olay ve gelişmelerde lider olup aynı zamanda bölgesel ve uluslararası alanlarda yeni fırsatlar yaratarak aktörlük rolünü artırmayı başardılar. Geçmişten kalan Batı ile ilişki yerine İslam, Arap ve hatta Uzak Doğu ülkeleriyle birçok ticari anlaşmalar yaptılar. Ülkenin ekonomik kurumları hızla gelişti ve sahasında güçlü bir şekilde var olabilmek için gereken ayalamayı yaptılar.

Böyle bir ortamda, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi'nin katılımlarıyla üçüncü dönem parlamento seçimi yapılıyor. Bu partilerden herbirinin toplumsal ve siyasi kabul görme kapasiteleri ve propoganda faaliyetleri oranında oy alacaklarına inanılıyor. Bugünkü kamuoyu yoklama sonuçlarına göre oyların %47'sini Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, %35'ini Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, %12'sini Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi ve %6/5'ini Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi alacaklar.

Bu şartlar göstermektedir ki seçimin galibini belirlemek açısından partinin pozisyonu ve

yeterlilik durumuna ilave olarak parti programları ve sloganları da fikir verici olmaktadır ve halkın oyuna etki eden bazı faktörler dikkate alındığında bazı koşulların bugün Türkiye'de yapılan parlamento seçiminin galibinin yüzünü belli ediyor.

Bu özellikleriyle İslamcıların, seçimi galibi olarak kazandıkları söylenebilir. İktidar dönemlerindeki tutarlı ve hedefli bir program dahilinde gerekli koşulları organize edip, parlamentoda büyük çoğunluğu elde etmek amacıyla sadece yüksek oranda halk oyu konusu üzerinde çalışıyorlar. Böylelikle geleceği yüksek idealleriyle kendi zihni çerçevelerinde oluşturabilecekler.

Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin, 2023 yılı için ekonomik meseleler, bireysel ve toplumsal özgürlükler ve uluslar arası ilişkiler ağı olarak ülkenin statüsünü artırmaya odaklı geleceğe dönük büyük programı halkın önemli bir kesimini kendisine çekmektedir.

Kişisel yetenekleri açısından Erdoğan'ın Karizmatik kişiliği, seçim yarışında Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi adına bir siyasi ve teşkilat gücü desteğinden gelen tutumu, siyasette halkı ve toplumsal tabakaları ve hatta rakip siyasi parti ve grupları ciddiyetle Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'ne çekmekte oldukça etkili olduğuna inanılmaktadır. Erdoğan bütün referandumlarda dile getirdiği önceki başarısız anayasayı değiştirmeyi stratejisini son seçim kampanyalarında tekrar etmiştir.

Aynı şekilde, rakip partilerin, özellikle parti içi rekabet, vasat bir toplumsal yer, liderlerindeki bozukluklar, küçük grup hatta azınlık temsilcilerinin ağırlık kazanması gibi sebepler yüzünden Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi ile rekabet edemezler.

Yazar: Hasan Lascerci(MHA Dış Haber Servisi Genel Müdürü)

<http://www.mehrnews.com/tr/newsdetail.aspx?NewsID=1334041>

Özet:

Yazar, seçim sonuçlarını Türkiye’de yaklaşık son on yıldır mevcut koşulların önemli ölçüde değişmesine bağlamaktadır. Bu değişim, yazara göre, Türk ekonomisinde kaydedilen büyüme, siyasetin sivilleşmesi ve Türkiye’nin dış politikasındaki çeşitlenmedir. AKP’nin seçim zaferi bu bakımdan bir sürpriz olmamaktadır.

Press TV**‘Turkey vote result shows change in ME’****15 Haziran 2011- Mohammad-Javad Larijani**

The head of Iran’s Supreme Council for Human Rights says the recent electoral victory for Turkey’s ruling Islamic party reflects change on the regional level.

The victory for the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) indicates the regional changes and Islamic Awakening -- which has swept many Muslim countries across the Middle East and North Africa, IRNA quoted Mohammad-Javad Larijani as saying on Wednesday.

The victory is an achievement for the pro-Islamic movements throughout the entire region, said the official in a meeting with Turkey’s Ambassador to Iran Umit Yardim.

The AK Party, which is headed by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, won 49.83 percent of the vote in the Sunday parliamentary polls for a third consecutive year, securing 326 seats in the 550-member parliament.

Larijani spoke to the Turkish envoy about the Islamic Republic’s achievements since the 1979 victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, deeming the circumstances right for the expansion of human rights relations between the two sides.

The comments came amid ongoing anti-government protests in the Arab world particularly in Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

The demonstrations have been motivated by the successful revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, which earlier in the year toppled the two US-backed dictatorial regimes.

<http://www.mehrnews.com/tr/newsdetail.aspx?NewsID=1334041>

Özet:

Yazara göre AKP’nin seçim başarısı, Ortadoğu’daki İslami hareketler açısından bir kazanımdır. Dolayısıyla Türkiye’deki seçimler Ortadoğu’daki bölgesel değişimi yansıtmaktadır.

Press TV**‘AK Party victory benefits Palestinians’****15 Haziran 2011**

Head of Iran’s Parliament (Majlis) National Security and Foreign Policy Commission Alaeddin Boroujerdi

A top Iranian legislator has hailed Turkey’s ruling Justice and Development Party’s (AK Party) victory in parliamentary elections as beneficial to Palestinians.

Head of the Parliament (Majlis) National Security and Foreign Policy Commission Alaeddin Boroujerdi said on Tuesday that Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s Islamic oriented AK Party transformed the country over its first two terms in office and was widely expected to win a fresh mandate following the recent elections, IRNA reported.

He added the AK Party’s resounding victory in Sunday’s parliamentary elections clearly

shows public support for Islamic values being experienced under the party.

Given pro-Palestinian stands pursued by the governing Turkish administration, AK Party's third term win marks a triumph for the Palestinians and their cause, Boroujerdi also commented.

Erdogan's AK Party won 49.83 percent of the votes on Sunday, leading the main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP), which won only 25.94 percent of the vote.

The Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) gained 12.99 percent of the ballots, while independents obtained 6.58 percent, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Turkey's ruling party, however, fell short of a "super majority" of 367 seats in the 550-member Parliament that would have allowed it to rewrite the Constitution.

Boroujerdi, meanwhile, praised the formation of a new cabinet led by Lebanese Prime Minister Najib Mikati as a major step towards the establishment of stability in Lebanon and its neighboring state, Syria.

Lebanon's premier on Monday announced the makeup of his cabinet following talks with President Michel Sleiman and Parliament Speaker Nabih Berri.

Mikati has vowed that his cabinet would be one that represents all Lebanese

<http://www.presstv.ir/detail/184754.html>

Özet:

İranlı parlamenter Burucerdi Türkiye'deki seçimlerde AKP'nin başarısının Filistinlilerin lehine olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Zira Burucerdi'ye göre AKP'nin başarısı toplumda İslami değerlere verilen desteği göstermektedir. Bu yüzden de Türkiye'nin Filistin davasına desteği sürecektir.

PAKİSTAN

Pak Observer

Turkey a role model!

Haziran 2011- Air Cdre Khalid Iqbal (R)

Within less than a decade Turkey has really turned around in almost all strategic aspects. In 2002, it suffered from almost all the ills that Pakistan is facing today. A sinking economy, political instability, 'junta' dominated civil-military equation and polarized society were the hall-marks of Turkey. It prided itself with secular ideals and shunned its Muslim identity. Getting the membership of European Union was a matter of life and death.

Nevertheless, this was the profile of the state only. Public sentiment was quite the opposite. Shrine going jeans wearing youngsters, privately praying elderly and masses flocking to see the Islamic relics in the specially arranged centers represented the simmering attachment of the public with Islam. Undercurrents were visible indicating that people were looking for an outlet, an opportunity and a genuine political leadership.

Earlier Prime Minister Najmudin Erbakan's government had represented the Islamic aspirations of the Turkish people. His government came to power in 1996, but was ousted by 'Junta' in 1997, and elderly Erbakan was later jailed on flimsy charges. Late Erbakan is referred to as the "teacher" of a number of Turkey's leading political figures. He was indeed the mentor of current leadership including President Abdullah Gul and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. They owe Najmudin Erbakan the foundation of their political thought process.

Third consecutive victory of Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) indicates amazing confidence reposed by the people

of Turkey in the leadership of Prime Minister Erdogan, who has taken bold and visionary decisions for the uplift of his people and to carve out a place of respect for the country in the comity of nations. Before becoming the prime minister, Erdogan had already established his credential as charismatic leader, a visionary, and as an agent of change during his tenure as Mayor of Istanbul during 1994-98.

Ruling party has clinched a record landslide (50.3%) in last week's parliamentary polls. It is party's highest electoral tally since it came to power. However, AKP fell short of the two-third majority in the parliament, which it was eagerly seeking to amend the constitution; which is a legacy of a 1980 military coup. Nevertheless, third time around mandate to AKP is a clear proof of approval of its policies by majority of the nation. The electoral outcome is indeed a potent endorsement of the balance between economic liberalism and religious conservatism offered by Erdogan. The main opposition 'Republican People's Party' (CHP) is second with 25.9%, followed by the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) with 13.1%. Out of national population of around 73 million, more than 50 million people were eligible to vote; turnout was around 87 per cent. Generally the voting was peaceful and orderly, with large crowds gathered to cast ballots. For the first time, voters cast ballots in transparent plastic boxes. The measure was designed to prevent any allegations of fraud. These elections are an indicator of stability in an increasingly confident country.

This victory is a tribute to the excellent performance of the AKP which has presided over strong economic growth and has adopted an assertive foreign policy. Per capita income of the country, which tripled to \$10,079 during the tenure of AKP is indicative of the success of its economic policies; the party aims to further jack it up to \$25,000 by 2023, when Turks commemorate the centenary of the Turkish Republic. The AKP owes its enduring popularity mostly to economic success and

improved public services following years of financial instability. The growth rate last year was 8.9 per cent, the second highest among G-20 nations after China. Turkey has become an economic powerhouse and influential player on the global stage. Inflation, which had, for decades, adversely affected the country's economy, was brought under control and the Turkish Lira regained its former prestige through the elimination of six zeros. As prime minister, Erdogan implemented numerous reforms. Forty five years after Turkey signed an Association Agreement with the EU, the negotiations for Turkey's accession to the EU started during Erdogan's tenure, and that too in a respectable way.

Erdogan's foreign policy reflects the sentiments of the Turkish people, in the context of daunting challenge facing the Muslim Ummah. Middle-East, Afghanistan, and Kashmir issue have attracted his special attention. His initiatives like brokering an arrangement between Brazil and Iran to avert a nuclear impasse during 'NPT Review Conference of 2010', opening of an office for Taliban in Turkey, abstention in UNSC resolution 1973 pertaining establishment of no fly zone over Libya, and refusal to participate in NATO operations in Libya are reflections of a robust foreign policy with Islamic inclinations. Turkey has repeatedly spoken for the rights of protesters in uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa. On symbolic plane, he has snatched back the respect for 'Hijab from Sarkozy's fanatic jaws.

'Freedom Flotilla' episode in 2010 brought the Palestinian issue under intense international focus. Israel committed high sea piracy against a modest convoy of six boats carrying humanitarian aid to Gaza. Nine innocent pacifists were killed and the boats were impounded. Reaction by the comity of nations and agencies like UN, OIC and Arab League etc was of severe denunciation of Israel's brutal acts. Erdogan came out with flying colours by expressing his desire to join the struggle

by being on board such subsequent Flotilla to break the inhuman blockade of Gaza. He indeed set the tempo for rest of the statesmen to follow. Due to his defiant rhythm, pressure snowballed on Israel resulting into prompt release of prisoners.

Turkey stands out as an island of peace in a region marred with uprisings and instability. The government says it seeks to craft a Western-style democracy and join the European Union. However, its Islamic roots are a source of suspicion among secular circles that once dominated Turkey with the military help. Once in power, secular fanatics had given Turkey poverty, dependence and instability. During recent years, the government has sharply reduced the political clout of the military, and taken some steps to ease restrictions on minorities. Erdogan has promised that the new constitution would be more democratic and would include "basic rights and freedoms". Beside economic success, Erdogan's sustained public support has been built on ending decades of chaotic coalitions, military coups and failed international financial bailouts.

Erdogan's victory has been received with joy in Pakistan because the Turkish Prime Minister has been instrumental in bringing the two nations still closer. The resolve shown by him and his spouse in helping the flood and earth quake affected masses has earned him a permanent place in the hearts of Pakistani people.

Turkey presents a role model for Pakistan. Public sentiment in Pakistan is indeed on a look out for its Erdogan!

—The writer is international security, current affairs analyst and a former PAF Assistant Chief of Air Staff.

<http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=98593>

Özet:

Yazıda AKP'nin başarısı, hükümetin icraatlerinin ve yaklaşımlarının toplum içinde bulunduğu karşılığa bağlanıyor. Buna göre, AKP'nin ekonomik liberalism ve dini muhafazakarlığı bir potada eriten yaklaşımları toplumdan destek görmüştür. Ekonomik büyüme, aktif dış politika ve kamu hizmetlerinin artışı AKP'ye seçim başarısı getirmiştir. Bu yönleriyle Türkiye Pakistan için bir rol modeli teşkil etmektedir.

The Express Tribune

Ramification of Erdogan's victory

19 Haziran 2011- Tanvir Ahmad Khan

The writer was foreign secretary from 1989-90 and is a former chairman of the Institute of Strategic Studies in Islamabad

The election held on June 12 to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey is destined to have significant ramifications for Turkey and the region. Apart from ensuring continuity in domestic economy and politics, it will give a new impetus to Turkey's proactive foreign policy. From a Pakistani viewpoint, the resounding success of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) for the third consecutive term is a demonstration of the nearly unique manner in which the ubiquitous question of political Islam has been successfully addressed in Turkey. I propose to deal with this fascinating process in my next article for this newspaper.

Insofar as electoral majority is concerned, the outcome of this election, which brought out a staggering 87 per cent of voters, was never in doubt. In AKP's first term in office (2002-2007) Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan stabilised the rather volatile Turkish economy with great imagination. He built up a broad coalition of stakeholders to ensure that the desperately needed spurt in national growth

would not marginalise large sections of the population, particularly the huge number of internal migrants into the big cities from Anatolia. When the party again won an absolute majority in 2007, it was able to accelerate the rate of growth without too much anxiety about its dark side destabilising the social order. The present election took place in the midst of 9 per cent growth rate. Turkey achieved phenomenal diversification of trade as it balanced its preoccupation with the European Union (EU) with intensified interest in Russia, the Middle East, Africa and China. The electorate had no intention of rocking the boat in this optimistic setting.

Turkey has avoided wild swings in its external relations but, led by the collective wisdom of Abdullah Gul, Erdogan and, above all, the dynamic foreign minister, Ahmet Davutolu has managed shifts of axis while maintaining a balance between new initiatives and continuity in certain foreign policy areas such as the alliance with the West, Nato and interest in EU membership. The AKP saw in the foundational work done by Turgat Ozal, and others, to create a dynamic and independent discourse for the country's useful strands that could be carried forward, while using its great parliamentary strength and a robust economy to take some measured 'risks' in conducting external relations. Erdogan broke away from the inflexible western approach to Iran's nuclear issue and launched in May 2010, together with Brazil, a proposal that would make sanctions against Iran unnecessary, a solution based on an agreement on a low-enriched nuclear fuel swap. In June 2010, Turkey unambiguously rejected the anti-Iran sanctions at the Security Council. Another significant shift was Erdogan's forthright criticism of Israel's denial of Palestinian rights. Since Israel's use of violence against the flotilla carrying humanitarian aid for Gaza, the AKP government has demanded apologies and damages from Tel Aviv.

AKP polled more than 50 per cent of the vote, a feat achieved in the past only by Adnan

Menderes and Suleyman Demirel, and captured 325 seats in the 550-seat Grand Assembly. Turkey requires political parties to secure at least 10 per cent of the vote to enter parliament. The Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party fielded its nominees as independent candidates who bagged 5.9 per cent of the vote and 36 seats. No other party got represented in the House. This breakdown of seats has created a problem for Erdogan, insofar as his ambitious project to significantly amend the existing constitution — written in the military-dominated early 1980s — is concerned. Internal and external forces urged the voters not to give Erdogan the mandate to unilaterally change the constitution, partly because he has talked of a strong presidency. It seems that the electorate opted for a situation where he could govern unhindered but would have to seek the support of other parties to make constitutional changes. He has already declared that he will pursue his objective through consensus. He has the will and the skills to carry through the project.

<http://tribune.com.pk/story/192174/ramification-of-erdogans-victory/>

Özet:

Yazar, Türkiye'deki seçimlerde AKP'nin başarısını hükümetin ekonomi ve dış politika alanlarındaki başarılarını ekonomik büyüme ve dış politikaya borçlu olduğunu iddia ediyor. Seçimlerden sonar yeni dönemde, yazara göre, iç politika ve ekonomide devamlılık yaşanacak ve dış politikada ise yeni atılımlar gözlemlenecek.

Local ingredients, Turkish recipe

18 Haziran 2011- Ibrahim Khan

In 2002, an economic collapse in Turkey led to elections and the removal of an unpopular government supported by an irresponsible

military. The Turkish people brought the conservative Justice and Development (AK) Party into power. Despite several setbacks, chief among them threatening declarations from the military and the arrest and jailing of their leader, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the AK Party focused on transforming Turkey into a stable and progressive regional powerhouse.

On June 12, in Turkey's general elections, the AK Party was elected to a third consecutive term as the single party in government, after it received 49.91 per cent of the vote. The party continues to remain popular and that is primarily due to its ability to turn Turkey's fortunes around. Prior to 2002, for years the country had double-digit inflation. You bought a cup of tea for two million liras. Now, inflation is below that of the United Kingdom. In 2010, the Turkish economy grew at 8.9 per cent. This year, the growth figure is supposed to top that.

Political and social advancement has followed economic progress. The civilian-military tension exists to some extent, but the military now maintains its constitutional role while allowing the democratically elected government to govern. The situation did not reach this stage by blatant disregard and disrespect of the military, but rather after recognition of the uniquely influential roles of both the military and civilian leadership. Politicking motivated by self-interest is no longer an issue. With a single party government, decision-making is far easier. Tourism is flourishing — Turkey is showcasing itself to the world on a daily basis.

Ahmet Davutoglu, Turkey's foreign minister, has also contributed to this turnaround. Historically, Turkey has had tense relations with its neighbours while it has submitted to the will of western powers. In the past decade, that has changed. Turkey has now adopted a much-heralded 'zero problem policy' under which it intends to have good relations with all of its neighbours. Ethnic conflict involving

the Kurdish minority has been handled in a thoughtful and mature manner. Actionable intelligence coupled with political progress has severely reduced the risk of terror. Turkey's past submission to western powers like the United States has now transformed into a positive relationship that is based on mutual understanding and benefit. Turkey approaches the United States on equal footing, as an ally, not a proxy.

The Turkish turnaround is not magic, but the result of skilled management. This progress is not false or fiction, it is all real. And it is possible to replicate. We now have a democracy and with that the chance to elect a government that can deliver. We have talented technocrats who can help turn our economy around. We have the natural beauty and hospitable population that tourism is built on. We need the political maturity and leadership exhibited by Turkish President Abdullah Gul and Prime Minister Erdogan. We need a zero problem neighbourhood based on a foreign policy that involves allied relationships. Terror needs to be controlled, intolerance rejected and internal conflict solved. None of this is impossible. We must not lose hope, as without it, we lose the impetus for change.

<http://tribune.com.pk/story/190952/local-ingredients-turkish-recipe/>

Özet:

Yazıda AKP'nin seçim başarısı, başta ekonomi olmak üzere diğer birçok alanda hükümetin icraatlerinin toplum tarafından onaylanması ile ilintilendiriliyor. Buna göre ekonomide enflasyonun düşürülmesi ve büyümenin sağlanması üç dönemdir AKP hükümetinin hanesine kaydedilen bir başarı olarak bahsediliyor. Siyasi ve sosyal alanlarda, sivil-asker ilişkilerinin anayasal standartlara uydurulması ve turizmdeki gelişmeden söz ediliyor. Ayrıca AKP hükümetinin dış politikadaki sıfır sorun yaklaşımı ve Kürt sorunundaki makul durumu diğer başarı unsurları olarak ifade ediliyor.

Yazar, Pakistan'ın da benzer sorunlarda benzer yaklaşımları benimseyebilmek için AKP gibi başarılı bir siyasi yönetime ihtiyacı olduğu saptamasını yaparak yazıyı sonlandırıyor.

The Nation

Choice of the Turks

14 Haziran 2011

The third term victory of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), with a lead of 50.3 percent in the polls on Sunday, is the result of its impressive performance consistently maintained during its rule stretching back to 2002. These elections were at the same time a litmus test of leadership qualities of Recep Tayyip Erdogan who had diligently and most conscientiously dispensed his duties as Prime Minister. He came out with flying colours despite the smear campaign carried out in the West that tried to portray him as a fundamentalist and even threat to the secular character of the country.

An evidence of how much the AKP is held in esteem can be gauged from the fact that immediately after the results were announced and the party declared as the winner, the Turkish people across the country thronged the streets. This jubilation makes it pretty obvious that the masses are happy with the governance and mainly economic reforms of the government. Indeed the figures speak for themselves. The economy grew at an impressive 8.9 percent during the last year and not only that but special measures had been taken to keep inflation at bay which had particularly benefited the middle and lower middle classes. Overall, it was an era of prosperity which can also be noted from the fact the economic managers of the AKP government were able to prevent the international global crisis from taking its toll on its banking sector. Also, it is a matter of great pride for the entire Turkish

nation that the AKP had lived up to people's expectations in minimising military's involvement in politics and firmly consigning it to the barracks. Indeed, it is to the credit of Mr Erdogan that he put up such a good show and ruled the country so effectively that never there was any opportunity provided to the military to dare consider stepping in and taking over the reins of power.

<http://nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/Opinions/Editorials/14-Jun-2011/Choice-of-the-Turks>

Özet:

Yazara göre AKP seçimlerdeki başarısını 2002'den bu yana birçok alanda gösterdiği performansla borçludur. Seçim sonuçları halkın AKP'nin yönetiminden ve ekonomik reformlarından memnun olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu da aynı zamanda Başbakan Erdoğan için başarıyla geçtiği bir liderlik testi olmuştur.

DAWN

Erdogan`s third win

14 Haziran 2011

THE denial of a two-thirds majority for the ruling AKP should serve Turkey well, for this would force Recep Tayyip Erdogan to accommodate the opposition`s views if he wants to amend the constitution. Even though he has given his people more than a decade of good governance and economic progress, the results of Sunday`s vote should make Mr Erdogan feel a wee bit hamstrung. As expected, the AKP secured 50.3 per cent of the votes, scoring a third consecutive victory. But the party`s 325-seat landslide is short of the five more it needed in a house of 550 to get what was called a `supermajority` to amend the basic law on its own. Mercifully, Mr Erdogan has indicated that he would try to build

consensus by talking to the media, NGOs and opposition parties outside parliament, because his aim was to write “a civilian ... constitution” — a clear indication that Mr Erdogan wishes to remove whatever hurdles still exist in the way of a basic law that has no role for the army.

The AKP's win should surprise no one. Under Mr Erdogan's charismatic leadership, the Turks have gained in many ways. The economy continues to grow, the per capita GDP has gone up and unemployment is down. At the same time, his Islamist leanings have not prevented him from pursuing Turkey's European orientation and making it a full member of the European Union. That he will play a more assertive role in foreign affairs became obvious in his victory speech when he said Sarajevo, Ramallah and Beirut had won as much as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. Yet, the AKP leader must take note of what for him are disturbing developments. The secular Republican People's Party has improved its electoral performance, gaining 23 more seats to take its tally to 135, while the grumbling (Kurdish) Peace and Democratic Party has won an impressive 35 seats. This means he must do more for Turkey's backward south-east if he wants to fight separatist tendencies by non-military means, and he must convince the opposition that a French-style presidential system is in Turkey's interest.

<http://www.dawn.com/2011/06/14/erdogans-third-win.html>

Özet:

AKP ve Erdoğan yüksek bir seçim performansı sergilemelerine rağmen bundan sonraki dönemde, özellikle de anayasa değişikliği için uzlaşmacı bir tutum sergilemelidir. AKP seçim başarısını öncelikle ekonominin büyümesine ve işsizliğin azaltılmasına borçludur. Önümüzdeki dönemde Türkiye'nin bölgede daha aktif bir dış politika izlemesi beklenmektedir.

Asia Times

Turkey recalibrating regional role

Haziran 2011- Barbara Slavin

As thousands of Syrian refugees pour over the Turkish border, the just re-elected government in Ankara is confronting the limits of its “no problems” policy toward its neighbors.

Despite massive interaction with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad and deepening Turkish involvement in the Syrian economy, Turkey is coming to terms with the prospect of a long, bloody civil war in Syria and the possible toppling of the Assad regime.

Increasingly, Turkey also finds itself on the opposite side of Iran on regional questions and competing for influence in Syria and Iraq. Turkish efforts to mediate a resolution of the international dispute with Iran over its nuclear program appear to have come to a dead end.

In the aftermath of the ruling Justice and Development (AKP) party's re-election a week ago, analysts predict that Turkey will recalibrate its regional role.

“Syria was the cornerstone of the ‘zero problems’ foreign policy,” said Omer Taspinar, director of the Turkey project at the Brookings Institution.

Speaking last Wednesday at the Carnegie Foundation, another Washington think-tank, Taspinar suggested that the government of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan would focus on internal problems of constitutional reform and resolving the aspirations of Turkey's Kurdish minority, work to normalize relations with Armenia, and to define its participation in a new North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) missile defense scheme.

Taspınar said Turkey may also focus on toning down Sunni-Shi'ite conflict in countries such as Iraq, where Erdogan recently became the first foreign Sunni leader to meet with Ayatollah Ali Sistani, the Shi'ite religious figure with the widest following among this branch of Islam. However, rising Sunni opposition to the Syrian Alawite regime - and continued Saudi refusal to embrace the Shi'ite government in Iraq - could undermine Sunni Turkey's anti-sectarian mission.

Since coming to power in 2002, the AKP has embraced an expansive "neo-Ottoman" foreign policy. But Turkey, despite its deep knowledge of countries that were once part of the Ottoman Empire, was caught flat-footed like everyone else by the cascade of uprisings that have shaken the Arab world over the past six months.

It turns out that Turkey doesn't have "that special insight" into the region, said Steven Cook, a Middle East expert at the Council on Foreign Relations. Turkey's interests were "as wrapped up in the old order" as those of the United States and other countries, he said.

Cook predicted that Turkey would lose its luster as a champion of regional issues such as the Arab-Israeli dispute. The latter role was easier for Turkey to play "when the Arab world was politically dead," he said. Now Egypt, which brokered a recent unity deal between Palestinian factions, is reassuming a leading diplomatic role.

Like the United States, Turkey's performance in regard to the Arab uprisings has been uneven at best.

Erdogan won plaudits from Arab democrats for pivoting swiftly over Egypt and calling for the downfall of Hosni Mubarak. But Turkey hesitated too long over Libya - sparking violent protests in front of the Turkish consulate in Benghazi and criticism that Ankara was putting its substantial economic interests in Libya ahead of democratic principles.

Erdogan has been quicker to condemn Syrian human-rights abuses but is conducting a "delicate high-ware balancing act", according to Taspınar, in regard to Syria - hosting the first conference of Syrian opposition forces on Turkish soil while continuing to urge Assad to reform.

Turkey's position on Syria is similar to that of the United States, said Kadir Ustun, research director in Washington of the SETA Foundation, a Turkish think-tank. Neither wants the Assad regime to fall but both worry that the regime is not capable of positive change.

A fragmentation of Syria's complex ethnic mosaic is a frightening prospect for Turkey that could send thousands more refugees across the border on top of more than 8,000 already there. Turkey also worries about a revival of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), a militant group whose leader, Abdullah Ocalan, was expelled by Syria in 1998, paving the way for Turkish-Syrian rapprochement.

Despite the fact that Turkey - whose annual trade with Syria amounts to US\$2.5 billion - is Syria's largest trading partner, Ankara's leverage in Damascus appears to be less than that of Iran, which is staunchly backing Assad's crackdown on political dissent.

Turkey's efforts to resolve the international quarrel with Iran over its nuclear program have also failed.

A "Tehran declaration" unveiled with much fanfare a year ago after mediation by Turkey and Brazil was rejected by the United States and its partners because it would have left Iran with more than enough enriched uranium to produce a weapon. A round of nuclear talks in Istanbul in January ended without even an agreement to meet again. Iran appears too wrapped up in its internal political divisions to engage constructively while the Barack Obama administration is focusing on sanctions and its own re-election.

Ustun said Turkey was still committed to trying to help resolve the nuclear dispute and remains concerned about the potential for military action against Iran as well as the impact of economic sanctions. However, in the aftermath of last year's failed diplomacy, Turkish diplomats are being more careful with Iran, Ustun said, and coordinating more closely with the United States.

Turkey is evolving from a US "client state to a partner", Cook said, and has great potential to use its economic power as "an engine of growth" for emerging Arab democracies. The Arab spring, he added, is pushing Turkey into a position that "the US is likely to be more comfortable with, going forward".

http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/MF21Ak02.html

Özet:

Seçimlerin sonrasında bölgesel gelişmeler Türkiye'yi bölgesel rolünü tekrar düşünüp, sorgulamasına ve yeniden şekillendirmesine mecbur bırakıyor. Sıfır sorun politikasının temel direği olan Suriye'nin de dahil olduğu halk ayaklanmaları, Ortadoğu'da pek çok aktörü olduğu gibi Türkiye'yi de hazırlıksız yakaladı. Bu noktadan sonra Türkiye'nin Suriye'deki durum, İran nükleer krizi ve Ortadoğu'daki Sünni-Şii rekabeti konularındaki rolünü baştan belirlemesi gerekmektedir.

HİNDİSTAN

The Hindu

Turkey's election & Arab Spring

15 Haziran 2011- Atul Aneja

By showing that piety can coexist, if not thrive, with entrepreneurship, hard work and liberal democracy, Turkey has illuminated a

path that the depressed youth in West Asia and beyond can pursue.

Turks in their millions headed for the polls on June 12 to participate in a crucial parliamentary election which is likely to have a strong bearing on not only the country's immediate future but also on millions outside, who are in the midst of an "Arab Spring." Capturing the spirit of a series of bold pro-democracy uprisings in West Asia and North Africa, the Arab Spring promises to liberate vast multitudes in the region — from a stifling era of authoritarian rule.

Turkey is important to the rest of the world because it has been undergoing a profound transformation — many say a Renaissance — since Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's A.K. Party (AKP) or the Justice and Development Party was elected to office in 2003. Over the last 11 years, Turkey has shown that it is possible to stitch together a winning combination of democracy, Islam and capitalism. Millions have been lifted out of poverty, and a new class of businessmen and entrepreneurs has emerged in Anatolia — the once "backward" Asiatic part of eastern Turkey. The economic miracle that Turkey has become is an eye-opener to those who have been routinely churning out stereotyped economic models for developing societies.

But Turkey's success goes beyond demonstrating how traditional societies can engage successfully in cutting-edge business in the age of globalisation. Its real success may lie in its ability to define a sustainable model that promotes international security by mainly relying on soft power. By showing millions of Muslims and non-Muslims alike that piety can coexist, if not thrive, with entrepreneurship, hard work and liberal democracy, Turkey has illuminated a path that the depressed youth in West Asia and beyond can now pursue. It has shown them alternative trails, other than the hopelessly self-destructive route charted by extremist groups such as al-Qaeda.

Turkey's unique blend of democracy and Islam minus the hard edge of fundamentalism was echoed sharply during the Egyptian uprising which, a few months ago, brought down President Hosni Mubarak. The example of the "Turkish model" resonated strongly during the demonstrations at the Tahrir Square, especially among youth belonging to the Muslim Brotherhood, a radical but loosely structured Muslim transnational organisation which has been undergoing a gradual transformation in recent years. The Turkish experience of recent years has also struck a chord with Yemen, especially within the Islamist Islah party, which has a major Muslim Brotherhood component. In future, Turkey may well have to play a leading role in neighbouring Syria, should a transition commence from the Allawite regime of President Bashar Al Assad to a new dispensation, probably again with a strong Muslim Brotherhood core.

Turkey's spats with Israel over the treatment of Palestinians have been a major factor in transforming its image in the Muslim world. Taking advantage of the political space for manoeuvre in the region, Turkey has followed it up with concerted efforts to shore up commercial and political ties with neighbours, especially Syria and Iran, known for their anti-Israeli positions. The breach of its ties with Israel allowed Turkey to reposition itself advantageously in West Asia, permitting it to tap new political and economic options in the region. Simultaneously, it provided Turkey the opportunity to loosen its traditional fixation with Europe — visible in Ankara's unquenched thirst for decades — of becoming a member of the coveted European Union.

Turkey has emerged as an influential player, partly on account of the surge in resources under its command. For its growing financial clout, Turkey's leaders owe a great deal of debt to the new class of businessmen that has emerged in Anatolia. Once in industrial backwaters, the city of Kayseri, around 880 km east of Istanbul in Anatolia, has become a major

hub of manufacturing textiles and furniture. Taking advantage of cheap credit and an export-oriented trade policy encouraged in the 1980s by Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, businessmen in Kayseri are now raking in billions of dollars through manufacturing and trade. By 2007, furniture exports were yielding cash flows beyond \$1 billion. Nearly every major brand of jeans in the world uses denim produced in Turkey, with large volumes flowing out of Anatolia.

Apart from the pro-business ambience that the government initially created, it is the mental make-up of the Anatolian entrepreneur, which seamlessly combines religious conservatism with a fierce commitment to globalisation and market principles that has been at the heart of the region's success. The mosque has been not only a place of worship but an arena for socialisation. The Nurcu circles, formed by the followers of Turkish thinker Said Nursi, have become avenues for networking and striking deals. In the words of Vali Nasr, author of *Forces of Fortune: The rise of the new Muslim middle class and what it will mean for us*, Anatolian businessmen "combine religion, hard work and economic innovation in much the same way as did Calvinist Burghers of northern Europe in the sixteenth century when capitalism was just starting out." Mr. Nasr points out that many in Kayseri readily identify with "how Calvinists worked hard, prayed hard, saved money and then invested it in their businesses — and were comfortable being both rich and pious."

The wealth generated by Turkey's new business class has galvanised an ideology and movement that has begun to touch the lives of millions across the world. The Gulen movement is rooted in the ideas of Fethullah Gulen. Mr. Gulen, who began his career in 1953 as an Islamic teacher, had to flee to the United States, following the surfacing in 1999 of a video, in which he seemed to have been espousing a gradual Islamic takeover of Turkey, by asking his followers to quietly infiltra-

te all organs of the state until their presence acquired a critical mass. He was later cleared of all charges but only after he had begun residing in a Pennsylvania country estate, from where his messages of moderation, inter-faith dialogue and primacy of education as a tool of liberty and economic well-being have been radiating across the globe.

In an article written for the Singapore-based S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Mohamed Nawab Osman points out that in Mr. Gulen's view "it is unIslamic for Muslims to advocate the formation of an Islamic state," a position that pitches the Gulen movement far away from the views of jihadists calling for the establishment of a caliphate, based on Islamic law, as a core element of their end-game. Mr. Osman adds: "He [Mr. Gulen] believes that Muslims must support and be active participants of democracy and a free-market economy, so as to align themselves with the mainstream global processes. In accordance with his opposition to an Islamic state, he also does not favour the state applying Islamic law." With its strong focus on education, the Gulen movement promotes establishment the world over of quality schools which, despite the personal views of teachers, are secular in orientation, and usually follow the national curriculum of the host country.

The Gulen movement's link to Anatolian businessmen has been well established. The BBC quoted Serdarj Yesilyurt from Turkey's Federation of Businessmen and Industrialists, as saying that 95 per cent of his members support Mr. Gulen. The movement is not short of funds as its followers in the business community contribute 5-20 per cent for its cause, a recent study reveals. These contributions feed into the concept of Zakat — one of the five pillars of Islam which espouses contribution of surplus wealth for charity.

Backed by what has been described by some as the emerging "Islamic bourgeoisie" and followers of social movements such as Gulen,

the victory of Mr. Erdogan's AKP in Sunday's poll was a foregone conclusion. Unsurprisingly, the party secured 50 per cent of the vote — the highest recorded since it began contesting elections in 2002. In terms of seats, the AKP got 326 in the 550-member Parliament. However, this still fell short of the 367-mark that it had wished to scale. Had it managed a "super-majority," the AKP would have been in a position to re-write unopposed the existing Constitution, which was drafted under the influence of the military that toppled a civilian government in 1980. Nevertheless, Mr. Erdogan has not given up on his ambition of embracing a new Constitution, based on a national consensus. Buoyed by an impressive electoral performance, Turkey's culturally sensitive leaders are also well positioned to shape, as it meanders into the heat of summer, the Arab Spring, which is now looking for solid but nuanced political direction, preferably from an established regional powerhouse.

<http://www.hindu.com/2011/06/15/stories/2011061554691200.htm>

Özet:

Türkiye 2003'den bu yana köklü bir değişim yaşıyor. Bu değişimin en çarpıcı noktası, AKP iktidarının demokrasi, İslam ve kapitalizmi bir araya getirmesi oldu. Bu sayede Türkiye Batı Asya'ya örnek olacak bir konuma geldi. İslami burjuvazi ve başta Gülen hareketi olmak üzere sosyal hareketlerce desteklenene AKP'nin seçim başarısı sürpriz bir gelişme değildir.

AKP win sends shiver down Tel Aviv's spine

14 Haziran 2011-SAURABH KUMAR SHAHI

The immediate fallout of the Turkish elections can be observed more in Washington DC

and Tel Aviv than in Ankara itself. It is a common knowledge now that DC and Tel Aviv had put their heart and money at the loss of AKP whose foreign policy initiatives have not gone down well with the two capitals. More than DC, where pundits had predicted a comfortable come back of AKP, it was in Tel Aviv that political elites so wanted AKP to lose. Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's approach to foreign policy is different from whatever Turkey practised in last 8-9 decades and thus, this change in status quo has led to severe heartburn in some quarters.

After the WW I, Turkey under Ataturk took a holistic view of things and started looking inwards. Putting days of Caliphate behind, Turkey took a rather bizarre Foreign policy outlook. "Ne Shamin Shekeri, ne Arapın Yuzu" was the famous Turkish adage of the era. "Neither the sweets from Damascus, nor the face of Arabs". And Turks followed this adage by letter and spirit. The foreign policy was devised as such that every possible neighbouring country was treated as an enemy. The advance of the USSR did further strengthen this notion. Turkey became a frontline state fighting "the advance of Communism" and hence came closer to the West. Israel, which wanted to legitimize its occupation of Palestine by painting it a political issue and not religious grabbed Turkey's hand to show that world that it had Muslim support too.

But it all changed when this soft spoken academician came into the helm of affairs. He devised a policy that was essentially his thesis in college, the policy of "Zero problem with neighbours". Turkey rapidly improved its relationship with the neighbouring countries and started to exert itself at regional forums. It tried to broker a deal between Israel and Syria. It also tried to bring about Hamas. But as things work in Israel, it attacked Gaza without even informing Turkey. Naturally the Prime Minister, Erdogan, who was himself dealing with the talks, felt cheated and embarrassed in front of its local audience. This gave a massi-

ve dent to the relationship. Obviously, Israeli attack of unarmed Turkish activists onboard Mavi Marmara in the International Water damaged the relationship greatly.

The return of AKP means the continuation of the same foreign policy. Turkey, however, has no such issues with Americans. But America's inability to shed Israeli baggage and its sheer failure to detach its foreign policy with that of Israel has put it in yet another bog. "We have no issues whatsoever with the Americans. But they need to understand that they cannot keep propping Israel all the time. If they want the relation to deteriorate because their friendship with Israelis, no one can help. As for Turkey, it wants good relationship with west and demands respect," elaborates Abdulhamit Bilici, an analyst and head of Cihan News Agency, Turkey's largest private News Agency.

On the other hand, Turkey will keep on pressing world community to opt for negotiation on Iranian Nuclear impasse and will try its best to dissuade the talks of any military or punitive action.

AKP has won with an improved vote tally. And polls suggest that close to 67 per cent of Turks have given thumbs up to its foreign policy initiative, more than its overall approval ratings. Naturally, Davutoğlu must have taken note of this, and so have the Americans and the Israelis.

<http://thesundayindian.com/en/story/akp-win-sends-shiver-down-tel-aviv-spine/16358/>

Özet:

Washington ve Tel Aviv seçimlerde AKP'nin başarısız olmasını tercih ediyordu. Bunun temel sebebi Davutoğlu'nun dış politika yaklaşımıdır. Önceki dönemde Türkiye, Ortadoğu'ya sırtını çevirerek hatalı bir dış politika izlemiştir. Şimdi ise Davutoğlu ile birlikte bir değişim

başlamış ve Türkiye Ortadoğu'da daha aktif bir rol oynamaya yönelmiştir. AKP'nin seçim zaferi bu dış politika yaklaşımının devamı anlamına gelmektedir.

The Hindu

The Erdogan Effect

Haziran 2011

It was fully expected that Turkey's voters would return Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Justice and Development Party (AKP) for a third consecutive term. This success owes to the AKP's achievements in its nearly decade-long rule. With Mr. Erdogan at the helm, the country has undergone a successful economic transformation. At 9 per cent, it boasts the world's second highest growth after China. The 74 million-strong nation has a new confidence, an outcome of its political and economic stability. Turkey's foreign policy now has a mind of its own, giving it a higher profile on the international stage; while the Erdogan government remains committed to integration with Europe, the long wait for admission into the European Union has led Turkey into creating a place for itself in the West Asian region through vigorous engagement with its immediate neighbours. The result of the June 12 parliamentary election indicates national appreciation for many of AKP's policies. But not all of them. While the AKP took nearly 50 per cent of the vote, the result falls far short of the two-thirds it was seeking in order to be empowered to make unilateral amendments to the Constitution. Indeed, the party has won 15 fewer seats in the 550-seat Parliament than in 2007, this time's tally of 326 falling four short of the number required for putting proposed constitutional changes to a vote in a national referendum.

Prime Minister Erdogan must now seek political consensus for the reforms he has in mind. Considering the implications, this is just as well. From the time it first came to power in 2002, the conservative AKP, with a vision rooted in political Islam, made clear it did not embrace the strict secularism bequeathed by Turkey's founder Attaturk Mustafa Kemal. Much of the debate since then has revolved around the headscarf; in the last few years, the cloth, once strictly barred from the public sphere, has made a comeback. Last year, backed by a referendum, the government succeeded in changing the Constitution to make the military — a stern guardian of the Kemalist vision — more accountable to the government. Marginalising the military was a move that won wide backing and praise. But Turkey remains deeply divided on the role of religion in nation-building, as it is about switching to a French-style executive Presidency, which could perpetuate Mr. Erdogan's rule after his last term as Prime Minister. His enthusiasm for constitutional change is bound to be tempered by the results. Rather, with as many as 35 pro-Kurdish representatives in the new parliament, the Erdogan government will need to pay more attention to the longstanding demands of the Kurdish ethnic group.

<http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/editorial/article2104557.ece>

Özet:

Türkiye'de seçim sonuçları hiçbir şekilde bir sürpriz olmadı. 10 yıllık AKP iktidarının siyasi ve ekonomik istikrarı sağlaması, seçim başarısında en önemli unsurdur. Bu noktadan sonra Başbakan Erdoğan siyasi uzlaşma peşinde koşmalıdır. Yeni hükümetin önündeki en önemli sorunlar Kürt sorunu ve Anayasa konularıdır.

İSRAİL-FİLİSTİN

Haaretz

If Erdogan wants to be a leader

Haziran 2011- Louis Fishman

For now, Turkey's priority should be to prevent the region from falling into another war, which only can be done by rekindling its ties with Israel.

For the third time, Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan has walked away from the polls with a stunning victory, with his party sweeping up almost 50 percent of the total vote in the country's legislative elections. In his victory speech on Sunday night, Erdogan declared that his win constituted a victory not only for the Turkish people, but was also one to be celebrated in "Izmir as in Beirut, in Ankara as in Damascus, in Diyarbakir as in Ramallah, Nablus, Jenin, the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza."

Nonetheless, Erdogan's new term in office will begin with his Middle East policy in disarray, with the brewing crisis across the border in Syria, the threat of instability spreading to Lebanon, and sinking credibility among the Palestinians, whom he used often as a rhetorical tool during the election campaign but whose long-term prosperity he had done almost nothing tangible to advance during his eight years in office.

During the last two years, Erdogan wholeheartedly adopted the policy of his foreign minister, Ahmet Davutoglu, which calls for working to secure strong relations with all of the states bordering Turkey. Few could argue against the wisdom of this policy. Indeed, the Turkish economy owes much of its success to its massive investments in northern Iraq, its strong economic ties with Iran and the more recent investments in Syria. With the situation in Syria spiraling out of control, however,

Erdogan is now faced with a dilemma, caused by his having misinterpreted the two states' relationship: Where President Bashar Assad saw his newfound relationship with Turkey as one between equals, Erdogan perceived Turkey as serving as some of sort of surrogate big brother to the weak Syrian state; in essence, Syria was to serve as a regional satellite state of Turkey, while the latter would reap the benefits of the underdeveloped Syrian market.

It seems clear that Bashar Assad's days are numbered, and there is no doubt that Turkey will enter a period of "damage control" to secure its investments in Syria and to try to foster a stable transfer of power there. Nevertheless, Turkey will have a hard time coping with the regional implications of continued civil strife in Syria, and its possible spillover into Lebanon - not to mention the destabilizing effect it could have on Turkey's Kurdish southeast.

If Erdogan is sincere about his victory also being one for the "West Bank and Gaza," then he and Davutoglu will need to take two steps back and rethink their role vis-a-vis Israel and the Palestinians, and perhaps address the internal contradiction between their respective visions.

Whereas Erdogan often meddles in internal politics, Davutoglu opts for the hands-off approach, understanding that as long as Turkey remains an economic powerhouse with a dynamic society, the states of the region will naturally drift toward it. In other words, it seems that Davutoglu understands that the Turks' real legacy in the region will be to act as a neutral moderator between the various Arab parties, and to work toward a lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians. That's a much different stance than that of Erdogan, who during the elections did not miss a chance to use Israel as a punching bag - something which, even if it scores points with the Turkish electorate, does not necessarily play as well with Palestinians, who know from past

experience with Arab regimes that empty rhetoric does not translate to a better future.

Furthermore, the fact that it was the post-Mubarak Egyptian government, and not Turkey, that was able to negotiate a rapprochement between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Hamas shows how much Erdogan's grandstanding in support of Hamas has isolated Turkey from Ramallah's halls of power.

If Recep Tayyip Erdogan looks back to his first years in office, beginning in 2003, he will see that Arabs admired Turkey for its ability to retain a strong relationship with both sides of the conflict. Arab societies and states have lived in a polarized system for decades now. They simply do not need a new polarizing force in the region, something that Turkey - through Erdogan's assertive politics - has become. While Ankara believed that its new regional role would translate into political leverage, Damascus has displayed in the harshest way that it does not. And although Israel certainly deserves its share of the blame for the rapid deterioration in relations between Jerusalem and Ankara, there is no question that, without Israel, Turkey will not be able to make any real progress on the Palestinian front, let alone on larger regional questions.

For now, Turkey's priority should be to prevent the region from falling into another war, which only can be done by rekindling its ties with Israel, even as it continues to strengthen its links with the Palestinians and other regional states. If this happens, plenty of leaders will be knocking on Erdogan's door, and he will be able not only to prove himself to be one of the great masters of Turkish politics, but also the leader who helped bring stability and prosperity to the region as a whole.

Louis Fishman is an assistant professor of history at Brooklyn College, City University of New York, and divides his time between New York, Istanbul and Tel Aviv. He blogs about

Turkish, Israeli and Middle Eastern politics at: <http://louisfishman.blogspot.com/>

<http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/if-erdogan-wants-to-be-a-leader-1.368169>

Özet:

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan seçimlerden sonraki konuşmasında AKP'nin zaferinin aynı zamanda Ortadoğu halklarının zaferi olduğunu iddia etti. AKP'nin dış politika yaklaşımını ifade eden bu çıkış önümüzdeki dönemde dış politikadaki aktif tutumun süreceğini göstermektedir. Ancak bazı sıkıntılar vardır. Suriye'deki istikrarsızlık ve muhtemel rejim değişikliği, Lübnan'daki siyasi tıkanma ve Filistin meselesi bir sonraki dönemde Türk dış politikasında ciddi konular olacaktır.

The Palestine Telegraph (Filistin)

Turkey election: Victorious Erdogan pledges 'consensus'

13 Haziran 2011 - Sally Kelly

Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan has promised to build consensus with opposition parties, after securing a third term in office.

Mr Erdogan's Justice and Development Party (AKP) won about 50% of the vote in Sunday's poll.

That translates to about 325 seats - a majority, but not enough to make unilateral constitutional changes.

Mr Erdogan had widely been expected to win despite being accused by some of an authoritarian style of leadership.

With almost all of the ballots counted, local

media said that the AKP had secured about 325 of the 550 seats in parliament.

That is short of the “super majority” of 367 that would have enabled the party to push through constitutional changes on its own; or the 330 the party would have needed to put its own proposals directly to a public referendum.

Many Turks accept the need to modernise the constitution, which was written three decades ago following a military coup, says the BBC’s Jonathan Head in Istanbul.

But there was concern that with a super-majority, the prime minister might reject consensus and write a constitution that helped cement his party’s grip on power. Analysts say he may be planning to put more powers in the hands of the presidency - and eyeing up the post for himself.

Strong growth

Accepting his victory in Ankara, Mr Erdogan said his party would be “humble”.

“The people gave us a message to build the new constitution through consensus and negotiation,” said the prime minister.

“We will be seeking consensus with the main opposition, the opposition, parties outside of parliament, the media, NGOs, with academics, with anyone who has something to say”

Mr Erdogan said the AKP and others would write a “civilian, free constitution which embraces all parties of the society together”.

In his victory speech, Mr Erdogan also alluded to Turkey’s aspiration to be a voice in the West for the Middle Eastern region and Muslims, saying Bosnians, Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians also benefited from his victory.

“Believe me, Sarajevo won today as much as Istanbul, Beirut won as much as Izmir, Damascus won as much as Ankara, Ramallah, Nablus, Jenin, the West Bank, Jerusalem won as much as Diyarbakir.”

More than 50 million people, about two-thirds of Turkey’s population of 73 million, were eligible to vote in Sunday’s election. NTV television said turnout was 84.5%.

The newspaper Today’s Zaman said there would be a record 78 female MPs - up from 50 in the last parliament.

AKP supporters were celebrating on the streets of the capital on Sunday night.

“I am truly happy. I hope the outcome will be in favour of our country and nation. I cannot find words to express my happiness,” said one man.

Our correspondent says Turkey now faces another four years with Mr Erdogan the dominant figure, and his AKP pretty much able to do what it likes in parliament.

The secular Republican People’s Party (CHP) won about 26% of the vote with 135 seats - 23 more than last time, and the far-right Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) with 13% had 54 seats, down 17.

Kurdish success

Independent candidates fielded by the pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) also did well in the south-east, winning 5.8% of the vote and 35 seats.

“This is a huge success for us,” prospective Kurdish MP Serafettin Elci told Reuters.

“We expect the PM to signal a strong hope for the solution of the Kurdish problem for Turkey’s future.”

Our correspondent says this will increase pressure on the government to address its long standing demands for greater autonomy and official recognition of Kurdish identity.

The AKP, which has Islamist roots, has presided over strong economic growth and a more assertive foreign policy since taking power in 2003.

It has also seen unemployment fall - down to 11.5% in March from 14.4% in the same period last year. The country is a member of Nato as well as a candidate for membership of the European Union.

<http://www.paltelegraph.com/world/world-news/9413-turkey-election-victorious-erdogan-pledges-consensus.html>

Özet:

Haberde öncelikle seçimden büyük çoğunlukla galip çıkan AKP'nin yeni anayasa için yeterli milletvekili çıkaramamasından bahsediliyor. Erdoğan'ın zafer konuşmasıyla ilgili olarak uzlaşma mesajlarına değinilirken, özellikle 'Türkiye'nin Batı'da Ortadoğu'nun sesi olacağı ve bu zaferin Lübnanlı, Suriyeli ve Filistinlilerin de zaferi olduğu' şeklindeki ifadeler vurgu yapıyor. Seçim sonucuyla ilgili olarak gazete muhabirinin yorumu ise, baskın bir figür olan Erdoğan ve partisinin parlamentoda neredeyse her istediğini yapabilecek bir konumda olduğu şeklinde. Bağımsız milletvekillerinin seçilmesi ise 'Kürt başarısı' başlığı altında belirtilmiş. Bu konudaki yorum ise bu durumun, uzun süredir dile getirilen Kürt kimliğinin resmi tanınması ve özerklik talepleri konusunda hükümet üzerindeki baskıları artıracığı şeklinde. Ayrıca 2003 yılından bu yana iktidar olan AKP hükümetinin ülkeyi güçlü ekonomik büyüme ve iddialı bir dış politika ile yönettiği de yorumlar arasında.

Palestine News Network (Filistin)

Turkey Elects Prime Minister; Israel Ready to Work on Ties and Alliances

13 Haziran 2011

Ankara-PNN-Victoria Delacroix- Turkey has elected the Justice and Development Party for the third time in a row. The Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erodgan has won his third term in the parliamentary elections the state-run T.V. reported, according to the Associated Press.

However, the election results also showed that while the Prime Minister's party did manage to capture all most 50% of the vote, the fell short of capturing the 2/3 majority in parliament, which means that if they seek to change anything in the constitution they would have to seek political support from other political groups in Parliament.

As far as the fractured relationship goes with Israel, Israeli politicians have said that they are willing to seek a relationship and work on ties with Turkey and reinstate a relationship similiar to the one before the touchy issue of the flotilla that was sent from Turkey to the Gaza strip over a year ago.

In Ankara, where the Justice and Development Party's headquarters are, the Prime Minister in his victory speech had promised to try and seek agreement between the different political rivals in order to produce a new constitution for the country, which would include "basic right and freedoms" as he earlier promised this according to the Associated Press.

The Prime Minister said, "The people gave us a message to build the new constitution through consensus and negotiation. We will discuss the new constitution with opposition parties."

Israel's Prime Minister has yet to speak out on the issue of Turkey's elections.

http://english.pnn.ps/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=10215&Itemid=29

Özet:

Haberde %50 ye varan oy oranının AKP'ye yeni anayasa yapmak için yeterli olmadığı ve

meclis içinde farklı siyasi gruplardan destek almak zorunda olduğu belirtiliyor. Bir yandan İsrail ile kırılma ilişkiler devam ederken, İsraili siyasiler Türkiye ile ilişkilerin Gazze'ye gönderilen yardım gemisi sonrası yaşanan krizden önceki haliyle benzer şekilde yeniden kurulması isteklerini belirtiyorlar. Ayrıca özellikle anayasa konusundaki uzlaşmacı mesajların bir önceki seçim sonrasında da verildiği belirtiliyor.

ORSAM AKADEMİK KADROSU

Hasan Kanbolat	ORSAM Başkanı
E. Tümg. Armağan Kuloğlu	ORSAM Başkanışmanı
Habib Hürmüzlü	ORSAM Danışmanı, Ortadoğu
Doç. Dr. Harun Öztürkler	ORSAM Danışmanı, Ortadoğu Ekonomileri - Afyon Kocatepe Üni.
Doç. Dr. Özlem Tür	ORSAM Danışmanı, Ortadoğu - ODTÜ
Doç. Dr. Veysel Ayhan	ORSAM Danışmanı, Ortadoğu - Abant İzzet Baysal Üni.
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Esra Pakin Albayrakoğlu	ORSAM Danışmanı, Ortadoğu - Namık Kemal Üni.
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