

# **PUBLIC DIPLOMACY and THE CONTRIBUTIONS TURKEY HAS MADE IN THE RELATIONSHIP AMONG ITS' NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES**

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## **SUMMARY**

In recent years the concept of Public Diplomacy has begun to be used as a new method of international relations. Instead of the classical diplomacy relationship which was conducted between states and government agencies; it has been replaced with public diplomacy which is implemented with the public, civil society organizations and various non-governments agencies. Elements such as culture, arts, politics and economy as well as activities that are aimed at gaining the empathy of the nation's citizens has become the most important tool in public policy. In this view, the use of public diplomacy in the relationship among the countries that Turkey has a very strong historical and cultural connections with will ensure the establishment of very important connections among the people of these countries. These ties that are formed with the public will have a positive reflection among the nations and among the peoples of those nations.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Twentieth century has been a time period where politics, economics, technology and social developments have been experienced at its max. In connection with the advancements in the technological arena, opportunities have been offered to people that have not been available in the previous decades that have influenced a change, especially in the social and economic life. So if we look back at the century that we have left behind, it's been characterized as the age of communication, among various other labels. Hence one of the most widely used concepts as we enter into the twenty-first century is the term "Globalization". The concept of Globalization has surfaced in the 1980's as a result complex interactions of changes that took place in the economy, technology and legal system.

Even though the concept of globalization has entered our lived in the last twenty years, the developments have not surfaced all of a sudden. It has come about as a result of a series of economic, political and technological developments and advancements. The person who has made the claim that this was a scientific term was a Canadian Communications Philosopher, Marshall McLuhan. In the 1960's McLuhan had made the interpretation that mass media with its rapid development would be able convert the world into a village. However this

prediction of McLuhan's was delayed for a long time because of factors such as the conditions during the cold war, the economic limitations, the restrictions of the spread of technology and public broadcasting. However as a result of the removal of time, space and geographic boundaries, at last globalization has been placed on the agenda of the people.<sup>1</sup>

This change has caused important variations not only in the social, economic and political areas but it has also effected the areas of international relations and diplomacy. Thus one of these changes was the concept of public diplomacy which was fed by the possibilities and opportunities brought about by globalization which took the place of classic diplomacy understanding of the cold war period.

## **1. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND THE APPROACHES**

Even though the concept of public diplomacy is a term which the application of it goes back-a-ways the implementation of it has started in the recent era. The high-speed expansion of mass media tools has put forth a very different international system of globalization period in the world from that of the prior 1990's cold war period. Nowadays we live in a world that not only the nations and governments but also the media and non-governmental organizations in the national and international area are more effective. This process has also changed the old classical diplomatic understanding and thus a different diplomacy with different actors has come to the forefront.

### **1.1. The Emerging of Public Diplomacy Concept**

Cull defines *diplomacy* as "*the mechanisms short of war deployed by an international actor to manage the international environment*". Today, this actor may be a state, Multi-national Corporation, non-governmental organization, international organization, terrorist organization/ stateless paramilitary organization or other player on the world stage. *Traditional diplomacy* is international actor's attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with another international actor. *Public diplomacy* is an international actor's attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public.<sup>2</sup> The foundation of this new concept which is called the public diplomacy is formed by the concept "soft power".

### **1.2. Soft Power Concept**

The "Soft Power Concept" which was coined the first time by Joseph S. Nye in the 1990 in his book called *Bound to Lead*, where he touches on this concept as he discusses

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Wheeler, *Politic and the Mass Media*, Blackwell Puplicher Inc., Chambridge, 1997, at 178.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, Figueroa Press, Los Angeles, 2009, at 12.

about his widespread view that America is on the decline.<sup>3</sup> He states that USA is not only the most powerful world as far as militarily and financially but also in the third dimension, what he calls the soft power. With the passing of time this concept has begun to be used more often around the world. In the year 1991 Nye wrote the book called *The Paradox of American Power* where he's warning America against the "victorious" feelings and in it he goes back to using the concept soft power.<sup>4</sup> A key feature of the public diplomacy has been the rise of the term 'Soft Power', as coined by Joseph Nye at the end of the Cold War, as an expression of the ability of an actor to get what it wants in the international environment because of the attractiveness of its culture rather than military or economic leverage.<sup>5</sup>

Military strength with financial power are each an example of the strong command power which can be used in changing the minds of others. Strong power can appear in the form of persuasion (carrot) as well as in the form of a threat (club). But there are also indirect ways of using power. In the world politics a country can attain the desired outcome as long as other countries want to follow suite behind them, or admire their values, or envy the example they constitute or even to reach the level of prosperity and exposure. In this situation, this country has an important influential ability to determine the agenda of the world politics and attract other nations as well as force these nations to change using military or economic weapons to threaten them or even too use them. From this aspect of power called the soft power; in other words making sure want you want is also desired by others. Soft Power is instead of forcing the people, makes a collaboration with them.<sup>6</sup>

According to Nye, soft power comes from the nation's attractive culture, political ideologies and its politics. A country's soft power increases when the country's politics are seen as legitimate to others.<sup>7</sup> In the global information society power is connected less with land, military power and natural resources. In the effort to realize their purpose, political leaders depend on the power of information, beliefs and thoughts. The purpose of security is not just only the wholeness of the nation's lands. In the information revolution, the countries have increased their dependency to the effective information infrastructure beyond-their-nation to a visible point.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Dünya Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, terc. Rayhan İnan Aydın, Elips Kitap, Ankara, 2005, Ankara, at.5.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Amerikan Gücünün Paradoksu*, terc. Gürol Koca, Literatür Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Cull, supra note, at.15.

<sup>6</sup> Nye, *Amerikan Gücünün Paradoksu*, at.10-11.

<sup>7</sup> Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, at 5.

<sup>8</sup> Tuncer, supra note, at 156.

Soft power depends on how others shape the characteristics of their preferences.<sup>9</sup> Soft power at the same time is based on the capability of determining the priorities of political agenda of the other people. For a long time political leaders and thinkers like Antonio Gramsci have realized the power one can have in shaping the agenda and identifying the scope of the discussion. The ability to determine preferences is related to the abstract power source of such things like an attractive culture, ideology or institutions.<sup>10</sup> It is always more effective to entice someone than to use force and therefore values like Democracy, human rights and individual opportunities are more than enough to enticement. However, Nye points out a danger:<sup>11</sup> If we act conceited and destroy the underlying values of the real message, this admiration can turn into hatred.

So in order to turn the materialized resources into power with the purpose of attaining the desired end result, well throughout, designed strategies and a professional leadership is a must. For this reason, formulating the strategic priorities constitutes an important phase in the process. In the public diplomacy mechanism one should not expect each and every element of every abstract priority to have an equal part in the implementation. The ideal case of public diplomacy that is referred to will be attained when; the tasks of the actor's approach and time-scale coincide together with the politics and mechanisms.<sup>12</sup>

Some countries can use their political clout which is more than their military or financial power; because to have enticing principles like economic help or to be a peacemaker in for the benefit of the countries. For example, Norway has attended peace talks for the last twenty years in the Philippines, the Balkans, Colombia, Sri Lanka and in the Middle East. The arbitrator stand that Norway has makes other nations identify with the shared common values of this country and therefore this increases Norway's soft power.<sup>13</sup>

### **1.3. The Sources of Soft Power**

Soft Power in substantially comes from our values. The values revival itself in our culture, in the politics that we conduct inside country and the way we introduce ourselves in the international arena.<sup>14</sup> A country's soft power depends on three main sources before anything else: On

1. Culture (In places where it seems prestigious to others),

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<sup>9</sup> Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, at 16.

<sup>10</sup> Nye, *Amerikan Gücünün Paradoksu*, at 10-11.

<sup>11</sup> Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, at 6.

<sup>12</sup> Cull, *supra* note, at 16

<sup>13</sup> Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, at 19.

<sup>14</sup> Nye, *Amerikan Gücünün Paradoksu*, at 11.

2. Political Values (when you live Internally and internationally according to them)
3. Foreign Policy (when you are seen as authoritarian in the aspect of ethics and justice)

Among the most valuable sources of power for this country is the universality of its' culture and the ability to establish institutions and appropriate rules that can manage the international fields of activity. The values that are often mentioned in the popular American culture like Democracy, personal freedom, attaining higher public standards and exposure will add value to America's power in the areas of higher education and foreign politics.<sup>15</sup>

For a society culture is the entirety of all the values that has meaning and their practices. There are many way to show the culture. Culture is more commonly divided into two: upper culture which appeals to the elite like literature, art and education and popular culture which is based on entertainment. One country's culture can increase its' possibility of attaining the desired results because of the values it shares and interests it serves within the universal values and politics as well as the accountability and prestige it creates.<sup>16</sup>

Cultural critics most of the time separate the upper culture and popular culture from one another. Many observers will confirm that the upper culture American creates important soft power for the America. For example the previous US Foreign Minister Colin Powel said, "I can't think of any better fortune for our country than to gain the friendship of the students who are here to complete their education, who are the future world leaders". Most of these previous students have at last come to positions where they can influence political results that are very important for Americans.

The academic and scientific exchanges have played a very important role in increasing America's soft power. Even popular sports have played a role in the values that have been delivered. What more some song words in the popular music can also have a political effect. Popular messages can also be transmitted by the behavior of the sports teams and products or through various images that are shown on television or the cinema. Most of the times these images can deliver values stronger than words and Hollywood is the world's largest promoter and exporter of visual symbols.<sup>17</sup>

Trade is just one of the ways in which culture is conveyed. This conveyance can also be done through personal contacts, visits and shopping. Every year America has more than half a million foreign students, who study in their universities and return to their country or

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<sup>15</sup> At 13.

<sup>16</sup> Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, at 20.

<sup>17</sup> Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, at 50-53.

Asian entrepreneurs who export in their mind the values and thought as they return to their country after being successful in Silicon Valley, who have reached elite status as far as power is concerned.<sup>18</sup>

Nationally and internationally governmental policies are another potential source of soft power. However the policies of a government can strength the soft power of a nation as well destroy it. In the view of others if local and foreign policies are hypocritical, arrogant or unconcerned or established on an approach that is narrow-minded as far as national interest are concerned will undermine the soft power. For example in 2003, it was observed in the surveys that were done after the Iraq war that the prestige of America was declining rapidly. Most of the people who stated a negative opinion, their reaction was generally not against the US, but more towards the Bush administration. Thus many of the people of the nation continued to feel admiration for the American technology, music, movies and televisions. However in most of the countries, a big section of the people stated that they do not favor America's increasing clout on their nations.<sup>19</sup>

#### **1.4. The use of Soft Power within the scope of Public Diplomacy Concept**

The first description of public diplomacy concept was done by Edmund Gullion in the year 1965. According to Gullion's public diplomacy; "deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy (the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another."<sup>20</sup>

In the historical process, public diplomacy has been known as the communication between one government and the people of the other country. Public Diplomacy does not always directly look for its mass audience. Most of the times among the target listeners they can train individuals that are more effective within broader communities. Moreover, public diplomacy is not always seen as the quickest approach that one should resort to every time in order to influence the public of the foreign country. At the same time to listen to the foreign public of a country then as a result change your approach and wider policies is seen as a part of public diplomacy. In the same manner, it is not necessary to have the communication be related with the image of an international actor, communication can also be the

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<sup>18</sup> At 20.

<sup>19</sup> At 22.

<sup>20</sup> *The Neaman Document, "A Study on Israeli Public Diplomacy"*, Mart 2009, at 26.Akt. "Dış Politikadaki Etkin Unsur: Kamu Diplomasisi ve Türkiye'nin Kamu Diplomasisi Etkinliği", <http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/tugceersoyozturk.pdf> (25 April 2011), at 2.

encouragement of an idea that the actor sees as an important element in the international politics, such as the example of international collaboration on the topic of changes in the climate. In any case for being connected to the foreign country's public the method is a variation of the versions and the purpose is the same: the management of the international arena.<sup>21</sup>

The public diplomacy can be realized by means of different channels and techniques. Among the undertakings of public diplomacy the following can be considered: International publications, scientific and cultural student exchange programs, scholarships, the attendance of the artists and intellectuals to conferences, festivals or exhibitions, trade collaborations, creation of partner associations, the learning of a language, and the establishment of cultural centers. While mass communication channels are used in order to influence the public directly, cultural channels are directed towards the section of the public that is thought to have the most effect on. On the other hand as mass media focuses on current topics but cultural channels are related more so to the formation of long term perceptions.<sup>22</sup>

A country's efforts to create a positive impression is not new; however when it comes displaying soft power the conditions have shown a drastic change in the recent years. Once, about half of the countries in the world today are managed by democracy. The two political and social systems of the cold war model have once withstood the competition between them is no longer as appropriate as it was previously to guide the public diplomacy. in countries like Burma and Syria where information is controlled by the government, Even though it is still a necessary to provide the correct information to the people of these nations, today in countries like Mexico and Turkey where the decisions made are influenced by the assembly, it is also a new necessary to bring about a positive impression on the public. It has become more important to influence the public in the new democracies which has replaced the authoritarian nations.<sup>23</sup>

Public diplomacy might be a mechanism for spreading soft power, but that is also not the same thing as soft power now; just as how military is not the same thing as hard power.

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<sup>21</sup> Cull, *supra* note, at 12.

<sup>22</sup> Eytan Gilboa, "Public Diplomacy: The Missing Component in Israel's Foreign Policy", *Israel Affairs*, Vol.12, No.4, October 2006, at 717. Akt. "Dış Politikadaki Etkin Unsur: Kamu Diplomasisi ve Türkiye'nin Kamu Diplomasisi Etkinliği", s.3, <http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/tugceersoyozturk.pdf> (25 Nisan 2011), at 3.

<sup>23</sup> Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, at 105-106.

It is possible for an international actor to not possess soft power while having public diplomacy (like North Korea) or to have soft power and minimal public diplomacy (like Ireland).<sup>24</sup>

#### **1.4.1. Information Technologies and the Power of Information:**

Information Means power and today a great number of the world's population is able to attain this power. The technological advances resulted in substantially decreasing the costs of processing and transmitting information. The outcome is a bust of information forming the "abundance paradox". However, this abundant amount of information has caused attention deficiency. When we drown in the abundance of information that we come across, we will not know what we need to concentrate on. More over the situation will become not of enough information, but of insufficient sources and the people who can separate the valuable messages among this turmoil will gain power. Editors, inspectors and commentators will become in such great demand and for the people who can tell us where we need to focus our attention this is a source of power. It does not necessarily mean the information producers or the ones who maintain information will have power. In the flow of information the power will transfer to the hands of the ones who can manage information and the ones who can research correct and the important information with the ability to evaluate it.<sup>25</sup>

Presently, the most powerful tool that can obtain information is the Internet. Not a single country can claim ownership rights over internet. The formation of the global electronic environment has increased the change of pace for opinions, thoughts, information, services and products and has help creation of different communities that are connected to each other with similar interests. In the electronic environment that takes common values with similar goals as foundation have made it possible for groups and communities to form. As long as one can change the thoughts and the communication and behavior patterns of the people, their identifications and personalities are formed with new electronic technologies and new cultural values.<sup>26</sup>

#### **1.4.2. The Importance of Prestige and Credibility:**

Prestige and credibility has become even more important an element than it has been in the past. Political struggles are being shaped based on the construction of or the destruction of credibility. Communities gather around the credible learned people; also the assurance of the credibility strengthens the ties of the community. Governments not only compete on the

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<sup>24</sup> Cull, supra note, at 15.

<sup>25</sup> Nye, Joseph S., *Amerikan Gücünün Paradoksu*, at 81.

<sup>26</sup> Tuncer, supra note, at 144.



topic of its credibility with other governments but at the same time with news media, corporations, non-government associations, organizations between the governments and the networks belonging to scientific communities, as well as wide range of various alternative organizations.<sup>27</sup>

Prestige has always been important in the world of politics; however because the “abundance paradox” the role of credibility had become even more important source of power.

Information that looks like propaganda will not be just rejected, but it could also harm the prestige on the matter of a country’s credibility. The exaggerated claims about Saddam Hussein’s power related to the threat of the weapons of mass destruction and the connection to Al Qaeda, possible have help activate the local support during the war in Iraq; however later on as it was revealed that the claims were exacerbated, has hit a blow heavy in price on the credibility of England and America.<sup>28</sup>

#### **1.4.3. Communication Strategies:**

Public diplomacy does not just consist of public relations. Transmission of information and marketing of positive image is also a part of public diplomacy; however together with this public diplomacy also requires the formation of long term relationships that prepare an appropriate foundation for the nation’s policies. Therefore this makes communication strategies very importance.

There are three dimensions to public diplomacy; all three of them are important in different proportions and requires direct the government knowledge with long term cultural relations.

The first and closest dimension is: *daily communication* which includes the explanation of general conditions of local and foreign politics. In modern democracy, the government officials are generally very careful as to what they are going to say to the press and once they have decided how they are going to do it. But they will usually focus on the local press. However foreign press should be the most important target for the first stage of public diplomacy.

The second dimension is: *strategic communication* which is a development of a series of simple themes, as it is the case in a political or a commercial campaign. A campaign will be planned with all the symbolic events and the communications of the past year to mark the

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<sup>27</sup> NYE, Joseph S., *Amerikan Gücünün Paradoksu*, at 82.

<sup>28</sup> Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, at 107.

main themes or to develop a special government policy. Sometimes planning can be easier than actually doing it.

The third dimension of the public diplomacy is: scholarships, grants, exchange programs, internships, seminars, conferences and ways to reach to the media channels, which will develop a long term relation all throughout the years with important individuals.<sup>29</sup>

Every one of these three dimensions of public diplomacy plays an important role in creating an attractive image of a nation and this will increase the possibility and the opportunity of that nation to attain the desired results. However even the best commercials can't sell a product that is not popular and it is more likely that politics which is presented arrogantly and only serves itself will deplete this soft power instead of producing more it. Even if politics and communication is "synchronized" it is difficult to use the soft power sources in the information age. Before anything else, in an era floating in a pool of information, the communication of the nations is a very small part of the whole communication that is between the societies.<sup>30</sup>

As Cull draws our attention to a point here that is noteworthy. In order to obtain everything that you want, the idea of a nation that enters every international discourse will create an excellent strategic perception. However it is definitely not attractive and rather repulsive: Negative soft power. As a result of a conversation the modified listening and exposure is attractive. For this reason, when you look at it as a paradox too much public focus on soft power actually could diminish an actor's soft power. An example of this was Secretary of State Powell's remarks following the Indian Ocean Tsunami of December 2005 that American aid for stricken countries would be good for US public diplomacy.<sup>31</sup>

#### **1.4.4. The Importance of Non-Government Organizations (NGO):**

The environment and the atmosphere that the international relationships are taking shape in are changing rapidly; the perception of the public is gaining importance. Some theorists claim that the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the age of parliamentary, the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the age of masses and the 21<sup>st</sup> century is the age of public opinion. Before the head of the state of the two nations meet; public opinion perception could already predetermined about 90%, the agenda of the meeting and the leader's parameters. Some analysts maintain that global public opinion has become the second super power; as it happened in Srebrenica, just one single

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<sup>29</sup> At 07-109.

<sup>30</sup> Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, at 111-112.

<sup>31</sup> Cull, *supra* note, at 15.

picture can be the last drop that is able to cause a military intervention; civil approaches are able to have the use of mines prohibited which is the world's most popular weapon.<sup>32</sup>

In this new global order Nations represent the legitimacy and the responsibility of democracy all by themselves in the area of diplomacy, together with these non-government associations, international and regional organizations as well as multi-national corporations contribute to the formation and the implementation of foreign policy.<sup>33</sup> In the international arena the gradually increasing role of non-governmental actors has left its mark on the information age. The private organizations day by day are passing further beyond their national boundaries. This is not a total new thing; but this information revolution has been the reason for the great increase in the numbers of these organizations in the recent years.<sup>34</sup>

Not a single nation can take on the task of executing public diplomacy on its own. In the implementation of this diplomacy besides the government an important role falls on the political parties, non-governmental organizations, non-profit associations, trade unions, schools, private sector, academia and individuals. The role that falls on the government in the execution of public diplomacy should be to provide and develop cooperation between non-government organizations.<sup>35</sup> Most non-governmental organizations claim that they behave like "global conscience" representing the welfare of the general public except for the topics of the individual governments. New norms are developed by directly forcing the nations and the leading businessmen them to change their policies; or indirectly by changing the public's point of view on the subject of what the nations and the corporations must do. Anyhow, the information revolution has increased the soft power of the non-governmental organizations.<sup>36</sup>

It can be stated that non-government organizations take on two types of roles in the international politics: A group of these provide support and input in government policies in particular ways as partners of the government. The other group plays a role that is independent of the governments. One big change that has been witnessed in the recent years is that the non-governmental organizations when compared to governments and corporations use new technologies in a more effective way.<sup>37</sup> Owing to the costs of communication that has decreased because of the internet era, network organizations even individuals have surfaces that are structured in a way that there are very few central employees. This is a part of the

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<sup>32</sup> Özden Sanberk, Hakan Altınay, "Kamu Diplomasisi ve Yumuşak Güç", *Sabah Gazetesi*, 8 Ocak 2008.

<sup>33</sup> Tuncer, *supra* note, at 134.

<sup>34</sup> Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, at 92.

<sup>35</sup> Tuncer, *supra* note, at 148.

<sup>36</sup> Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, at 93.

<sup>37</sup> Tuncer, *supra* note, at 214.

process of becoming more democratic. These flexible civil public organizations and networks know no boundary and are effective in penetrating especially into the governments.<sup>38</sup>

The actors that play a role in the diplomacy of the day, not only have they increased as far as their numbers go, at the same time they have also increased in variety as well. Politicians, lobbyists, media and every kind of non-government organizations are the leading actors of diplomacy today. International relations is no longer an activity just among the nations, it has transformed into an activity among the populace.<sup>39</sup>

Currently the nations that have established their soft power are in better shape. The nations that are more likely to attain soft power in this information age are going to be the following:<sup>40</sup>

- The nations that have media ideals and culture closer to the dominant global norms (today these norms emphasize on liberalism, pluralism and autonomy);
- The nations who have the multiple communication channels and can communicate to the mass, therefore the ones who have more penetration for processing and transfer of information;
- The nations whose credibility increases with performance in the internal and international arena.

## **2. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OPPORTUNITIES IN TURKEY AND THE EFFECTS OF IT ON THE RELATIONSHIPS OF NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES**

In the ever-changing world conditions, where Turkey is located in a geographically much centered part of the World, it is an expected conduct to reevaluate its position in the international arena and identify goals. The European Union process played an important role in the economic, political and social changes in Turkey. As the EU process raised the democratic standards in Turkey and also speeded up the developments in the direction of becoming a lawful state, its effectiveness in the international arena has also increased in the same direction.

The acceleration of internal and external change of dynamics that Turkey has displayed in the recent years, take place in a wide range of areas from economics to the foreign policy, from science and technology to the arts and enables the existence of new risk and opportunity environments. Turkey is trying to reconcile with its own history and geography over again, is making these two elements of time and place a strategic value and

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<sup>38</sup> Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu Yumuşak Güç*, at 93.

<sup>39</sup> Tuncer, *supra* note, at 144-145.

<sup>40</sup> Nye, *Amerikan Gücünün Paradoksu*, at 83.

steadily leaving behind the cold war periods single dimensioned and the reductionist separators. The new actors of Turkey are positioning themselves not as a spectator of history but as an actor in foreign politics to economy and require the change of global environment-centered relationships and be able to attain a more democratic and just structure.<sup>41</sup> There are certain elements in the new international structure from the perspective of public diplomacy that renders Turkey as advantageous.

### **2.1. The Cultural Values of Turkey**

The soft power that Turkey possesses presents differences from other countries from the perspective of manner and scope. Turkey, which starts from the Balkans states and stretches out all the way into Central Asia, does not have the soft power potential because of its military or technological superiority but it results from the historical and cultural values that it inherited. The values that Turkey represents in this geography, its historical background and its cultural depth, on one hand sets the regional dynamics in motion and on the other hand provides the creation of opportunities for new areas of interaction.

In a wide geography that stretches out from the Balkans into the Central Asia, the common denominator for all the Turks, Kurds, Bosnians, Albanians, Circassia's, Abkhazians, Arabs, Azeri's, Kazaks, Kirgiz', Uzbeks', Turkmen and other ethnic groups is the Ottoman experience that they built and shared together. What brings all these different groups together is this Ottoman heritage that makes them comprehend the experience of a common time and place. Recalling all these experiences again has an important function as far as the formation of thin areas of power concerning today and tomorrow.<sup>42</sup> This heritage is not going to serve in the understanding of a hegemonic foreign politics instead, will contribute in the formation of a platform where peace and prosperity is shared together in the region.

Turkey has other important means that it can use in the public diplomacy arena. Turkey has over 200 television channels, more than 1000 radio channels and very successful production companies without the support of any government funding. Turkish programs and TV series are watched with interest by the surrounding countries. A popular channel like Al Jazeera, after Washington DC, the second capital that it makes the most news of is Ankara. The Turkish NGOs are invited to many countries to do collaborative work without any support from the government. There are Turkish schools in many of the countries around the world. Actually Turkey is a country that's in the position to arouse curiosity, admiration and

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<sup>41</sup> İbrahim Kalın, "Türk Dış Politikası ve Kamu Diplomasisi" <http://kdk.gov.tr/sag/turk-dis-politikasi-ve-kamu-diplomasisi/20> (20 April 2011)

<sup>42</sup> Kalın, *supra* note.

respect for itself without exerting too much effort. Since Turkey values the importance of public diplomacy and the concept of “soft power” these are elements that all can be used while increasing its influence.<sup>43</sup>

## **2.2. The Political System and Democracy of Turkey**

Aside from these, one of the most important elements that determine the ability of a country’s thin power is the political system it possesses. Among the elements that provide the ability of a nation to have thin power is a political system that allows freedom, sharing, anthropocentric, limpidity and democratic. So in this sense one of the fundamental foundations of Turkey’s thin power is its experience in democracy. Even though with the ups and downs in Turkey’s history, the leading dynamics that make Turkey a regional and global actor are the fact that its democracy is becoming more and more institutionalized with the passing of everyday and its legitimacy strengthening among the public.<sup>44</sup>

In addition to all of these elements, the active structure of the Turkish democracy and Turkish civil society sector is forms the most important foundation of thin power. Turkish democracy is going through a rough historical adventure ever since the time that it moved to the multiple-party system in the 1950. Among the most important motives that feeds and forces the development of Turkish democracy is its equal sharing, involvement, representation, transparency and demand for accountability from all difference sections of Turkish society. Turkey’s natural geographic hinterland which are the Balkans and the Middle East have become a center of attraction, so in order to take advantage of this, it depends on Turkey’s expansion of the parameters for democratic opportunities at the same time establishing a consistent balance between freedom and security.<sup>45</sup>

## **2.3. Turkish Foreign Policy and the European Union Process**

The Foreign policy of Turkey has changed quite a bit since the finish of the the cold war. Today Turkey is faced with a series of regional and functional problems which are very different from the period when fundamental issues were the controversies between USSR and Greece. The Turkish foreign politics are now focusing on topics like joining the European Union, the possible repercussions of the instability in the neighboring countries, energy routes and terrorism on the geography that stretches from the Balkans to China.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Özden Sanberk, Hakan Altınay, *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Yumuşak Güç*, Sabah Gazetesi, 8 Ocak 2008.

<sup>44</sup> Kalın, supra note.

<sup>45</sup> Kalın, supra note.

<sup>46</sup> Said Yılmaz, “Değişen Diplomasi Anlayışı ve Türkiye”, <http://yeni.beykent.edu.tr/WebProjects/Uploads/yilmaz-eylul-09.pdf> (20 April 2011) at. 4.

In the recent period, the activist, pacifist and policy of zero conflict with neighbors, that it's pursuing has made Turkey a dependable and prestigious country in its region. One after the other doing away with visas between the Middle Eastern countries and now lastly removing the visa requirement with Russia<sup>47</sup>, Turkey has been seriously improving its relationships with the neighboring countries on the economic, cultural as well as on a political level.

As all these needs were taken into account the Prime Ministry with a memorandum organized a Public Diplomacy Coordination-ship stating "with the purpose of providing coordination and cooperation among NGO's, state institutions and organizations on the matter of strategic communication and promotion activities in all the projects that are being worked on under the public diplomacy framework".<sup>48</sup>

### **CONCLUSION**

With the ending of the cold war era and the globalization taking place as well as changes in the political, economic and social arena has brought together a change in international relations. In this context, classical diplomacy which is a concept more so of the cold war period's foreign policy has left its place to the concept of public diplomacy.

Public Diplomacy suggests the execution of foreign politics with cultural and political values that every country possesses called the soft power instead of manipulating the international relations of the nations with military and economic power. This process appears to be more beneficial to the nations in terms of them living in a more peaceful world as well as to be able to enter into a more intense economic, social and political relationship with their neighbors.

in this context, for the last ten years Turkey has left behind the cold war period's foreign politics and turned towards the new world's public diplomacy, thus trying to accomplish this Turkey put in place the soft power elements that it possesses. So this has contributed to the relationship Turkey has, by developing better relationships with its neighbors in the recent decade because of the politics it had been executing and for becoming a prestigious, dependable nation in the region.

in order to implement the public diplomacy of Turkey, to use the soft power elements it possesses more actively and to assure a more efficient cooperation among the Balkan,

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<sup>47</sup> "Vizeler Kalktı, İş Dünyası Rusya Pazarında Hedef Büyütüyor", *Zaman Gazetesi*, 25 Nisan 2011

<sup>48</sup> *Resmî Gazete* Sayı : 27478, 30 Ocak 2010.

Caucasia, Middle Eastern and Mediterranean neighbors the points that needs to be taken into consideration are as follows:

Turkey who possesses important soft power sources needs to give the required amount of importance to public diplomacy and needs to accelerate the work in this area. For this reason there should be a more productive work environment made available to work with universities and NGOs.

Turkey needs to increase the public diplomacy efforts in the neighboring countries as well as in the European Union countries that it is targeting to gain acceptance to. Especially the support of the public in the EU countries need to be obtained, to change the negative judgments about Turkey and various efforts needs to be put forth in order to make it positive.

In order to do this, Turkey needs to make its political system more democratic which bears the potential to be the most important soft power it has also Turkey has to increase its efforts regarding creating a democratic constitution and democratic institutions as well as strengthening its constitutional state. In the case that Turkey does this then it will become the most attractive country in the region.

European Union has a special place in the public diplomacy. As a community in order to be speed up our attainment for our preferences of a more prosperous, independent and peaceful future, the goal of Turkey's success of becoming a member of EU can only be realized by getting the support of the public opinion in the EU countries. From this point of view the relationship Turkey will have with the Balkan state, who are the future members of EU, public diplomacy with them will be were important.

Moreover, the Turkish film and TV series industry such be supported since this is another factor that increases Turkey's effect in the Balkan region as well as in the Middle East region, also more effort such be expended to create attention grabber productions in order to better promote the Turkish people's culture and civilization of this region. Also in order to get to know the cultures of these countries, jointly movies and TV series should be made together. Additionally based on our common pasts; movies, television series, history and cultural documentaries should be made together.

Aside from economic relationships, importance should be given to tourism, sport and cultural activities with our neighboring countries, and people should be encouraged to come and visit Turkey. Finally cooperative activities should increase in the education realm, plus scientific conferences between universities should be mutually held, additionally concentrate should be giving on exchange programs for student and faculty and lastly projects should be prepared on this matter.



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