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### АНОТАЦІЯ

#### **Баранецький Д. О. Геополітичні інтереси сучасної Туреччини.**

Рукопис. Випускна робота бакалавра за спеціальністю 291 Міжнародні відносини, суспільні комунікації та регіональні студії, ОПП Міжнародні відносини. Волинський національний університет імені Лесі Українки. Луцьк, 2024. 54 с. англійська мова.

У першому розділі бакалаврської роботи узагальнено суть поняття геополітичні інтереси. Систематизовано, що основними компонентами реалізації геополітичних інтересів держави є простір, поля взаємодії, геополітичні поля, геополітичні коди, геополітичні концепції, геополітичні вектори, геополітичне становище та геополітичний потенціал.

У другому розділі бакалаврської роботи досліджено основні чинники, які вплинули на формування геополітичних інтересів сучасної Туреччини. Більша увага приділяється розгляду історичних та політичних передумов у розвитку геополітичних інтересів Туреччини. Також досліджено внесок соціально-економічних чинників на формування геополітичного курсу Туреччини.

У третьому розділі бакалаврської роботи розкрито характерні риси сучасного геополітичного курсу Туреччини, виокремлено її основні геополітичні вектори, проблеми та перспективи реалізації геополітичних інтересів Туреччини на сучасному етапі.

Бакалаврська робота містить 4 таблиці та 8 рисунків, список джерел налічує 51 позицію.

За результатами роботи зроблено висновки. Геополітичні інтереси - сукупність інтересів і потреб суспільства та уряду держави, які формуються під впливом географічних чинників, як розташування чи наявність природних ресурсів тощо. Туреччина має сприятливе геополітичне розташування на зламі європейської та азіатської цивілізацій. Історичний розвиток формування геополітичних інтересів Туреччини пройшов шість етапів. Сучасний етап характеризується поверненням Туреччини до османських та ісламських традицій, відмовою від кемалізму та пошуком нових концепцій. Характерними рисами реалізації геополітичних інтересів Туреччини на сучасному етапі є: проведення збалансованої незалежної зовнішньої політики для отримання максимальної вигоди для себе; посилення безпеки та стабільності у світі; зміцнення авторитета і впливу на міжнародній арені через участь в регіональних організаціях та посередництво в конфліктах; збільшення військової могутності. До основних геополітичних векторів Туреччини належать: європейський (Балкани, Східна Європа), азіатський (Близький Схід, Центральна Азія, Південний Кавказ, Південно-Східна Азія), африканський та американський. Основними проблемами реалізації геополітичних інтересів Туреччини є політична та економічна нестабільність в державі; регіональна нестабільність через війни в Сирії та Лівії, палестинсько-ізраїльський конфлікт, а також окупацію Північного Кіпра; посилення проблеми біженців; курдський націоналізм; ісламський тероризм. Крім того використання доктрин «Стратегічна глибина» та «Блакитна Батьківщина» посилюють протистояння Туреччини з іншими регіональними акторами. Проте, незважаючи на це, Туреччина продовжує своє зростання від регіональної сили до світової держави, збільшуючи військову та економічну міць та посилюючи автономію в енергетичній, військовій та економічній сферах. Крім того Туреччина збільшує свої можливості як енергетичний хаб між Європою

та Азією. Стратегічно важливими в геополітичних інтересах Туреччини залишаються ЄС і НАТО, Україна, Китай, тюркські та африканські держави.

**Ключові слова:** Туреччина, геополітичні інтереси, зовнішня політика.

### **ABSTRACT**

#### **Baranetskyi D. O. Geopolitical Interests of Modern Turkey.**

Manuscript. Bachelor's Thesis in Specialty 291 International Relations, Public Communications and Regional Studies, EPP International Relations. Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University. Lutsk, 2024. 54 p. English.

The first chapter of the bachelor's work summarises the essence of the geopolitical interests concept. It has been systematised that the key components of the state's geopolitical interests are space, fields of interaction, geopolitical fields, geopolitical codes, geopolitical concepts, geopolitical vectors, geopolitical position and geopolitical potential.

The main factors influencing the formation of geopolitical interests in modern Turkey are investigated in the second chapter of the bachelor's work. Great attention is paid to the consideration of historical and political prerequisites in the development of Turkey's geopolitical interests. The contribution of socio-economic factors to the emergence of the geopolitical direction of Turkey is also studied.

The third chapter of the research reveals the characteristic features of the modern geopolitical direction of Turkey as well as its main geopolitical vectors. It observes the main problems and prospects for the realisation of Turkey's geopolitical interests at the current stage.

The bachelor thesis contains 4 tables and 8 figures, the list of sources has 51 items.

The conclusions are drawn based on the results of the work. Geopolitical interests are viewed as a set of interests and needs of society and the government of the state formed under the influence of geographical factors, namely the location or availability of natural resources, etc. Turkey has a favourable geopolitical location at the crossroads of European and Asian civilizations. The historical development of Turkey's geopolitical interests formation went through six stages. The modern stage is characterised by Turkey's return to Ottoman and Islamic traditions, the rejection of Kemalism and the search for new concepts. The characteristic features of Turkey's geopolitical interests realisation at the current stage are carrying out a balanced independent foreign policy to obtain maximum benefit for itself; strengthening security and stability in the world; strengthening authority and influence at the international arena through participation in regional organisations and mediation in conflicts; increase of its military power. The main geopolitical vectors of Turkey include European (Balkans, Eastern Europe), Asian (Middle East, Central Asia, South Caucasus, Southeast Asia), African and American. The main problems of realising Turkey's geopolitical interests are political and economic instability in the state; regional instability due to the wars in Syria and Libya, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and the occupation of Northern Cyprus; strengthening of the refugee problem; Kurdish nationalism; Islamic terrorism. In addition, the use of the Strategic Depth and Blue Motherland doctrines increase Turkey's confrontation with other regional actors. However, despite this fact, Turkey continues its rise from a regional power to a world power, increasing its military and economic strength and strengthening its autonomy in the energy, military and economic spheres. In addition, Turkey is enhancing its capabilities as an energy hub between Europe and Asia. The EU and NATO, Ukraine, China, Turkic and African states remain strategically important in Turkey's geopolitical interests.

**Keywords:** Turkey, geopolitical interests, foreign policy.

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## INTRODUCTION

**Topicality of the research.** Today, the Republic of Turkey is one of the most developed countries in the world both economically and militarily, which makes it an important regional state in the modern international arena. In addition, Turkey occupies an attractive geographical location at the intersection of Europe and Asia, which gives this state greater geopolitical importance. With the growth of power, Turkey has the potential to become a world power. Therefore, it is important to investigate the geopolitical interests of modern Turkey.

**The Object of the research** is the geopolitical interests of modern Turkey.

**Purpose of the research** is the study of prerequisites and factors, characteristic features, problems and prospects of modern geopolitical interests of Turkey.

**Aim of the bachelor's thesis** is a comprehensive analysis of Turkey's geopolitical interests, based on the study of its prerequisites and factors, characteristic features, problems and prospects.

For achievement of this aim the following **main tasks** were chosen:

- to consider the theoretical and methodological foundations of the state's geopolitical interests study;
- to highlight and analyse the main factors and prerequisites of Turkey's geopolitical interests formation;
- to determine the characteristic features of Turkey's geopolitical interests at the current stage;
- to single out the main vectors of Turkey's geopolitical interests;
- to find out the prospects and problems of Turkey's geopolitical interests realisation.

**Theoretical basis of the research.** Main authors whose works were used are the following O. V. Dashevskaya, M. S. Dnistrianskyi, G. A. Douglas, A. Feroz, H.

M. Melnyk, V. S. Nuzhdova, M. M. Palinchak, B. Pekesen, V. S. Petrisko, M. M. Vegesh, O. Yurchenko, E. J. Zurcher and others.

In the process of writing bachelor's work, the following research **methods** were used: system-structural approach, analysis and synthesis, historical, statistical, method of generalisation, event analysis, content analysis, method of documents study.

**Practical significance of bachelor work.** The results of the research can be used in the study of such academic disciplines as «Foreign Policy of Countries and Regions», «International and Regional Conflicts», «International Relations and World Politics», «Political Geography of Countries and Regions», «Analysis and Forecasting of the Foreign Policy of Countries and Regions» and «Geopolitics and Geostrategy».

**Approbation of research.** Certain provisions and conclusions of the bachelor's work were tested at the III International Scientific and Practical Internet Conference «Actual Problems of International Relations and Regional Studies» (Lutsk, 2023).

**The structure of the bachelor work.** The bachelor's work consists of an introduction, 3 chapters, conclusions, a list of references, which includes 51 names, including foreign sources. The work contains 8 figures and 4 tables. The total volume is 54 pages.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE STATE'S GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS STUDY**

#### **1.1. Theoretical foundations of the state's geopolitical interests study**

Due to the development of technology and globalisation, the weakening of old leaders, the strengthening of regional players and increasing instability in the world, international relations are regaining their relevance and playing an increasingly important role. After all, stability, economic development and prosperity, possible military conflicts and wars, technological progress and human development depend on relations between states, so scientists study relations among states. The main science that studies relations among states is the theory of international relations.

The theory of international relations is a science, a discipline that investigates the fundamental characteristics and regularities of the development of international relations as a specific socio-political phenomenon [20]. The main object of the theory of international relations is international relations.

International relations are a specific form of social relations, participation in which reproduces the international subjectivity of an individual or a collective actor, and the main functional purpose of which is the realisation of the civilizational and anthropological unity of mankind [20]. The first to use the concept of «International relations» was the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham in his treatise «Introduction to the principles of morality and law-making».

In the further development of international relations, various scientists and researchers related to this topic found regularities in the relations of countries with each other and geography, namely geographical factors that influenced the foreign policy of different states. In this way, a new science called geopolitics has already appeared.

According to the Encyclopedia of Modern Ukraine, the term geopolitics means «a conceptual view of the politics of a state or a group of states, based on the justification of their foreign and domestic political actions, the state and evolution of the economic, political and social systems of society under the influence of geographical factors [8]».

Ukrainian geopolitician M. S. Dnistrianskyi interprets geopolitics as «a system of scientific knowledge, philosophical views and practical interests regarding the geospatial orderliness of the political world system, the prospects for its transformation and optimization [5, c. 23]». Geographer V. I. Stafiyuk defines geopolitics as «the science of the multifaceted policy of states and other subjects, aimed at studying the possibilities of active use of geospatial data in the interests of military-political, cultural-informational, economic and environmental security within corresponding fields of interaction [5, c. 11]».

Thus, geopolitics is a complex analysis of the influence of geographical factors and factors on the comprehensive foreign policy of states and the consequences of such influence. The object of geopolitics is the geopolitical structure of the world in all its diversity, while the subjects are states.

Today, classical/traditional geopolitics and new geopolitics are distinguished. Traditional geopolitics emphasises the importance of military-political power and geographical factors. New geopolitics (geo-economics) emphasises the economic power of the state. In addition, different schools of geopolitics are distinguished: the German school; American school; British school; and others [1].

The contribution of the German school of geopolitics was important for the emergence of classical geopolitics, or such a science in general. The German scientist Friedrich Ratzel, the founder of political geography, was the first to explore the relationship between geography and state politics. With his scientific works, Ratzel laid the foundation for geopolitics, and one of his most important ideas, under the influence of Darwinism, was the consideration of states as biological organisms that are constantly developing and have their own living space. In addition, Ratzel created the concept of a «World State».



One of the first to use the term «Geopolitics», the Swedish historian and sociologist Rudolf Challen was, who introduced in his work «The State as a Form of Life» in 1916 the term, based on Ratzel's scientific works. For Challen, geopolitics was the study of the state as a geographical organism or a phenomenon in space. He deepened Ratzel's research and completed both old concepts and proposed new ones: «Continental State», «Young and Old Nations», etc.

Other famous German geopoliticians Karl Haushofer and Carl Schmitt were. Haushofer is known for his doctrine, which was based on planetary dualism (opposition of maritime and continental states), the creation of a «Continental Block» and «Pan-Regionalism» (the division of the world into global economic regions). Instead, Schmitt developed the theory of «People's Rights» (cultural independence of nations), the concept of «Nomos» (harmony between people and the environment), and the hypothesis of «Large Space» (continental states). Due to cooperation with the Nazis, after the Second World War, the German school of geopolitics ceased to exist.

Then the British school of geopolitics and its most famous representative Halford Mackinder played an important role. According to Mackinder, the entire world history was accompanied by the collision of continental and maritime states, so he proposed his geopolitical model of the world, which later became known as the Heartland. The main idea of this model is the division of the world into the «Axial Area» (the Russian Empire), the «Inner Crescent» (the coastal areas of Eurasia), the «Outer Crescent» (Great Britain, Japan and everything outside Eurasia) and the «World Island» (Europe, Asia and Africa). The most important geopolitical place was occupied by the axial area.

To date, the most influential school in terms of ideas and concepts is the American school of geopolitics. American military naval theorist Alfred Mahan was one of the first American geopoliticians, who tried to use geographical factors for military and political purposes. He described his ideas in the work «The Influence of Sea Power on History. 1660–1783». In addition, Mahan was the first to single out 6 conditions affecting the geopolitical status of the state: geographical location;

physical and geographical features, especially the coast; the size of the territory; population size; national character; political system.

Nicholas Spykman continued Alfred Mahan's work. According to Spykman, geopolitics is the most important tool of international politics for the development of security strategies [30]. Spykman reinterpreted Mackinder's idea of a core land and gave the inner crescent more importance than the axial range, and added the new element «Mid-Ocean» (Western Europe and the East Coast of the United States). In addition, the scientist developed Mahan's idea about the main factors influencing the geopolitical status of the state and singled out the following factors: the surface of the territory; nature of borders; population size; availability of minerals; level of economic and technological development; financial security; ethnic homogeneity; level of social integration; political stability and national spirit. A. Mahan and N. Spykman are the founders of American Atlanticism.

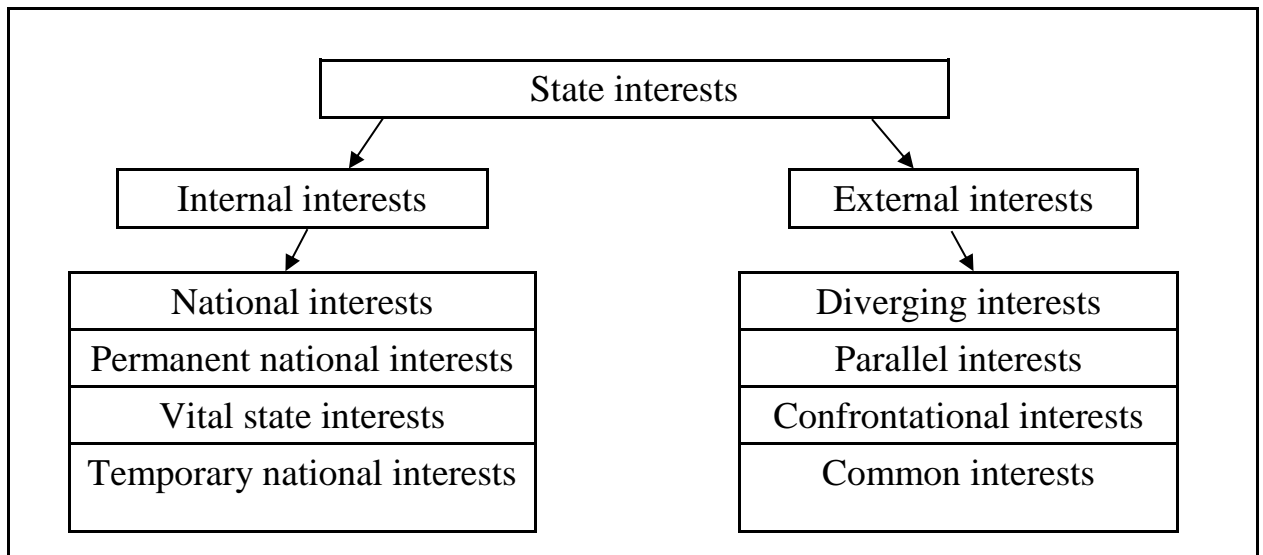
In the future, American geopolitics developed Spykman's ideas and tried to explain the «Axial Area». George Kennan developed the policy of containment and the concept of world diversity; then Steven Cohen developed his own polycentric and hierarchical geopolitical model of the world. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, neo-Atlanticism was formed in the USA. A well-known representative of neo-Atlantism is Samuel Huntington and his theory of the confrontation of civilizations. Huntington divided the world into 8 civilizations: Western, Islamic, Hindu, Son, Japanese, Latin American, Orthodox, African and Buddhist. According to Huntington, conflicts in the future will be civilizational.

Today, due to the processes of globalisation, a new geopolitics, namely geoeconomics, plays an increasingly important role. Geoeconomics is the study of the spatial and political aspects of economies and resources. The creator of geoeconomics is the American Edward Luttwak, who defined it as «the logic of conflict in the grammar of trade», and the main task is to help the state to develop economically even if it harms the population of other states. In addition, according to Edward Luttwak and another economist Pascal Lorot, geopolitics and geoeconomics are different from each other. However, Italian scientists K. Jean and

P. Savona claim that the main task of geoeconomics is to create a unified economic strategy, and science itself is a tool of geopolitics, because the rivalry between the players has moved from the military-political to the economic plane and the struggle for economic space.

Taking into account the different definitions of geopolitics and the views of geopoliticians, space is the most important component of geopolitics, namely the geopolitical field or the field of interaction. A geopolitical field is a space controlled by a state or a union of states [1]. Today, different types of fields are distinguished: endemic; border; cross; total; geopolitical reference point; metafield. Interaction field is another important component. The field of interaction is a segment of social activity in the combination of geostrategies of various actors in interaction with a certain geographical space. The main task of such interactions is to achieve the geopolitical interests of the state.

Geopolitical interests of the state are one of the most important categories of geopolitics. According to the Ukrainian language, the word «interest» means: attention to someone/something; value; desire; need; benefit; profit [9]. The state is the apparatus of the political power of society. Therefore, the interests of the state are the desire of the state to obtain profit or to achieve some goal that meets the needs of this state and on which the governments of these states focus their attention. Today, various types of state interests are classified (fig. 1.1).

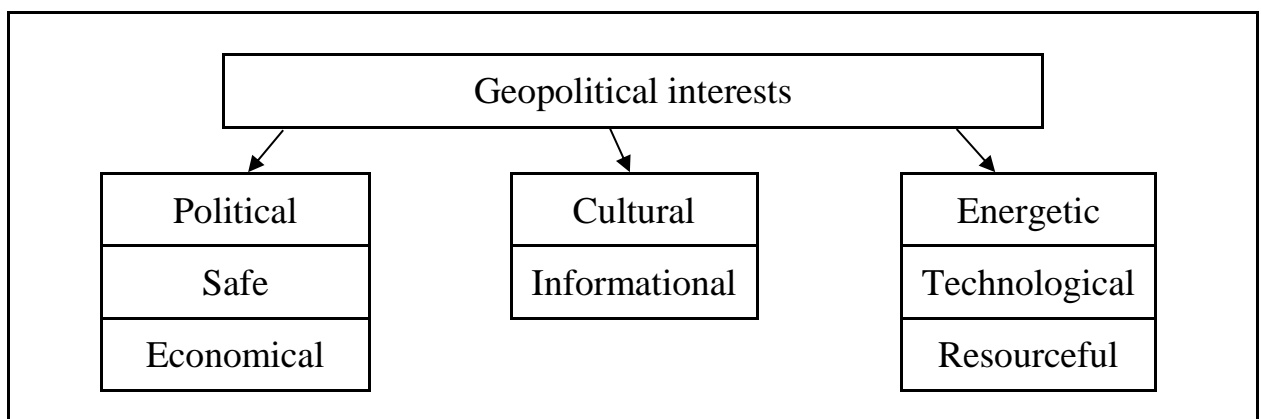


**Fig. 1.1.** *Types of state interests* [1]

Thus, the types of state interests can be divided into internal and external interests by direction. Internal interests include national interests, permanent national interests, vital state interests, and temporary national interests. National interests are a set of needs of society and the state, in accordance with their values, features of economic and political systems, geographical location and level of development of society. Temporary national interests - national interests caused by a certain temporary situation. Permanent national interests are national interests that are formed in the process of the historical development of the state. The vital interests of the state are the preservation and strengthening of the state, its sovereignty and territorial integrity, improvement of international relations and ensuring the defence capability of the state.

External interests include parallel interests, confrontational interests, common interests, and divergent interests. Confrontational interests are external interests of a state that are opposed to the interests of another state. Parallel interests - common interests of states in which states do not cooperate. Common interests - the interests of states are similar, so states cooperate. Diverging interests - states have different goals, but they are not opposed to each other.

According to many geopoliticians, the geopolitical interests of the state usually correspond to national interests. Thus, the geopolitical interests of the state are a set of internal and external interests of the state, its goals, by achieving which the state can strengthen its role and geopolitical position in the world. The geopolitical interests of the state can be divided into spheres (fig. 1.2).



**Fig. 1.2.** *Types of geopolitical interests* [1; 5]

In order to achieve geopolitical interests, states must first form them. For this, geopolitical codes and geopolitical concepts (doctrines) are the most important tools.

The geopolitical code is a set of ideas of a state about other states when developing its foreign policy. For the first time, the term «geopolitical code» was used in the work of the American historian John Lewis Gaddis «Strategy of Deterrence». Today, geopolitical codes are formed in order to establish a strategy at the state level, which includes: real and potential allies, real and potential enemies, how to increase the number of allies, how to reduce the number of enemies, what is the state's motivation in domestic and foreign policies. Typically, geopolitical codes are contained in official government foreign policy or security documents, such as military doctrines, national security strategies, foreign policy concepts, or even legislation. In addition, official state documents highlight the main directions and vectors of work.

Geopolitical vectors are the direction of military, political, cultural and economic influence of the state in relation to other states, economic markets and the international environment in general.

According to M. S. Dnistrianskyi, «the geopolitical concept (doctrine) is a model for understanding the factors of the structure of the territorial-political world system and directions of political activity and analysis based on geographical realities [5]». Geopolitical doctrines always consist of national and state interests. The main task of geopolitical doctrines is to strengthen the geopolitical position of the state. Geopolitical position is a geopolitical category that is a combination of the state's relations with other states and the state's influence on the main economic markets. The geopolitical position has 3 levels: the macro level (influence on the world centres of politics and economy), the meso level (influence on large regions and groups of states) and the micro level (influence on neighbouring countries). Geopolitical potential is important for understanding the geopolitical position.

According to the Belarusian scientist E. Kozak, «geopolitical potential is a comprehensive and balanced development of the country's overall potential and those internal and external factors that influence its further realisation. Each

developed component both in the complex and separately shows the mutual dependence of the country's external and internal positions, forming a stable place of the state in international relations [4]». Scientist O. V. Dashevskaya singled out 3 levels of the state's geopolitical potential. The first level is geography and natural resource potential (location, landscape, natural conditions, minerals, etc.). The second level - economic, military-political, socio-demographic potentials (economy, demography, political system, etc.). The third level is information potential (information and information technologies).

Thus, geopolitical potential is a combination of all existing and possible resources of the state and their implementation or non-implementation, which affects the geopolitical situation of the country.

Therefore, geopolitics is important for understanding modern international relations. Geopolitics is the science of the influence of geographical factors on the politics of states. German, British and American geopolitical schools made the greatest contribution to geopolitics. Space is the most important component of geopolitics, namely fields of interaction or geopolitical fields in which states interact. Thanks to these interactions, states try to achieve geopolitical interests. Geopolitical interests are a set of internal and external interests of the state, achieving which improve the state's geopolitical position. States define their geopolitical interests in geopolitical codes and doctrines. Geopolitical potential plays an important role in determining the geopolitical position.

## **1.2. The state of the research topic study in modern scientific literature**

An important task in the process of a comprehensive study of the geopolitical interests of modern Turkey was the analysis of various sources in which this topic was presented, namely: textbooks, edited by one or more authors, which contain material of a theoretical nature; monographs, periodicals, where the authors analyse certain aspects related to the geopolitical interests of Turkey; official documents of Turkish foreign policy departments, documents of official institutions, documents

based on the materials of statements, official speeches, reports, etc; Internet sources containing articles, information or statistical data on the researched topic.

The primary task in the study of Turkey's geopolitical interests was to clarify the essence of the concepts «Geopolitics», «Field of interaction», «Geopolitical interests», «Geopolitical code», «Geopolitical concept» and «Geopolitical potential». The content of geopolitics and its importance were considered based on the scientific work of M. S. Dnistrianskyi [5]. Thanks to the work of M. M. Vegesh, M. M. Palinchak, and V. S. Petrisko [1], the main components of geopolitics, such as the «Field of interaction» and «Geopolitical interests», were analysed. On the basis of O. V. Dashevskaya's article «Geopolitical potential as the basis of the formation of the geopolitical status of the state» [4], the geopolitical potential was characterised as an integral component of the formation of the geopolitical interests of the state.

The next task in the study of Turkey's geopolitical interests was the collection and processing of scientific literature related to the coverage of historical, socio-economic, political and legal prerequisites and factors that played an important role in the formation of Turkish geopolitical interests at the current stage. Such scholars as Feroz Ahmad «Turkey: Search for Identity» [29] and Eric J. Zürcher «Turkey: Modern History» [51] were engaged in the study of historical factors and prerequisites. In their works, scientists focused on the formation of the Ottoman Empire, its development and decline; creation of a new state - the Republic of Turkey and its development until 2014.

Certain aspects of political and legal factors and prerequisites are highlighted and fixed in the documents «Turkey: Defense White Paper 2000» [44] and «Red Book 2010» [41]. This topic is covered in the articles of O. Yurchenko «Strategic culture of Turkey: oblivion and revival» [17], Berna Pekesen «Pan-Turkism» [37], G. M. Melnyk and V. S. Nuzhdova «The role of Turkey in international organisations» [7], Sara-Marie Demiriz «Kemalism is the Turkish model of a secular republic» [32], N. Khoma and Y. Voznyuk «Evolution from the concept of «zero

problems with neighbours» to the practice of «zero neighbours without problems»: the role of neo-Ottomanism» [3].

A significant contribution to the study of socio-economic factors and prerequisites of Turkey's geopolitical interests was the use of O. Yarosevych's article «Economy of Turkey: a success story with an uncertain future» [49].

The peculiarities of the current state of Turkey's geopolitical interests were discussed in the works of A. Kovach «Public diplomacy of Turkey: from a model state to neo-Ottomanism» [15], E. Kucherenko «New foreign policy of Turkey: prerequisites, features and lessons for Ukraine» [10] and Dorotheia Schmid «Turkey at the Centre of the Mediterranean Geopolitical Chessboard» [43].

The articles of O. Voron «Three vectors of Turkey's foreign policy in Africa» [18], I. Zaporizka «Normalisation as a new trend in Turkey's Middle East policy» [11], O. Petriaiev «Foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey in the South Caucasus region» [13] are important for understanding Turkey's geopolitical vectors.

Hamit Emrah Berish's article «Key Issues of Turkish Politics before the 2023 Elections» [33] identified the main problems of Turkey at the current stage. Instead, articles of Mark Pierini's «Geopolitical role of Turkey. Between national ambitions, Western anchors and Russian influence» [46] and Galip Dalai «How will geopolitics shape Turkey's international future?» [31] determined prospects for the realisation of Turkish interests.

In addition, Internet resources made a significant contribution to the study of Turkey's geopolitical interests. In particular, data from the statistical sites Global Firepower [50], the World Integrated Trade Solution [47], Worldometer [36; 45], The Turkish Statistical Institute [25], the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey [35].

So, despite the available number of materials on the geopolitical interests of Turkey at the current stage, this topic is not sufficiently studied in the scientific literature. Scientists researching the geopolitical interests of Turkey pay more attention to the period of the Ottoman Empire, the reign of Atatürk and the reign of Erdogan. In addition, primarily political-legal, military and historical prerequisites



are studied, instead, economic and trade factors are poorly represented. These factors determined the need for a deeper analysis of the geopolitical interests of Turkey, which became the choice of the topic of the conducted scientific research.

### **1.3. Methodological foundations of the state's geopolitical interests study**

The use of various methods of scientific research became a necessary condition for the study of Turkey's geopolitical interests. A method is a set of techniques, operations and means of theoretical knowledge and practical transformation of reality, achieving specified results [16]. The research method is a means of achieving the goal, learning the phenomena of reality in their relationship and development; the method of reproduction of the researched object or subject [12]. In the scientific literature, 4 groups of methods are distinguished: 1) general scientific; 2) interdisciplinary (common to several fields of knowledge); 3) specifically scientific (special); 4) methodological and technical.

When studying the geopolitical interests of Turkey, analysing the prerequisites and factors, features, problems and prospects of their formation and implementation, it is necessary to use a combination of all groups of research methods, the main ones of which were the system-structural approach, analysis and synthesis, historical method, statistical method, method of generalisation, event-analysis, content analysis, method of studying documents.

The systemic-structural approach is a research approach that is used to examine objects that have many interdependent elements and are a set of relationships and connections between them, and the main task of this approach is to identify the components of the connection of a process or phenomenon, the main factors, to evaluate the role and place of the system in the system of other phenomena, etc. [12]. System analysis is a method of studying the object of research as a set of elements that make up the system [12, c. 33]. The main stages: formulation of the problem, determination of goals and criteria for achieving goals, analysis of the problem, search for a solution, synthesis of the problem and its solution, and

verification of the effectiveness of the solution. This method helped to consider the main factors and prerequisites for the formation of Turkey's geopolitical interests.

Analysis and synthesis are interrelated and interdependent methods of scientific research. Analysis is a method of dismembering the whole into its component parts (sides, features, properties, relationships) for the purpose of their detailed study [16, c. 219]. Synthesis is the reverse process, it is the combination of dismembered parts of the subject by thought into a single whole [16, c.223]. With their help, geopolitical interests were considered as an important component of geopolitics, and the main directions of modern Turkey geopolitics were analysed.

Event analysis is a quantitative method of researching specific socio-political events: elections, speeches, actions, military or international conflicts, etc. The main sources of information in event analysis are media reports, statements of political leaders, or speeches of statesmen. This method was important when researching Turkish interests. Thanks to it, important historical events were analysed: the appearance of the Turks, the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, the decline of the empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic under Atatürk, the invasion at Cyprus. At the current stage, the following were analysed: Erdogan's rise to power, the gas flotilla raid, participation in the conflicts in Syria and Libya, the presidential elections in 2023.

Content analysis is a method of collecting data about a phenomenon or process, with the aim of evaluating the results of these data and predicting, based on them, the actions of actors. This method is used in the analysis of documents, articles, books, speeches, etc. and to determine the media's attitude to certain events or figures. This method was important for analysing the attitude of the Turkish and Western media towards: Erdogan's domestic policy, Turkey's foreign policy, Ahmet Davutoglu's geopolitical ideas, the 2023 presidential election, etc.

The historical method is a way of researching the emergence, formation and development of processes and events in a chronological sequence with the aim of identifying the connection between the past, present and future in the form of regularities and contradictions [12]. This method was used to establish cause-and-

effect relationships related to the formation of Turkey's geopolitical interests, which have gone through a long path of formation. With its help, 6 historical stages of the formation of Turkish geopolitical interests were identified and historical factors and prerequisites were analysed that influenced their formation at the present stage and continue to be an important driving force in Turkey's foreign policy.

The method of studying documents is a set of procedures and techniques that are used to obtain primary information when analysing sources of information in the form of documents. Thanks to this method, the main documents that contain the strategy of Turkey, namely «Turkey: Defense White Paper 2000» and «Red Book 2010» were studied. In addition, this method was used to clarify the main Turkish concepts of their strategy: «Strategic Depth», «Blue Motherland».

A statistical method is a set of techniques and tools used to collect, process and analyse information using publicly available digital data. This method was important for the study of the economy of Turkey, its components in the form of main industries, trade relations with other countries, the availability of mineral resources, as well as the population, as an important socio-economic prerequisite.

Generalisation is a logical process of transition from singular to general, from less general to more general, as well as the result of this process: generalisation of the concept of judgement, theory [16]. Thanks to this method, separate subjects are combined into a general concept. With its help, certain aspects of Turkey's geopolitical interests were analysed and thus their main prospects were clarified.

Therefore, the use of various methods of scientific research made it possible to investigate and analyse the characteristic features, problems and prospects of Turkey's geopolitical interests.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **PRECONDITIONS AND FACTORS OF TURKEY'S GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS FORMATION**

## 2.1. Historical factors of Turkey's geopolitical interests formation

At the present stage, the geopolitical interests of Turkey, which were formed under the influence of many factors, are of great importance to the top leadership of the Republic of Turkey, because Turkey conducts an active foreign policy to achieve geopolitical interests, using its geopolitical position and history.

The Republic of Turkey is a transcontinental state with territories in both Europe and Asia. Most of the state is in Asia, while the European part is Eastern Thrace. Turkey has access to the Mediterranean Sea in the south, the Aegean Sea in the west and the Black Sea in the north. In addition, the state has an internal sea - the Sea of Marmara, which divides Turkey into the European and Asian parts, and two straits: the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, which connect the Black and Aegean seas. Also, Turkey is one of the few land routes between Europe and Asia.

Turkey borders Greece and Bulgaria to the west, Georgia to the northeast, Armenia, Iran and the enclave of Azerbaijan to the east, Iraq and Syria to the southeast. Therefore, Turkey is at the crossroads of European and Asian civilizations, which allows it to use the benefits of both civilizations for its geopolitical purposes. Thus, the geopolitical location is favourable for Turkey.

The modern geopolitical interests of Turkey were most influenced by historical factors. To date, 6 main stages of the formation of Turkey's geopolitical interests can be distinguished (Table 2.1).

The first stage in the formation of Turkey's geopolitical interests is the formation of Anatolia, the territory of modern Turkey, the cradle of many civilizations and empires. In 3 thousand BC the first city-states, such as Troy, appeared on these territories. Later, these territories were inhabited by the Hatti and Hittite peoples, and after them Greek cities arose.

*Table 2.1*

**The main stages of Turkey's geopolitical interests formation\***

<b>Stage</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>The name of the stage</b>	<b>Features</b>
I	3 thousand BC -	Anatolia to the Turks	The first civilizations.

	395 AD		Roman and Byzantine Empires
II	401-1299	The appearance of the Seljuk Turks	The appearance of the Turks. Migration and conquest of the people.
III	1299-1922	Ottoman Empire	The origin, development, prosperity and decline of the Empire.
IV	1922-1938	Republic of Turkey Atatürk	Atatürk's rule and his reforms.
V	1938-2000	Republic of Turkey after Atatürk	The influence of military juntas
VI	2000 and up to the present	Erdogan's Republic of Turkey	«Islamization» of Turkey

\*Compiled by: [6; 29; 51]

Later, Anatolia became part of such empires as: the Persian kingdom, the state of Alexander the Great and the Seleucid state. In 2 thousand BC Anatolia became part of the Roman Empire and remained there until 395, when the empire split and the Byzantine Empire was formed in its eastern territories. Therefore, the territories of modern Turkey have always had an important geographical location and geopolitical value for many peoples, states and empires.

The second stage began with the appearance of the Seljuk Turks in the 5th century. Modern Turks belonged to a subgroup of Turkic tribes that had their own state in Eastern Siberia. Later, thanks to migration, these people moved to the territory of modern Turkmenistan, where they lived until the 10th century and assimilated with other nations. At the beginning of the 11th century under the leadership of Sultan Seljuk, they conquered Iran and Afghanistan, and in 1055 - the Baghdad Caliphate, simultaneously marking the beginning of the emergence of the Azerbaijanis. After the conquest of Armenia, the Turks reached the borders of the Byzantine Empire, where in 1071 they won a decisive victory. As of 1086, the Seljuk Turks controlled almost all of Asia Minor. Later, the nomadic people of the Seljuk Turks began to settle in the conquered territories of Byzantium. Thus, the ancestors of modern Turks - the Seljuk Turks - were a nomadic people that existed at the

expense of wars and conquests. These people emigrated from Eastern Siberia to Asia Minor, until they moved to a settled way of life in Anatolia.

The third stage began in 1299 with the establishment of the Ottoman Empire by the Turkish Ottoman dynasty [29]. Its founder was Osman I, who united all formations of the Seljuk Turks. In the future, his descendants continued to conquer new territories and expand the Ottoman state, thanks to which the state turned into a powerful force, because in 1389 the Ottomans defeated Serbia, and in 1396 at Nikopol and in 1444 at Varna, the united armies of Western European countries. The peak of the formation of the Ottoman state was the capture of Constantinople in 1453, the name of which was changed to Istanbul. Thus, as of 1481, the Ottoman state turned into a powerful land empire.

The next century was the peak of the Ottoman Empire's heyday, as the Ottomans began their expansion into Europe and Asia. Under Sultan Selim I, the empire defeated the Safavids and the Cairo Mamluk Sultanate in 1514-1520, and also captured the territories of Egypt, Algeria, and Libya. Another achievement was obtaining access to the Red Sea. Thus, the Ottoman Empire became the strongest Islamic state and even began to compete with the Spanish and Portuguese for influence in the Mediterranean Sea. His successor, Suleiman I the Magnificent, gained control over Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia by 1555, waged successful wars, and captured Mesopotamia, gaining access to the Persian Gulf. In 1559, the sultan captured the African Adal and began to conquer the territories of Somalia and the Horn of Africa. As a result, the Ottoman sphere of influence extended to the Indian Ocean and a large part of Africa.

However, from 1566 to 1700, the Ottoman Empire began to stagnate: the growth of corruption, inefficient governments, separatism of enslaved peoples, economic decline, increased inflation, the strengthening of Austria and Russia, rebellions and wars without significant achievements. The Ottomans lost their influence on the Mediterranean Sea and concentrated on Africa. The beginning of the decline was the Great Turkish War in 1683-1699, which the Ottomans lost crushingly and lost a large part of the territories in Europe. From 1700 to 1828, the

Ottoman Empire refused to expand and tried to protect the remaining territories. All attempts to reform the empire were defeated by Islamic and Ottoman traditions.

During the Tanzimat period (1839-1876), a number of reforms were carried out in the Ottoman Empire, but due to the Crimean War in 1853-1856 and the mass emigration of Muslims, the internal situation in the empire deteriorated, which caused the unsuccessful attempts of Sultan Abdul Hamid II to establish a pan-Islamic ideology. In 1877-1878, as a result of defeat in another war with Russia: Romania, Serbia and Montenegro became independent, Austria-Hungary captured Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Great Britain - Cyprus and Egypt.

In 1908, the Ottoman political movement of the Young Turks, which sought comprehensive modernization of the Ottoman Empire overthrew Sultan Abdul Hamid II. In 1912, Italy captured Libya, and after the First Balkan War, the Ottomans lost all European territories. To turn everything back, the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War on the side of the Central Powers, but this war ended in a complete victory for the Entente. As a result, in 1917-18, France received Syria and Lebanon, Great Britain - Palestine, Jordan and Iraq, and several new Islamic states were also created. According to the Sèvres Peace Treaty, the Ottoman Empire was dismembered, but Turkish nationalists were against it and started the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923). Thanks to the victory in the war, the borders of modern Turkey were established in the Lozan Treaty of 1923 and the Republic of Turkey was created [51].

The fourth stage began in 1923, when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of Turkey [29]. This stage was remembered for Atatürk's large-scale reforms, which made Mustafa Kemal the most important, influential and prominent person in Turkey. Mustafa, being a former military man, an elite of Ottoman society, after gaining power tried to westernise (reform the state on European lines) the Ottoman Empire. This policy and ideology was called Kemalism or «Six Arrows». The reign of Kemal Atatürk had a huge impact on the establishment of Turkish geopolitical interests.

The fifth stage began in 1938 when Kemal Atatürk died. In World War II, Turkey took a neutral position, trading with both sides of the war, and in 1945 declaratively declared war on Germany and Japan in order to get into the United Nations. At the same time, relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union deteriorated, due to which the United States, in order to reduce Moscow's influence, provided enormous military and economic support to Turkey and pledged to protect it. As a result, Turkey joined NATO in 1952.

In 1960, a military coup took place in Turkey, which subsequently led to a permanent unstable political situation, and the Turkish army controlled all spheres of the state. In 1974, after another military coup in 1971, Turkey invaded the Republic of Cyprus and created the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which no one in the world recognizes. In 1984, the Kurds, the second largest nation in Turkey, declared an uprising against Turkish rule. In 1980, another military coup took place, but in 1982, a new constitution was adopted, and in 1983, Turgut Ozal became the prime minister. He limited the influence of the military. In 1987, Turkey submitted an application to the EU, but it was rejected.

The sixth stage began in 2000 and continues to this day [51]. The most important role in the sixth stage is played by Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the former mayor of Istanbul (1994) and a member of many Islamized parties. In 2002, Erdogan became one of the founders of «the Party of Justice and Development», and in 2003 - Prime Minister of Turkey. He carried out a number of important economic reforms, which improved the economic situation. Turkey's main foreign interests until 2007 were joining the EU, resolving the conflict with Cyprus, conducting military operations in Syria and Iraq, improving relations with Greece, and pursuing a foreign policy independent of the United States. Another goal of Erdogan was the fight against Kurdish nationalism.

In 2014, Erdogan was elected president of Turkey by popular vote. In the future, Erdogan in foreign policy: conflicted with Russia due to Russian recognition of the Armenian genocide by the Ottomans in 1915 and fought for influence in Syria; supported Ukraine and the Crimean Tatars in 2014 after the Russian invasion and



did not recognize the occupation of Ukrainian territories; tried to speed up Turkey's accession to the EU and at the same time began to get closer to China and Russia. In this way, Erdoğan tried to balance between different parties and benefit primarily for Turkey. In 2017, constitutional changes were made, as a result of which the president received the powers of the head of state and head of government. In 2018, Erdoğan was re-elected as president.

So, Turkey has gone through 6 main historical stages in the formation of geopolitical interests, from the birth of the tribe to emigration, from nomadism to the empire, and from the empire to the democratic republic with its own traditions and features that arose due to various historical factors. The most important historical prerequisites are: the location of Turkish territories, the imperial heritage (former influence of the Ottoman Empire), the combination of Western and Islamic ideas, the presence of weak neighbours and the absence of stronger enemies. Thus, the historical prerequisites were favourable for the development of Turkey's geopolitical interests.

## **2.2. Political and legal prerequisites of Turkey's geopolitical interests formation**

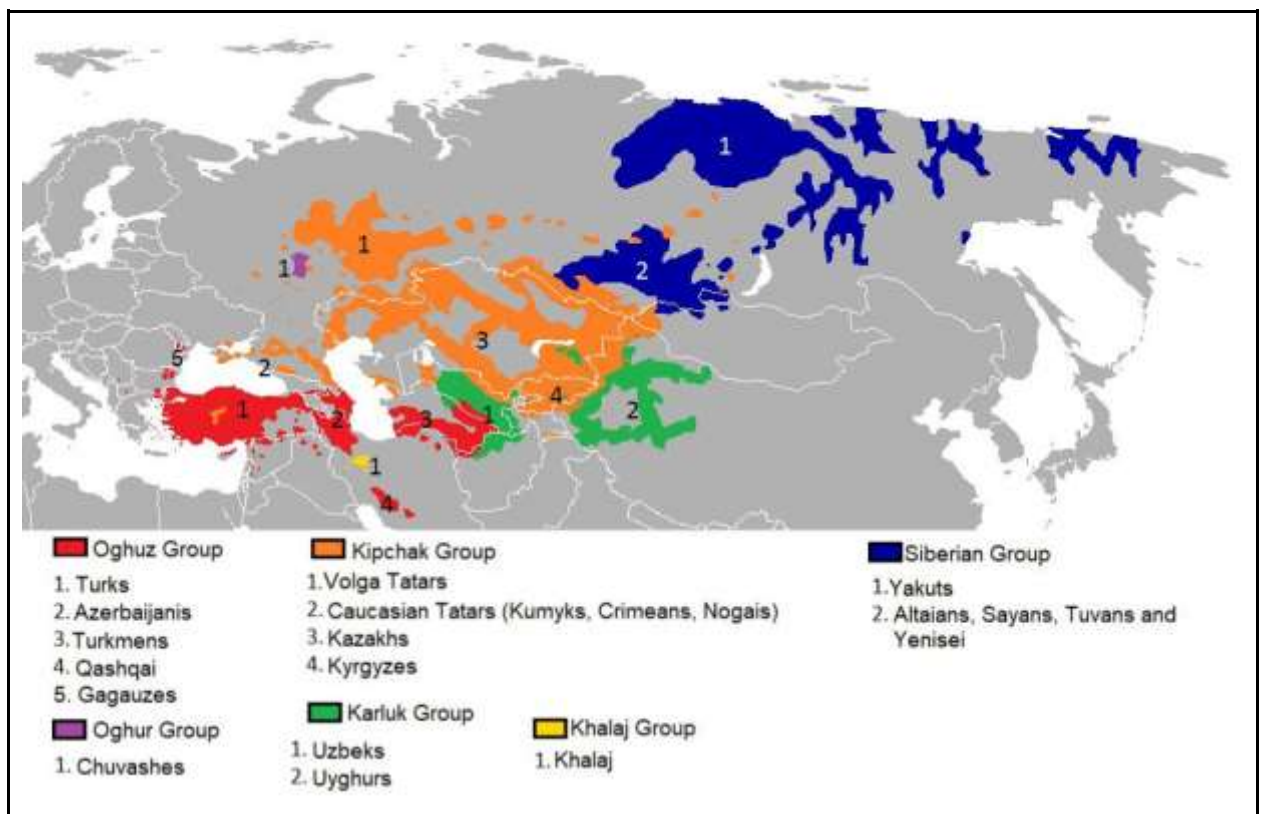
The great importance for the formation of geopolitical interests of Turkey was played by political and legal prerequisites, which significantly shaped the modern political environment of this country, namely, geopolitical concepts, both officially announced and unofficially implemented in the foreign policy of the state, official documents and acts that confirm the main goals and interests, policies of the main political parties and participation in international organisations.

Pan-Turkism became one of the first important concepts, ideologies and ideas of Turkey [37]. Pan-Turkism or Turkism is the doctrine of the political and cultural unification of all Turks in one state. This doctrine was first proclaimed in 1904 by Yusuf Akchur, who published the first manifesto of pan-Turkic nationalism, «Three Types of Politics». In this manifesto, he emphasised the advantages of pan-Turkism

over pan-Islamism, the doctrine of uniting all Muslims in one country. Despite its publication, the doctrine did not become popular until 1911, following the rise to power in Turkey in 1908 of the Committee of Unity and Progress, which officially adopted a nationalist ideology, and the loss of conquered territories in wars. The main idea of the pan-Turkists was to create a Turkish commonwealth on the foundation of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1923, pan-Turkist Mehmet Ziya Gokalp in his book «Principles of Turkism» proposed the main goal of Turkism - the creation of Turan, which was another doctrine - Turanism. Turanism is the doctrine of the creation of a single state of Turan, which should unite the Turkic, Mongolian, Tungusic, Uralic and sometimes Korean peoples, who seem to have a biological and cultural connection. This doctrine is completely pseudoscientific.

Next, it is necessary to analyse the place of residence of Turkic peoples according to Turkic languages (Fig. 2.1)



**Fig. 2.1.** *Distribution of Turkic peoples according to Turkic languages [19]*

Analysing the figure, it can be concluded that the Turkic peoples are divided into 6 large groups: the Oguz group, the Ogur group, the Kipchak group, the Karluk

group, the Siberian group, and the Haladz group. Thus, pan-Turkism played an important role in the development of the Turkic peoples and the geopolitical interests of modern Turkey.

After the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the ideology of Kemalism, whose name comes from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, one of the most influential politicians of Turkey, became widespread [32]. Kemalism or «Six Arrows» includes 6 principles: republicanism, nationalism, populism, reformism, secularism and statism. Republicanism is the replacement of monarchy with the rule of law, the sovereignty of the people and civil society. Populism is the transfer of power to the citizenry, which should unite around national identity and be in solidarity regardless of status. In this way, Atatürk tried to get rid of the influence of sheikhs, chiefs, Ulans and other representatives of the Ottoman political system. Reformism - replacement of all traditional institutions with modern ones. Carrying out fundamental social changes to create a modern society. Secularism is an attempt to get rid of religious influence in the administration of the state. In Turkey, sharia law, mejelle laws, and the Millet system were abolished and replaced by adapted versions of European codes. Statism - economic growth, in which the state should not interfere in the country's economy and leave most areas to the people, but intervene in such areas as large infrastructure projects. Nationalism is the creation of a national state, where the Turkish nation is the Turkish people. Since the founding of the Turkish state, Kemalism has remained an influential concept.

The most modern doctrine in Turkey is Erdoganism, whose name comes from the country's president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Erdoganism can be described as Turkish democratic conservatism, because the main ideas are: a strong central government inspired by religion; less separation of powers; decrease in the political system of checks and balances, due to which Erdoganism is often called authoritarian. In addition, Erdogan is trying to weaken the influence of Kemalism in the state, rejecting the main Kemalist principle of secularism [27]. In the foreign policy Erdoganism connected with the concept of «Strategic Depth» developed by

Ahmed Davutoglu. «Strategic Depth» - the concept of returning to history, restoring ties with the Muslim world, which is why it was popularly called «neo-Ottomanism» (The doctrine of «Ottomanism» appeared in the Ottoman Empire and aimed to create the Ottoman people, and the term «neo-Ottomanism» was first used by David Burchard in 1985 when describing Turkey's policy in Northern Cyprus) [10; 17]. Although the idea of «zero problems with neighbours» was the basis, this concept quickly became an aggressive justification for increasing Turkey's influence in the region [3]. Another well-known concept is the «Blue Motherland», according to which Turkey should become a leader in the Eastern Mediterranean region [10].

Next task is to analyse the main state documents. One of such important documents is «Turkey: Defense White Paper 2000» [44]. The main idea of the book is described through the principle of Kemal Atatürk, namely «Peace at home, peace in the world». The great importance was attached to peace, security, international and regional organisations, the main danger is terrorism and geopolitical importance was determined. However, more important is the «Red Book», which is being developed by the National Security Council [26; 41]. It is updated every 5 years, but due to great secrecy is not published.

Subsequently, the main foreign policy strategies and ideas were published by the Center for Strategic Studies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey (SAM), which has been operating since 1995. The Center for Strategic Studies conducts research on Turkey's foreign policy in cooperation with foreign scientists and universities, and provides advice to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and state institutions.

Next, it is necessary to consider the policies of the main political parties in Turkey, which directly influence state decisions and the country's foreign policy (Table 2.2).

Analysing the table, we can conclude that the Turkish party system has a large number of parties of different views and ideologies, from democrats and socialists to conservatives and fascists.

*Table 2.2*

### Main geopolitical priorities of political parties in Turkey\*

Political party	Ideology	Main geopolitical priorities
Party of Justice and Development (AKP). Pro-ruling party	Conservative democracy	Restoration of Turkish influence on the former imperial territories. Accession to the European Union. Supports the unification of Cyprus. Strengthening of Islam in Turkey.
Republican People's Party. Opposition.	Social democracy and Kemalism	Support for military intervention in the countries of the Middle East. They support membership in NATO. Northern Cyprus is recognized as independent.
The party of the nationalist movement. Pro-ruling party.	Neo-fascism, «The Third Way»	Turkey is the centre of the Islamic world and a leading power in the world. Support for Pan-Turkism. Unification of Cyprus on the basis of a binational state. Review of cooperation with the EU. Multipolar policy and relations with Russia and Iran. Kurds are a security threat.
Good party. Opposition.	Nationalism Kemalism	They support joining the EU and membership in NATO.

\*Compiled by: [38]

Relations with the European Union are important for all parties. In addition, there is a confrontation between Kemal's ideas and modern views on the future development of Turkey. In foreign policy, the parties emphasise peace and security, but they themselves support intervention in other countries.

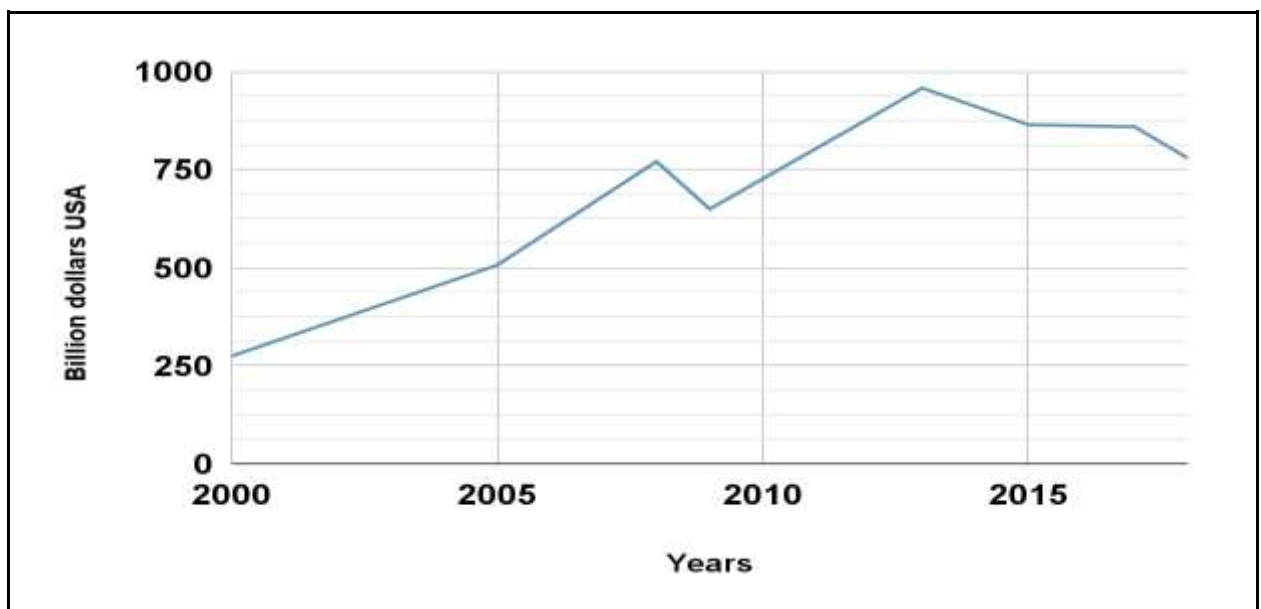
Next, it's necessary to consider Turkey's participation in international organisations. After the Second World War, Turkey joined international organisations such as the UN (1945), The World Bank (1947), the IMF (1947), the Council of Europe (1949), GATT/WTO (1951/1995), NATO (1952), OECD (1961), OIS (1969), OSCE (1973), G20 (1999), etc [7]. The international organisations Parliamentary Assembly of the Turkic States (2008) and the Turkic Council (2009) are of great importance, because they are deepening the integration and cooperation of the states of the Turkic peoples and thanks to which Turkey achieves the goals of pan-Turkism.

Therefore, the political and legal prerequisites played an important role in the formation of Turkey's geopolitical interests. The most important concepts are Kemalism and Pan-Turkism, which are supported by the main political parties and influence the foreign policy of modern Turkey. In addition, pursuing the goals of these concepts, Turkey participates in many international organisations.

### 2.3. Socio-economic prerequisites of Turkey's geopolitical interests formation

For the modern geopolitical interests of Turkey, socio-economic prerequisites remain as key elements, namely social factors, the number and composition of the population, and economic factors - GDP, resource and economic potential, the predominance of a certain sector of the economy. These indicators directly affect the country's geopolitical interests and the possibility of achieving them.

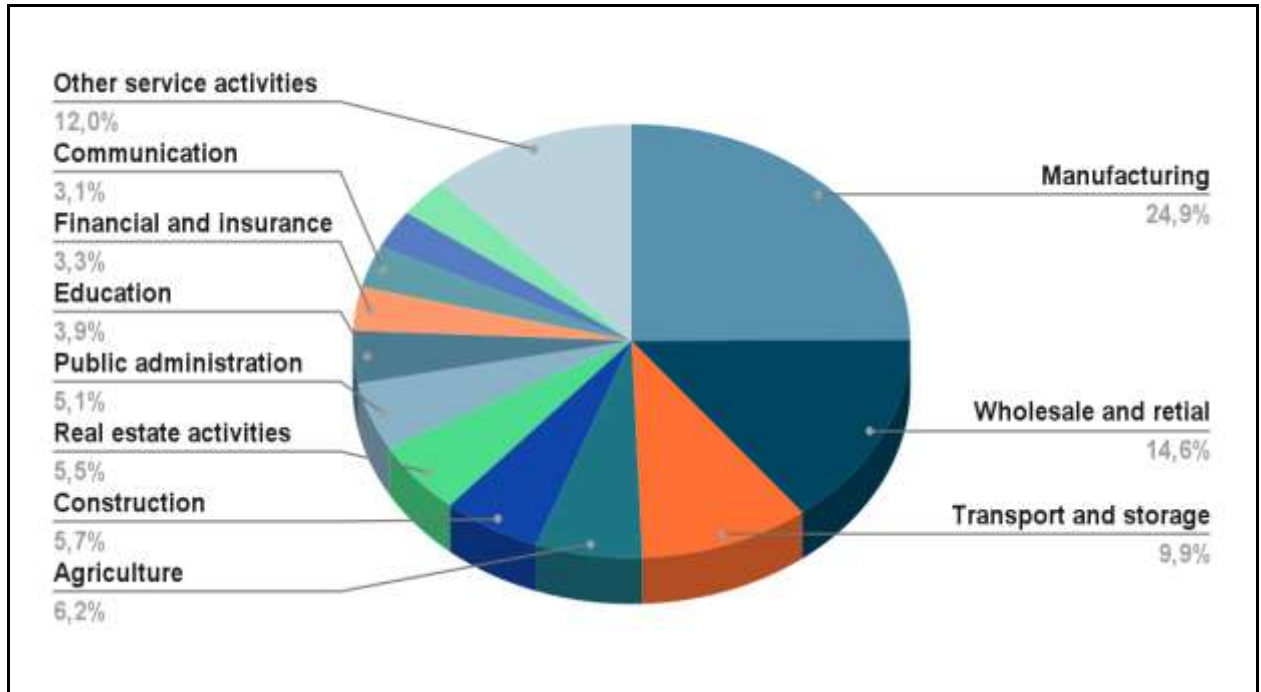
First of all, it is necessary to consider the GDP of Turkey, as an indicator of the size and level of the economy of this country (Fig. 2.2).



**Fig. 2.2.** *GDP of Turkey, 2000-2018* [48]

Analysing the figure, it is clear that in the 2000s, Turkey made an economic leap, doubling its economy from \$274 billion up to \$770 billion in 2008. This event coincides with the beginning of the reign of the prominent ruling party «AKP», which under Erdogan carried out important economic reforms [49]. Later, in 2008,

due to the global economic crisis, Turkey lost its growing positions, but quickly recovered them and already in 2013 reached a peak of \$957 billion. And in 2014, due to mass protests in the country, and later state intervention in the policy of the Central Bank of Turkey, the economy decreased to \$720 billion in 2020. Next, it is necessary to analyse the sectors of the Turkish economy (Fig. 2.3).

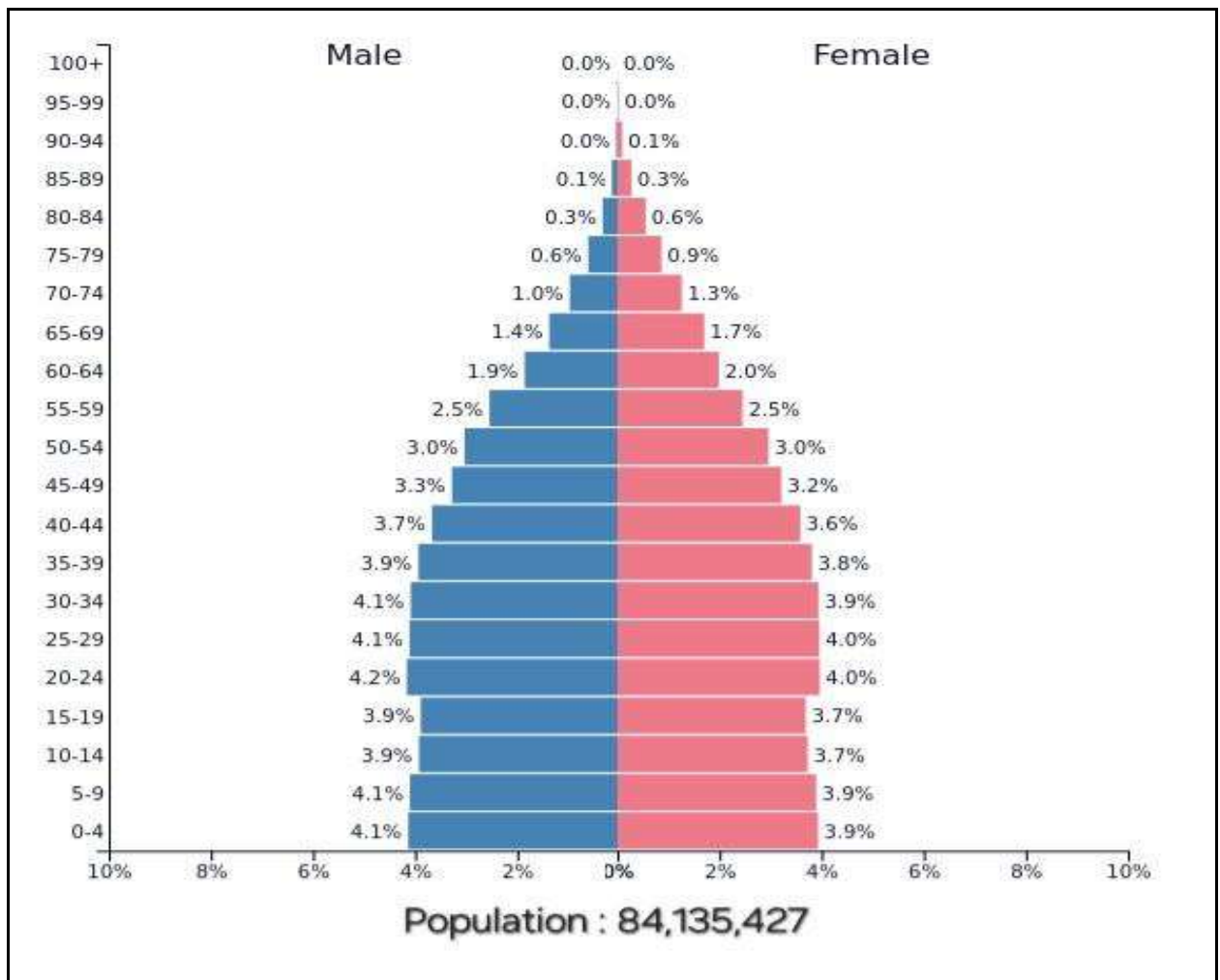


**Fig. 2.3.** *Structure of Turkey's GDP by industry, 2021 [25]*

The most important sectors of the Turkish economy in terms of contribution to the country's GDP are the service sector (the most important sectors: wholesale trade, transport services, real estate, the public sector, education, finance, communications, and others), followed by industry, and the last place is agriculture. In addition, «Turkstat» separately notes construction as an important sector of the economy, because it is one of the main reasons for rapid economic growth after the 2000s. Thus, Turkey is a highly developed country.

The next important prerequisite is the number of the population and its composition (ethnic groups) (Fig. 2.4).

Looking at the population pyramid, we can conclude that the population of Turkey is balanced in terms of the number of men and women, but there are more young people than old people.



**Fig. 2.4.** Population pyramids of Turkey, 2020 [39]

As of 2020, the population of Turkey is 84 million people, which makes it the 18th most populous country in the world. Of them, 31 million people are the workforce. In addition, the population is growing rapidly. By ethnicity, Turkey consists of: 70-75% Turks, 19% Kurds, 7-12% other minorities (Arabs, Albanians, Bosnians, Chechens and others). By religion, more than 98% are Muslims (mainly Sunnis), 0.2% are Christians and Jews.

In addition, mineral resources, which are needed for the development of many sectors of the economy, play an important role (Table 2.4).

Turkey is a world producer of: coal (19% of Europe), pumice and pumice (40% of the world), spar (24%), chromite ores (23%), magnesium (6%), perlite (19%), soda ash (22%), bentonite (8%), gypsum (6%), antimony (2%), cement (1%), sand and gravel (4%), zeolites (6%).

*Table 2.4*



**Reserves and production of certain types of natural resources in Turkey  
in 2019\***

<b>The name of the resource</b>	<b>Reserves</b>	<b>Production</b>	<b>Share of production from the world</b>
Boron	3.25 billion tons	2.04 million tons	56%
Oil	312 million bar.	66 thousand bar.	0.02%
Gas	218 million cubic metres feet per day	483 million cubic metres	0.003%
Brown coal	19 billion tons	80 million tons	8%
Gold	439, 75 m. t.	38 thousand kg	11%

\*Compiled by: [36; 40; 45]

In addition, 73% of the world's boron reserves and 40% of the world's natural stone reserves are located in Turkey [34]. However, there is no sufficient supply of fuel resources, which is why a significant part of them is imported. Thus, Turkey is rich in mineral resources, but lacks energy resources such as oil or gas.

So, Turkey has favourable socio-economic factors, because the state has been developing steadily since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Turkey has made an economic leap over the past 100 years, which has allowed it to become one of the most developed countries in the world. According to GDP, the main sector of the economy is the service sector, followed by industry and agriculture. Main branches of the economy: wholesale trade, transport and construction. The population of Turkey, mainly Turks who practise Islam, is 84 million people, and continues to grow. Turkey has sufficient mineral resources, but insufficient energy resources.

**CHAPTER 3**  
**FEATURES OF TURKEY'S GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS**  
**REALISATION AT THE PRESENT STAGE**

### **3.1 Characteristic features of Turkey's geopolitical interests at the current stage**

The modern geopolitical interests of Turkey, formed under the influence of various historical, political-legal and socio-economic prerequisites and factors, received their characteristic features and peculiarities that characterise the foreign and domestic policy of Turkey.

To date, the official government of Turkey pursues an active, independent foreign policy, the purpose of which is to ensure the physical security of the state both in the unstable international arena and on the border of two unstable regions (the Balkans and the Middle East), stable economic growth and obtaining the role of a regional leader and world mediator [15; 35]. The main geopolitical interests of Turkey are the protection of the state and its citizens, the stability of the international arena and strengthening of regional security. One of the most important principles of Turkey's foreign policy is the fight against terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism, and the resolution of international conflicts. The main tools for achieving these goals are diplomacy and mediation, but if peaceful means do not work or there is a direct threat to the state, military measures are used.

At the current stage of Turkey's geopolitical interests, there is a struggle between two different ideas: Atatürk's Kemalism and Erdogan's Erdoganism [27]. The main difference between Kemalism and Erdoganism lies in different approaches in foreign and domestic politics. Kemalism relies on a peaceful foreign policy, «soft power» and cooperation with its neighbours, giving priority to Western countries, and domestically - the prosperity of the Turkish people on secular grounds. Erdoganism, on the other hand, prefers the combination of «soft» and «hard» power, an independent foreign policy, and the prosperity of the Turkish people on conservative and traditional foundations.

The main geopolitical interests of Turkey, which are specified in the geopolitical code of the state, include the following tasks:

1) Security sector: protection of the main national interests of Turkey in the current unstable political and regional situation, through the strengthening of sustainable peace and development in the region and beyond; implementation of the concept of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk «Peace at home, peace in the whole world», i.e. conducting a peaceful foreign policy to strengthen international stability and regional security; implementation of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's «Great Century» concept, strengthening of Turkey's influence on the international arena; strengthening regional peace, through the fight against terrorism and extremism, peaceful conflict resolution and mediation.

2) Policy sector: joining the European Union is a strategic priority for the Turkish state; a leading role in the peaceful resolution of conflicts by participating in the Groups of friends of mediation in the UN, OSCE and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC); holding the international Istanbul conference on mediation; strengthening and development of strategic relations is a priority in foreign policy; USA is a strategic partner; NATO, in which Turkey occupies a leading position in financing and supporting alliance operations; expansion of relations with the Turkic world through the Organization of Turkic States (OTS); creating a global network of cooperation with all countries in the world, and focusing on relations with the countries of the Middle East, the Balkan Peninsula, the Caucasus, North Africa, and Central Asia; strengthening relations with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean; implementation of the «Asia Anew» initiative; strengthening inclusiveness in the international system through participation in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), the Islamic Eight (D-8), the Organization of Turkic States (OTS), the Asian Cooperation Dialogue (ASC) and MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, Korea, Turkey and Australia) ; Erdoğan's initiative «World over five».

3) Economic sector: creation of international economic organisations to strengthen economic cooperation in the region: the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization, the Cooperation Process in South-Eastern Europe and the

Organization for Economic Cooperation (ECO); strengthening of regional interdependence, through the construction of transport (railway, road, air) corridors.

4) Humanitarian Sector: Humanitarian aid plays an important role in Turkey's foreign policy. In 2016, Turkey was in first place in terms of the amount of humanitarian expenditure per capita in relation to national income; Turkey provides asylum to Syrians and is engaged in the return of refugees to stable regions. Since 2011, Turkey has spent \$40 billion on humanitarian aid.

5) Energy sector: Turkey as an energy centre and transit country plays an important role in European energy security.

An important feature of modern Turkey is militarization (Table 3.1)

*Table 3.1*

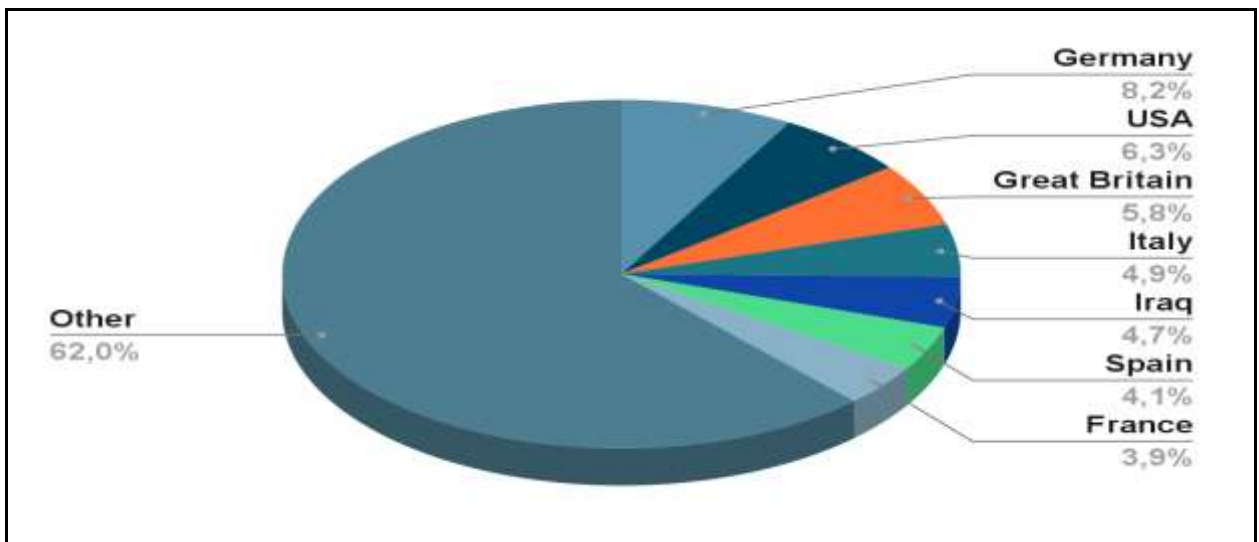
**Military forces of Turkey by basic indicators, 2024\***

<b>Indexes</b>	<b>Number</b>
Annual military expenditure	10.64 billion dollars. USA (1.2% of GDP)
The number of troops	883,900 thousand (Active - 355,200. Reserve - 378,700. Military forces - 150,000)
Tanks	2231 (Active - 1785)
Artillery	3071 (Active - 2457)
Air Force	Aeroplanes - 1069 (Active - 855), Helicopters - 502 (Active - 402)
Naval forces	186 ships (Frigates - 16. Corvettes - 9. Submarines - 12. Patrol vessels - 34. Others)

\*Compiled by: [50]

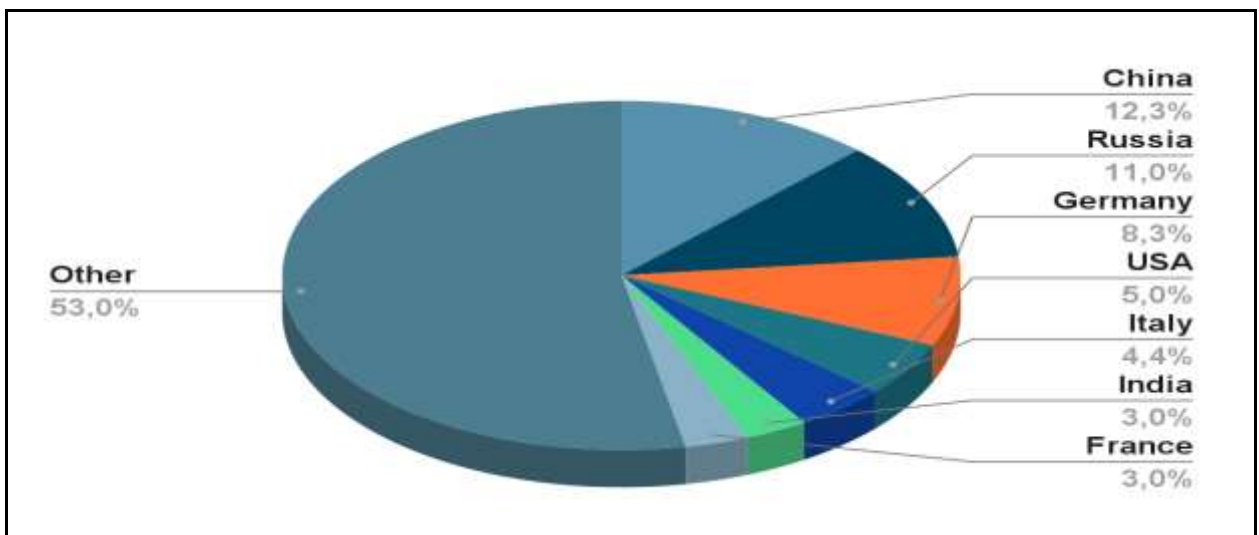
Analysing the table, it can be concluded that Turkey has sufficient military power not only to dominate the region, but also to influence the international arena.

Next, it is necessary to consider the main economic partners of Turkey in terms of export and import indicators (fig. 3.1, fig .3.2).



**Fig. 3.1.** *Share of countries in Turkey's exports* [47]

After looking at the figure, it can be understood that the main importers of Turkey are: Germany, USA, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, France and Iraq. Thus, the largest Turkish importers are Western countries. No country dominates in imports, so Turkey keeps foreign trade flexible.



**Fig. 3.2.** *Share of countries by Turkey's imports* [47]

After analysing the figure, it can be concluded that the main exporters of Turkey are China, Russia, Germany, the USA and Italy. Turkey imports the most from China and Russia. No country dominates in exports, which makes Turkey's foreign trade independent and flexible. Having considered the export and import indicators in this way, it can be understood that the main trading partners of Turkey are Germany, the USA, Italy, France, China and Russia. In general, a large share of exports goes to Western democratic countries, while imports come from

authoritarian ones. However, no country dominates the share of Turkey's imports and exports in general from all countries in the world, which demonstrates how Turkey maintains a trade balance, trying not to depend on anyone.

Thus, at the present stage, Turkey pursues an active and independent foreign policy. The main geopolitical interests of Turkey are: state security, regional and international stability, strengthening of Turkey's influence through mediation, and economic growth. The important features of Turkey today are the militarization of the state, a balance in foreign trade and growth of autonomy.

### **3.2. The main vectors of Turkey's geopolitics**

Turkey's current geopolitical vectors in the world and the choice of main partners, allies and competitors in the regions are determined by the combination of its geopolitical code, national interests and foreign activities. The geopolitical code shows the official position of Turkey regarding certain countries, national interests show the main needs of the state and external activities (political and economic relations) active modern politics.

Taking into account Turkey's external activities, its geopolitical code, and Erdogan's concept of the «Great Century», the following vectors of Turkey's geopolitics can be distinguished: European, Asian, American, and African. Next, it is necessary to analyse the vectors, starting with the European one as the most important for Turkey.

The European vector has been important in Turkey's geopolitical interests since the founding of the Turkish Republic by Atatürk. After the Second World War, Turkey maintained close ties with Europe, joining all Western organisations. For example, in 1952, Turkey became a member of NATO, and now it is the most active member of this organisation. Nowadays the main goal is to join the European Union [22]. The main subregions in the European vector are Western Europe, the Balkans and Eastern Europe. In Western Europe, the main partner is Germany (the Turkish diaspora and the main economic partner). In Eastern Europe, Ukraine is the main partner through military cooperation and the Crimean Tatar diaspora (Turkic

people). The Balkans as a region has always been important to Turkey, especially during the Ottoman Empire, when this area became part of the empire. Given its imperial legacy, Turkey is trying to establish good-neighbourly relations with these states by providing financial and mediation assistance. In the Balkans, important partners are Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina, due to the large proportion of the Muslim population in these countries. The main adversary in the European vector is the Russian Federation. In addition to Russia, other competitors are Cyprus and Greece, due to the occupation of Northern Cyprus, the historical confrontation, the struggle for territories and natural resources in the Mediterranean Sea. The main organisations in the vector for Turkey are NATO, the Regional Cooperation Council and the Cooperation Process of the countries of Southeast Europe.

After the European vector, the most important is the Asian one [24]. In the Asian vector, Turkey distinguishes 4 main subregions: the Middle East, the South Caucasus, Central Asia and Southeast Asia. The Middle East (from Turkey to Iran, the entire Arabian Peninsula and the part of Egypt that connects the region with Africa) - the region in which most of Turkey is located, is one of the least stable in the world due to the constant threat of wars, refugee migration, unstable economy and terrorist threats based on religions. During the time of the Ottoman Empire, all these territories were part of it, therefore most of the modern countries were created here either after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire or after the Second World War. Today, due to the concepts of «Strategic Depth» and «Blue Motherland», Turkey competes for leadership in the region with other countries.

After World War II, Turkey was one of the first in the world to recognize Israel, as another pro-Western country in the Middle East, and later the countries became partners. This continued until Erdogan came to power in the 2000s, who changed Turkey's external position towards Israel, becoming more supportive of Palestinian independence, and after the Gaza flotilla raid in 2008, in which Turkish citizens died, radically changed relations with Israel, starting to politically support the terrorist movement Hamas [21].

Thanks to this support, Turkey gained another ally - Qatar, a state that also provides aid to Palestine [11]. In addition, both countries supported Egyptian President Muhammad Morsi, a representative of the Muslim Brotherhood, which is friendly to Turkey and Qatar. However, due to the coup in Egypt in 2013, Morsi lost power, and the Muslim Brotherhood was declared a terrorist organisation, which caused the deterioration of Egypt's relations with Turkey. Another sticking point has been the Libyan issue, as Egypt supports Khalifa Haftar's forces, while Turkey supports Fayeze al-Saraj's Government of National Accord, which has allowed Turkey to officially have its military in Libya. Thanks to this, Turkey legitimises its claims to the maritime economic zone of Libya and Israel.

However, Saudi Arabia is Turkey's biggest opponent in the region [11]. Both countries face each other in regional conflicts on different sides of the conflict. First, during the blockade of Qatar by the Persian Gulf countries, Turkey provided humanitarian aid to its ally, which angered Saudi Arabia. Secondly, Saudi Arabia is trying to normalise relations with Israel, Turkey's rival. Thirdly, in the Libyan conflict, Saudi Arabia supports the forces of Khalifa Haftar. For the fourth time, Saudi Arabia normalises relations with Syrian dictator Bashar al-Sad, and Turkey supports the Syrian opposition. In addition, the Saudis supported the coup in Egypt in 2013 by Abdel Fattah al-Sisi.

The last major rival of Turkey in the region is the Kurds, a nation that today does not have an independent country and inhabits a large part of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, etc [28]. The Kurds have a large degree of autonomy in Iraq and Iran, control much of Syria, and have a large influence on Turkish politics. Unlike other countries, Turkey has oppressed these people since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, without even recognizing their existence, which has led to military clashes. Therefore, the state authorities are fighting the Kurds not only on the territory of their own country, but also in other countries.

The South Caucasus is a region in which Turkey historically has a huge influence, as the legal successor of the Ottoman Empire. Despite this influence on the region, Turkey is constantly in a struggle for leadership in the Caucasus with the



Russian Federation and Iran [13]. The Russian Federation has direct leverage over Georgia, part of which it occupied, while Iran is an ally of Armenia, a country with which Turkey has historically had negative relations, so Azerbaijan is Turkey's only main ally in the Caucasus. Azerbaijan, home to another Turkic people, is a very important ally of Turkey, because both countries adhere to the principle of «One Nation - Two States». Because of this, Turkey is one of the largest trade, military and political partners of Azerbaijan. Turkey supported Azerbaijan with weapons during the Second Karabakh War, which played a huge role in the conflict. In addition, Turkey, as an important energy hub, transports Azerbaijani gas to Europe in contrast to Russian gas. At the same time, Turkey is constantly putting political pressure on Armenia.

Central Asia is a region in which Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan are located. These countries have historical ties with Turkey. Today, they play an important role in the Turkish doctrine of Pan-Turkism, so Turkey is constantly trying to deepen integration with them through the Parliamentary Assembly of the Turkic States and the Turkic Council. The main idea of the doctrine of pan-Turkism is the unification of all Turkic peoples in one state, so it is not surprising that Turkey encroaches on these territories, which became obvious when Erdogan was presented with a map of the «Turkic world», which, in addition to Central Asia, also included Siberia.

The last direction in the Asian vector is Southeast Asia. Turkey is trying to take advantage of the rapidly growing region and new partners. Therefore, since 2010, Turkey's strategic partners have become: China, Japan, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia and Singapore. The number of diplomatic missions in the region increased to 15. In 2019, the «Asia Anew» initiative was announced, in which Turkey's plans for the region were presented. Turkey also actively participates in Asian organisations: ASEAN, Asian Cooperation Dialogue, Pacific Islands Forum, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, etc. The turnover increased from \$17 billion in 2004 to \$75 billion in 2021.

The next vector is African. In Africa, Turkey focuses its resources on two sub-regions: North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. North Africa (traditionally the Maghreb) is a region inhabited mainly by Arabs and peoples who profess Islam. The region is important for modern Turkey, because the states of North Africa have long been in the sphere of interests of the Ottoman Empire, such as Tunisia, Libya, and Algeria. The most important organisations in the region: the Islamic Eight, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, OPEC. Sub-Saharan Africa, although not the most important, is the most active in Turkey's foreign policy. The region, which includes territories and states south of the Sahara, was either under direct Ottoman control or under a protectorate, which protected these lands from European colonisation and made the Ottoman Empire the protector of the Islamic world. Today, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Niger and Chad are located here. However, with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, all this was lost, so the Turkish government is trying to restore its influence. Compared to other countries, Turkey conducts foreign policy in the region more effectively, because it combines political, economic, cultural and humanitarian directions [18; 42].

The political direction includes the opening of embassies (more than 40 as of 2019), official visits at the highest level (more than 20 visits), participation in the African Union, holding permanent summits, conferences and congresses on African countries (the Fourth UN Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Turkey - African Congress, etc.), participation in UN peacekeeping missions (participates in 5 active missions). In addition, in 2017, Turkey opened its largest foreign military base in Mogadishu. Thus, 2020 became the year of Africa for Turkey. The economic direction includes the implementation of the 2003 «Strategy for improving trade and economic relations with African countries», which allowed Turkey's trade turnover with Africa from \$4.3 billion in 2002 to \$233.5 billion in 2018. In addition, Turkish business penetrates into African countries, such as Turkish Airlines or Yapi Merkezi. The cultural and humanitarian direction includes the work of the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA), Yunus Emre educational centres, and the Maarif state fund.

The American vector remains no less important. The American vector is divided in Turkish external interests into 2 subregions: North America and Latin America. North America has been an important region since the founding of the Turkish Republic. After the Second World War, Turkey integrated into the Western world, thanks to the help of the USA. Today, Turkey and the USA are strategic partners in NATO and the Middle East. In contrast, Turkey's relations with Canada are worse. The main reason for the deterioration of relations was the use of Canadian weapons in the Second Karabakh War on the side of Azerbaijan. On the contrary, Latin America did not play an important role in Turkey's foreign policy until the 1990s. Only during the last 20 years, this vector became more active, due to the implementation of the «Action Plan for Latin America and the Caribbean» in 1998. Brazil and Mexico became strategic partners. Also, 19 agreements on economic and trade cooperation were signed. As of 2017, the volume of trade amounted to \$9.2 billion. Turkey participates in: Organization of American States, Caribbean Community, etc.

Thus, Turkey conducts an active, independent foreign policy aimed at a multipolar world. Turkey pursues 4 main geopolitical vectors in its foreign policy: European, Asian, African and American.

### **3.3. Problems and prospects of Turkey's geopolitical interests realisation**

The main problems of Turkey's geopolitical interests realisation at the current stage are: lack of security in the Middle East, economic and political instability in the state, refugee migration, the problem of Northern Cyprus, the Kurdish problem, aggressive foreign policy through the concepts of «Blue Motherland» and «Strategic Depth» [33].

Turkey, as a country located on the border between Europe and Asia, has had security problems since its foundation, because it is surrounded by the Balkans, the Middle East and the South Caucasus, regions with constant instability and conflicts. Although the Balkans and the South Caucasus do not pose a huge threat today, the

Middle East is still a powder keg in which the region's leaders fight for influence, leadership, and religious dominance. Despite attempts to normalise relations with the states in the region, the implementation of the concepts of «Strategic Depth» and «Blue Motherland» only intensifies the confrontation [10; 11]. Therefore, Turkey's security interests are not achievable due to conflicts in Syria, Egypt, Israel, Libya, Iraq and Armenia.

The next big problem remains Northern Cyprus. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is a part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey (1974), which is not recognized by anyone in the world as an independent state [23]. Maintaining the occupied territory in 2019 alone cost Turkey 342 million euros. Despite the attempts of the international community to resolve this conflict, Turkey opposes the unification of the island, because it uses the occupied part as a naval base, which strengthens Turkey's influence in the Mediterranean Sea. Oil and gas fields were also found around the island, which Turkish companies are already developing. In addition, this conflict is part of an even larger historical confrontation between Turkey and Greece. Nowadays, it is the problem of Northern Cyprus that blocks Turkey's accession to the EU.

All of Turkey's regional conflicts exacerbate the migration problem and weaken geopolitical interests, because they increase the number of refugees in the country, which reduces resources for humanitarian aid in many other regions of the world, an important component of Turkey's foreign policy. It also increases political and economic instability in the country, in which the government and the president are increasingly interfering in the economy with negative results, increasing the influence of Islamic traditions, which leads to the appearance of social distance between different layers of the population, destroying the foundations of Kemal Atatürk, still popular in the Turkish society. All these factors strengthen the terrorist organisations like Islamic State (IS).

Another important factor in the implementation of Turkey's geopolitical interests is the Kurdish issue [28]. The Kurds, a nation of 40 million people who live on the territory of Syria, Iraq, Iran and Turkey, have a great influence on Turkish

politics. Since the founding of the Republic of Turkey, the Kurds have been persecuted by the Turkish authorities, who have tried to build a unified Turkish nation. As a result, the Kurds formed the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and declared war on the Turkish government. Today, the PKK is a terrorist organisation that uses force to gain independence. At the beginning of Erdogan's rule, the parties held peace talks, because the Turkish authorities softened the former policy towards the Kurds, Erdogan had a lot of political support among the Kurdish population, and the threat of the Islamic State (IS) existed. However, now that the IS threat has disappeared, Turkey has enough military power, and after an attempted political coup in 2016, the state has returned to its former policy of maximally weakening Kurdish forces on its own and foreign territory.

Notwithstanding the problems of realising Turkey's geopolitical interests, the country has excellent prospects for development in other spheres: energy, military, diplomatic and political [31; 46]. Despite the fact that Turkey has a large reserve of mineral resources and is located in a region where 60% of the world's oil and gas reserves are located, the country has a shortage of energy, so it is forced to import almost 74% from other countries. However, successfully using its geographical location, Turkey has become an energy hub for Europe and Asia, because 6 pipelines pass here: Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline, South Caucasus gas pipeline, Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum gas pipeline, Interconnector natural gas Turkey-Greece, Trans-Anatolian Gas Pipeline and Turkish Stream.

Another perspective was the increase of the military power of the state, because if in 2000 the military budget was \$10 billion (3.66% of GDP), then in 2019 - \$20 billion (2.69% of GDP). An important change was both economic growth and the development of weapons. An important role here is played by Ukraine, which has been closely cooperating with Turkey in the defence field since 2014. For example, Ukroboronprom actively works with «Aselsan», «Rocketsan», «Havelsan», «MKEK», «Delta Defense», «Baykar Makina» in such areas as: production of radar equipment, modern means of radio communication, supply of 6TD3 engines for the third-generation Turkish battle tank «Altay», installation of

Eye Lr S thermal imaging cameras on Ukrainian anti-tank missiles «Stugna-P», purchase of Bayraktar TB2 attack drones, supply of 120 mm barrel guided missiles «Conus» manufactured by SE DKKB «LUCH» [2]. This cooperation only deepened with the beginning of the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war.

In addition to its military role, Turkey also has political influence in the Russian-Ukrainian war, because the Turkish government is trying to be a mediator. Since 2014, Turkey has not recognized the occupation of Ukrainian territories and publicly supports Ukraine on all international platforms, despite this, the country continues to trade with Russia, buy weapons from it, and even have joint infrastructure facilities: the Turkish Stream, which transports Russian gas, and nuclear power plants operating on Russian nuclear fuel. Turkey also helped exchange war prisoners and was one of the initiators of the Grain Agreement.

Thanks to the economic rise in the 2000s, the strengthening of military power and the emergence of an energy hub, Turkey is increasing its opportunities to realise geopolitical interests in the sphere of politics and diplomacy. First, Turkey has already established itself as a regional power in the Middle East, fighting for leadership with Saudi Arabia. Secondly, Turkey is trying to become a world power, which is helped by an independent foreign policy, because the state does not depend on the import of weapons and energy sources and has equal trade with other countries. In addition, Turkey successfully balances between the western world and the global south, trying to get the maximum benefit for itself, so despite the fact that Turkey is a member of NATO, it supports a multipolar world.

Therefore, the main problems for the realisation of Turkey's geopolitical interests are: internal instability; external instability in the region; Northern Cyprus, the Kurdish issue; foreign policy aimed at confrontation with other states. Instead, the main prospects are: growing from a regional power to a global power, by taking advantage of world problems and balancing between actors.

## CONCLUSIONS

The results of the conducted research make it possible to draw the following conclusions:

1. Geopolitics is a complex science that researches the system of interrelationships of actors in the international arena, the status and position of some actors relative to others, the influence of geographical factors on the politics of states. Space is one of the main forms of geopolitics implementation, namely the field of interaction and the geopolitical field in which states interact with each other. The main task of interaction is to achieve the geopolitical interests of the state, which are formed by the set of interests and needs of society and the country's government, which are influenced by geographical factors, such as location, natural resources, etc. In addition, geographical factors form a significant part of the geopolitical potential. States officially declare their geopolitical interests in geopolitical codes and strategies that are found in official state documents. Geopolitical doctrines and concepts are used to create geopolitical codes. By achieving geopolitical interests, states improve their geopolitical position.

2. A necessary task in the process of researching the geopolitical interests of Turkey at the current stage was the study of historical, political-legal, socio-economic prerequisites and factors of their formation.

Historical factors played an important role in the formation of Turkey's geopolitical interests, formation of which can be divided into six stages. The main positive historical factors that contributed to the formation of Turkish interests are: Turkey's location at the crossroads of civilizations, the imperial legacy of the Ottoman Empire, the combination of Western and Islamic traditions influence, the presence of weak neighbours and the absence of stronger enemies. On the other hand, there are no important factors that negatively affected the formation of geopolitical interests.

Undoubtedly, the formation of Turkish geopolitical interests was influenced by political and legal prerequisites. Modern Turkey, after the collapse of the

Ottoman Empire, was built as a secular westernised state based on the doctrine of Kemalism of Atatürk, which continues to be popular in Turkish society. Pan-Turkism, the idea of uniting all Turkic peoples, remains another important doctrine. Both doctrines are supported by many political parties in Turkey. In our time, a third doctrine has appeared - Erdoganism. Erdoganism as a doctrine rejects the secularism of Kemalism, restores Islamic and Ottoman traditions, conducts an active independent foreign multipolar policy balancing between the strongest states, therefore Turkey participates in many international organisations. The main concepts are «Strategic depth» and «Blue Motherland».

Socio-economic prerequisites played an important role in the formation of Turkish geopolitical interests. Since its establishment, Turkey has continued to grow as an economically strong state despite difficulties and constant regional instability. Today, Turkey is one of the most developed countries in the world. The main sector of the economy is the service sector, followed by industry and agriculture. An important factor in economic growth is a stable demographic situation. The population of Turkey is 84 million people and continues to grow. Turkey also has a large supply of minerals, but lacks fuel.

3. Characteristic features of Turkey's geopolitical interests at the current stage are active and independent foreign policy aimed at strengthening state security, regional and international stability, and Turkey's influence on the international arena. The main tools for such balancing actions between states are mediation in conflicts, Turkey's economic growth, the creation of regional organisations and the strengthening of multipolarity in the world. Another important feature was the militarization of the state, thanks to the production of its own weapons. Also, military power is an important tool for achieving the geopolitical interests of modern Turkey in cases where negotiations do not achieve the desired results.

4. Turkey, as a country that pursues an active and independent foreign policy balancing between world powers and aspires to become a world power itself, directs its geopolitical interests to the multipolar world, trying to get the maximum benefit. Today, Turkey singles out 4 main vectors in its foreign policy: European, Asian,



African and American. The most important is the European vector, because Turkey occupies a leading position in NATO and membership in the EU is a strategic goal. The most important sub-regions in Europe are Western Europe, Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Next is the Asian vector, especially its subregions: the South Caucasus (Azerbaijan is the main ally), the Middle East (a region in which Turkey wants to be a leading power) and Central Asia (Countries of the Turkic peoples with which Turkey is deepening its relations). The most active vector is African, namely the sub-regions of North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. The American vector is divided into North and Latin America. The main place here is occupied by the North, because of the USA as a strategic partner. Main trade partners: Germany, USA, Russia, China. Turkey maintains a balance in foreign trade in order to not depend on other countries.

5. During the study of the geopolitical interests of modern Turkey, it was important to study the main problems and prospects for the realisation of Turkish geopolitical interests.

The main problems for the realisation of Turkey's geopolitical interests are: internal instability due to the intervention of the Turkish government in the country's economy, confrontation between supporters of secular and Islamic ideas and political crisis, because the government and the opposition have equal support in society; external instability in the region due to the civil wars in Syria and Libya, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the threat of Islamic fundamentalists, Northern Cyprus, waves of refugees and the Kurdish struggle for independence; application of the «Strategic Depth» and «Blue Motherland» doctrines, which are aimed at confrontation with other states.

Instead, the main perspective is the growth of Turkey's role in the international arena as a world power, because the country continues to strengthen its influence on other continents, doing it more effectively than the USA or the PRC, increases its military and economic power and achieves autonomy in the energy, military and economic spheres.

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