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## INTELLECTUALS CALL ON GOV'T TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST ARMY PLOT

ÖMER ŞAHİN / FATİH VURAL, ANKARA / İSTANBUL

A large number of intellectuals, journalists and jurists have raised their voices once again against military intervention in politics after the discovery of the original copy of an alleged army plot to undermine the ruling party and the faith-based Gülen movement, urging the government and the General Staff to take action against the plan. "If the authenticity of the plot is recognized, then everyone who has stood by Col. Dursun Çiçek [who allegedly prepared the plot] will share the responsibility. Çiçek is working at the General Staff headquarters. The plot is a vicious one. If the plot proves to be authentic, then

the General Staff will be accused of sharing Çiçek's responsibility. The staff will have to pay a cost at the highest level," noted Ahmet Tasgetiren, a columnist for the Bugün daily.

Tasgetiren was referring to the recent discovery of the original Action Plan to Fight Reactionaryism, a photocopy of which emerged in June. The original was allegedly mailed to an Istanbul prosecutor by an unnamed military officer on Friday. The discovery of the original document is the strongest evidence yet in the case against Col. Çiçek, whose signature is allegedly on the document.

According to the document, the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) had a systematic plan to damage the image of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) government and

the Gülen movement in the eyes of the public, to play down the Ergenekon investigation and to gather support for members of the military arrested as part of the Ergenekon inquest.

The TSK, however, denied possession of the plot and said it was a "piece of paper" aimed at undermining the credibility of the armed forces.

On Saturday, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan spoke against powers that may be working to damage his government and said his government would closely follow the legal proceedings against the plot until they are concluded. "We will never allow anyone to put a stain on our state and republic with such incidents. The legal process is ongoing. **CONTINUED ON PAGE 17**



Col. Dursun Çiçek

➤ ATK EXAMINATION ELIMINATES ALL DOUBTS ON AUTHENTICITY OF PLOT PAGE 17

➤ ÇİÇEK MAY FACE DISCHARGE AT YAŞ MEETING IN DECEMBER PAGE 17

### Turkey's democratic steps have a lot in common with US interests

YONCA POYRAZ DOĞAN, İSTANBUL

Michael Werz, a senior fellow at the Center for American Progress (CAP), a liberal think tank in Washington, D.C., has said if Turkish society continues on its path of democratic reform and vigorous public debate about its future, it will play an important role in the region where it has a lot of interests in common with the United States.

"Turkey is engaged in developing its foreign and domestic policies for the coming decades. Since this foreign policy and the exercise of Turkish power are tied to a democratic political process, it will have a lot of contact points with US interests and policies in the region," he said. The Turkish government has been breaking taboos as a dialogue concerning the country's most burning issues, including the Kurdish problem, has started. **CONTINUED ON PAGE 16**

### Schools closed in Ankara after first death from H1N1

İBRAHİM ASALIOĞLU, ANKARA

Turkey, which has documented slowly increasing numbers of swine flu cases since it was first discovered in the country in May, recorded its first fatality from the virus on Saturday. A 29-year-old man, Mustafa Güneş, died at the Atatürk Sanatorium after being misdiagnosed and treated for pneumonia. After the death of Güneş, Ankara Governor Kemal Onal announced that the governorate had decided to suspend primary and secondary schools in the capital for seven days from Monday on to ward against the further spread of H1N1 in the city.

Onal advised parents to not send their children to other educational programs such as private courses. The governor also said they will consider the situation next weekend and will share their decision on whether to extend the school closures with the public. **CONTINUED ON PAGE 15**



PHOTOGRAPH

## TWIN SUICIDE CAR BOMBS IN BAGHDAD KILL NEARLY 140

Two suicide car bombs exploded in downtown Baghdad on Sunday, killing at least 136 people and delivering a powerful blow to the heart of the fragile city's government in the worst attack of the year, officials said. While violence has dropped dramatically in the country since the height of the sectarian tensions, such bombings like Sunday's demonstrate the precarious nature of the security gains and the insurgency's abilities to still pull off devastating attacks in the center of what is supposed to be one of Baghdad's most

secure areas. Black smoke could be seen billowing from the frantic scene, as emergency service vehicles sped to the area. Even civilian cars were being commandeered to transport the wounded to hospitals. "The walls collapsed and we had to run out," said Yasmeen Afdhal, 24, an employee of the Baghdad provincial administration, which was targeted by one of the car bombs. "There are many wounded, and I saw them being taken away. They were pulling victims out of the rubble, and rushing them to ambulances." **CONTINUED ON PAGE 18**

### GOVERNMENT HALTS RETURN OF PKK-AFFILIATED GROUPS TO TURKEY

The government has decided to halt the return of individuals linked to the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) for a time in order to reassess the democratization process due to agitation among various segments of society. "We don't have any right to destroy one part while trying to construct the other part," Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan was quoted as saying on Saturday.

The PKK declared over the weekend that they will not send additional groups to surrender to authorities. Last Monday eight members of the PKK and 26 people from the Makhmur refugee camp, which is considered by Ankara to be a hotbed for the PKK, turned themselves in to Turkish security forces. After initial interrogations, they were released and received a festive welcome, leading to criticism from many segments of society, including the government and opposition parties. **CONTINUED ON PAGE 15**

### INVESTMENT DECLINES BY TL 61.6 BLN AS PRIVATE INVESTING FALLS IN 2009

Total investment in Turkey is expected to register a decline of TL 61.6 billion this year, ringing in at TL 148.7 billion at year-end, mainly due to a drop in private sector investment. According to the State Planning Organization's (DPT) "General Economic Goals and Investments" report for 2010, total private sector investment is expected to fall from TL 169.7 billion in 2008 to TL 107.8 billion this year. The total amount of public investment, which was TL 40.6 billion last year, is not predicted to change much this year, increasing slightly to TL 40.9 billion. The report forecasts a decline in total investment from TL 210.3 billion last year to TL 148.7 billion this year. **CONTINUED ON PAGE 10**



'Being in Turkey these days, it is impossible to miss that many things are happening at the same time; from a cautious conversation with the PKK to border opening discussions with Armenia to a very public debate about the Ergenekon trial. ... Since this foreign policy and the exercise of Turkish power are tied to a democratic political process, it will have a lot of contact points with US interests and policies in the region'

# TURKEY'S DEMOCRATIC STEPS HAVE A LOT IN COMMON WITH US INTERESTS



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In that respect, eight members of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) returned to Turkey from the Kandil Mountains, where the PKK has a camp, and 26 came back from Makhmur, a refugee camp in northern Iraq. And the government is expected to unveil more measures to expand democratic rights and freedoms for all citizens of the country.

Answering questions for Monday Talk while in Istanbul to participate in a round table meeting on Turkey's foreign policy in the Middle East organized by the Heinrich Böll Stiftung office in Turkey, Werz noted that CAP recommended to the US administration in its report titled "The Neglected Alliance. Restoring US-Turkish Relations to Meet 21st Century Challenges," in late 2008 that President Barack Obama include Turkey in the itinerary of his first official visit to Europe.

Is it fair to say that US society reacted to the events of Sept. 11 in a way that has been problematic?

Yes, the United States reacted to the events of Sept. 11 in a way that temporarily undermined some of the most important constitutional traditions. On the other hand, it was interesting to see that the reaction in the United States was also one of unity; even the conservative Republican mayor of New York, Rudy Giuliani, immediately said that this attack should not be held against American Muslims. And George W. Bush was the first American president to visit a mosque. This proved that the substance of democratic pluralism in American society is very hard to destroy.

Has Barack Obama changed policies compared to the previous administrations?

He definitely has as he has changed the tone of the conversation. But he also has done a lot more than that. One example: The Center for American Progress published a report on Turkey in December 2008 recommending that President Obama on his first trip to Europe should visit Turkey as part of his Europe travel. And he did so. This is a clear sign that the current US administration sees Turkey as a transatlantic partner, independent of EU membership. Turkey is important in its own right, and the president decided to begin a conversation about common interests. This also means that Turkey has the chance to take over international responsibilities and become a more important stakeholder in international affairs.

Could you elaborate on those responsibilities?

Well, let me make very clear that Turkey is a democratic society and will decide on its own where its interests lie. But it is certain that the country will be growing in importance. For example, from Washington's perspective it is obvious that Turkey has become not a consumer, but provider of regional security and stability for Europe and for the Western alliance. Again, this has to do with the fact that Turkey is democratic and that it is geographically located in the center of many dynamics that will be important for both Europeans and Americans. I think one can say that there are great expectations that Turkey will continue its constructive role vis-à-vis rapprochement of Israel and Syria and that Turkey will play a role in helping to frame and discuss the greater Middle East stability initiatives.

Being in Turkey these days, it is impossible to miss that many things are happening at the same time; from a cautious conversation with the PKK to border opening discussions with Armenia to a very public debate about the Ergenekon trial. This indicates that Turkey is engaged in developing its foreign and domestic policies for the coming decades. Since this foreign policy and the exercise of Turkish power are tied to a democratic political process, it will have a lot of contact points with US interests and policies in the region.

## Balancing democracy and change

Is it possible to talk about a set foreign policy in Turkey?

It is fair to say that Turkish foreign policy makers currently try to meet several challenges simultaneously, and the Foreign Ministry seems to be well prepared for this difficult task. We all know Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's book "Strategic Depth." He is certainly someone approaching the practical questions with a theoretical mindset. As far as I can see, it is too early to say that Turkish foreign policy is set in stone; and this is good, because there are shifting alliances and problems in the immediate neighborhood. It will be interesting to observe how pragmatically Turkish foreign policy adapts to an ever-changing environment and, at the same time, how much it will stick to its democratic principles. These two pillars have to be continuously balanced.

Do you see signs of it?

The fact that the Turkish government was prepared to go to Zurich and sign a statement with the Armenians shows that it had to be pragmatic to accomplish what was needed -- and sometimes not talking is better than talking. Are there domes-



## Michael Werz, senior fellow at the Center for American Progress

His work focuses on climate migration and security as well as transatlantic foreign policy including Turkey. Previously, he was a senior transatlantic fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States and served as the executive director of the New York office of the Hessen Universities Consortium. He taught sociology at the University of Hannover in Germany and has held appointments as a public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., and as a John F. Kennedy Memorial Fellow at Harvard's Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies.

## Democratic reforms will enhance Turkey's role

In one of your recent research papers, you wrote about how future US policies will be determined by its relations in the region between the Suez Canal and India. You write: "There is every indication that the 21st century will be the Pacific century. On top of that, the USA for the foreseeable future will be penned in, militarily and geographically, to the region between the Suez Canal and India. One possible consequence of the factors we have mentioned will be that Europe will be pushed geographically and politically from the center to the margin in terms of global importance if a conscious effort is not made to establish a balance between Atlantic and Pacific together with the USA." Where does Turkey fit into that picture?

Indeed, the Pacific will become a much more dynamic entity and it will connect Latin America, North America, Southeast Asia and East Asia in a much more intense way. If the Pacific moves into the center of world history, this means that the European world will be in the shadows. However, Turkey has a peculiar role and it has a lot to offer not only to the United States, but also to the region and Europe. It is uniquely situated in geographical as well as political terms, which will make it the exception to the rule of decreasing European geopolitical relevance. In addition, it is a large country with 70 million people

which has had a pretty stable economic development over the last 15 years. Another important difference vis-à-vis the other EU countries and Russia is its young population -- in its demographic set up, Turkey is a future-oriented nation. And if society continues its path of democratic reform and vigorous public debate about its future, it will play an important role.

One further point: To develop successful foreign policy in Turkey, you have to be very sophisticated because it is surrounded by so many different countries. It is impossible just to say: This is the unchangeable principle of the Turkish foreign policy and we are going to apply it blindly, whether that is Greece, Lebanon, Syria or Russia. This is not going to work. It has to develop a differentiated and complex approach to each and every one of its neighbors and also take into account how they relate to each other. This is a very complicated region of the world and it is much more challenging to do foreign policy in Turkey than it is in Belgium, France or Germany. If Turkey succeeds in producing politicians and policy makers that are able to negotiate in this complex environment, it will have a class of people uniquely qualified to be leaders in international organizations and able to understand ethnic, religious and other non-traditional conflicts.

I don't think this was a helpful comment. On the other hand, one would hope that Turkey sees that its interests are tied to Israel in more ways than one. There are not only common security and national interests. These are the two stable and vibrant democracies in the region and it is important to realize that there is a lot of overlap and to deepen cooperation in as many fields as possible.

And Iran. Do you think the United States will continue in its soft power approach in the face of Iran's nuclear ambitions and anti-Israel stance?

This depends on Iran. Iran has the choice to return to the international community as a responsible stakeholder. No one doubts that Iran has the right to the peaceful use of nuclear power. But it is clear that the combination of political rhetoric and development of nuclear material is reason for more than just concern. In my opinion, the US president has made the right deci-

sion to offer a conversation while at the same time not taking the military option off the table. Barack Obama has asked the European allies to support tougher sanctions and what ultimately happens will also depend upon them. One could only hope that the countries that are interested in regional stability will be part of a coalition that will convince Iran that it is in its own best interest to change course. The recent comments one could hear from Moscow when Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was visiting a few days ago were a promising step in that direction.

Do you think the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to President Obama puts pressure on him to continue his soft power policies?

Using soft power does not mean that you will limit yourself to the use of these tools. It is one instrument in the toolbox of American foreign policy. Everybody knows that the president is very capable of making tough decisions. And he will do so, because he has been elected to protect America's interests. But he also sees that it was an illusion when after the end of the Cold War many argued that a unipolar world had arisen where the United States was the remaining superpower. In relative terms, this is true because it has the largest economy and the most capable military as well as considerable political influence. But what is also true is that with one superpower gone, the other superpower is not as powerful as one might think. The neoconservatives have argued that American sovereignty trumps everything else, Barack Obama, as he has stated in his September speech at the United Nations, believes in the importance of international institutions and alliances. The world has become so complex and so many conflicts have evolved that this clearly shows the limits of power of one nation. Barack Obama understands that building coalitions does not mean minimizing American influence; instead it enhances American weight in the sense that the US more often than not represents not only its own national interests, but also the interests of others. Being a democratic nation and supporting self-determination and the rule of law, American foreign policy often goes beyond the narrow scope of its national interests. That insight has triggered the change in evaluating the relationship between hard power and soft power.

Obama will not limit himself to the use of soft power

Mr. Netanyahu recently said Turkey is not an honest broker.