

**ТУРЦИЯ НА ПУТИ
К РЕГИОНАЛЬНОМУ ЛИДЕРСТВУ**

(К 90-ЛЕТИЮ ТУРЕЦКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ)

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и предисл. П.В. Шлыков; . - .:

, 2015. – 300 .

ISBN 978-5-89282-632-7

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**Об одном случае не прямой полемики
Х. Нихадя Атсыза с И. Кафесоглу:
методологическая сторона противостояния
туранизма и турецкого национализма как двух
тенденций в развитии турецкой историографии
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⁵ Aynı eser. S. 17.

⁶ *Zeki Velidi Togan A.* Umumi Türk Tarihine Giri . stanbul, 1946 (Tarih Ara tırmaları. 2. Cild 1). Cild 1. En Eski Devirlerden 16. Asra Kadar. S. 64–65.

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⁵ «Nihal Atsız'ın, slâmı algılayışı bakımından Kemalist mirasın açık tesiri altındaki soy Türkçülüğü ile, Kafeso lu'nun stratejik kaygılarla kotardığı sentez arasındaki asıl fark,

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» (“*Türk Millî Kültürü*”)¹.

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ikinci çizginin zamanla, milliyetçi muhafazakar iktidar stratejisinin avantajlarını kavramasıyla ili kilidir. Yani söz konusu olan, Türkiye örne inde fazlasıyla kurgusal ve kitabi kaçan milliyetçili in, kitlelerle ba kurmak için slam’ın, muhafazakâr bir yorumuna ihtiyaç duymasındır» (*Ta kın Y. Anti-Komünizmden Küreselle me Kar ıtlı ına Milliyetçi Muhafazakâr Entelijansiya. stanbul, 2007. S. 146–147. . : Gülen F. Aydınlar Oca i Opus Dei // http://www.odatv.com/n.php?n=aydinlar-ocagi-opus-dei-fethullah-gulen-2002121200 [: 22.09.2013]).*

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¹ *Kafeso lu* . Türk Milli Kültürü.S. 40.

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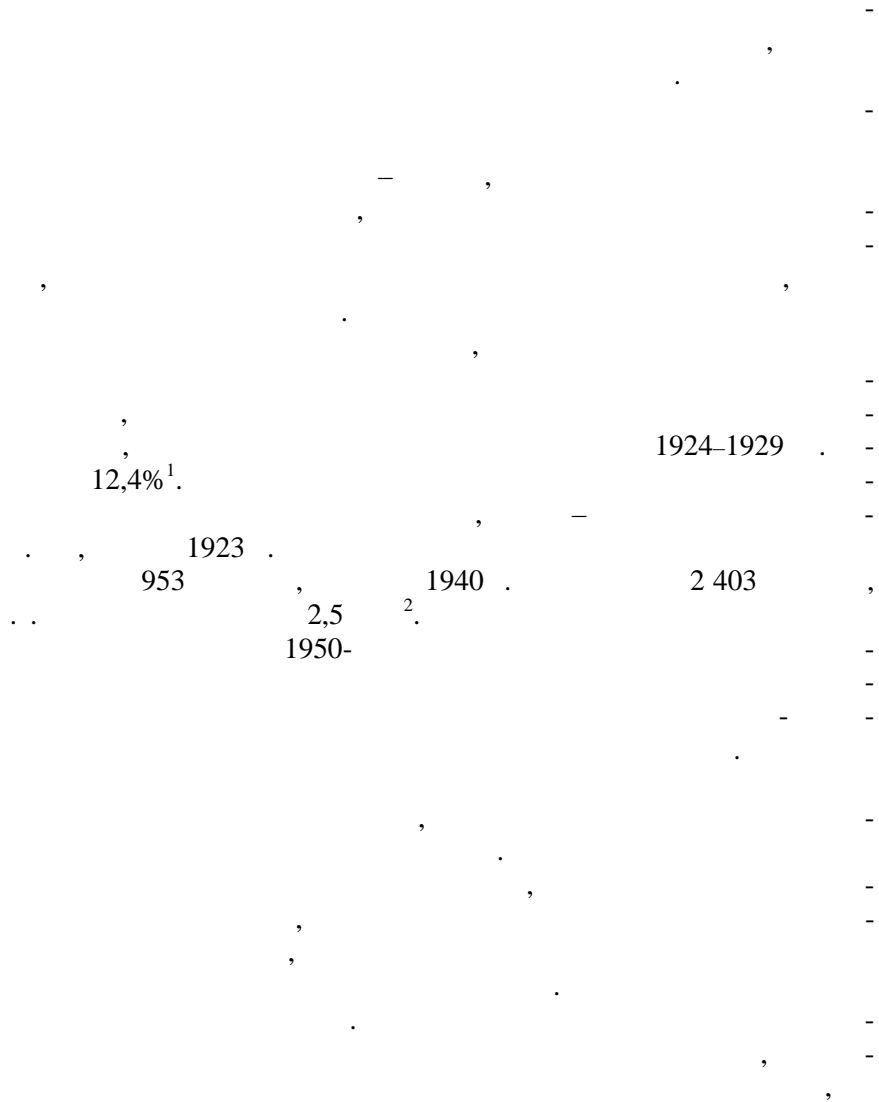
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² Kepenek Y. N. Yenitürk Türkiye Ekonomisi. İstanbul, 1994. S. 45, 71.

2- 3- 1970-

1983 .

22,4%,
21,6%¹.

30% , 1960- 1970- 10%, 1980-

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(%,)

1925	48,8	9,7	42,3
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¹ bid.

1938	40,3	16,7	43
1945	38,4	16,3	45,3
1950	41,7	14,6	43,7
1960	37,9	17,2	44,9
1970	36,9	17	46,1
1980	25,8	19	55,2
1990	17,3	25,3	57,4
2000	13,5	22,3	64,1
2005	10,1	24,4	65,5
2010	9,4	32,7	57,3
2011	9,2	33	57,8

: Kepenek Y., Yantürk N. Türkiye Ekonomisi. İstanbul, 1997. S. 45, 71, 106, 407. TÜİK. İstatistik Göstergeleri 1923–2011. Ankara, 2012. S. 732.

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¹ bid.

² URL: www.invest.gov.tr/ru; www.regnum.ru/news/economy/1677387.html.

, 123,3 ; 129,7 – , 117,0 , 126,7 –¹ .
 2010 = 100, 2012 . 113; 116
 2011 . 30,8
 2002 , . . . 108,5 .
 3² .
 2012–2013 . 148³ . 2009–2010 . 41-

¹ TÜ K.Türkiye statistik Yıllı ı 2012. Ankara, 2013. S. 234.

² bid. S. 515.

³ Competitiveness Report 2012–2013// www.i-g-to.org/2012/09/051

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2008	23,5	3,7	0,9	2,8	19,8	7,1	12,6
2009	20,0	3,9	0,8	3,1	16,1	5,9	10,2
2010	23,9	4,2	0,8	3,3	19,7	6,3	13,4
2011	25,9	3,8	0,7	3,0	22,1	6,8	15,4
2012	24,7	4,0	1,0	3,0	20,7	6,7	14,0

: TÜ K. Türkiye statistik Yıllı ı 2012. Ankara, 2013. S. 357.

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¹ UN Statistical Yearbook 2011. N-Y., 2013. . 43.

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Альтернативные подходы к периодизации экономической истории Турецкой Республики

Альтернативные подходы к периодизации экономической истории Турецкой Республики

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¹ .. : Bakır . Mekezdeki Banka. Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası ve Uluslararası Bir Kar ılastırma. İstanbul, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007. S. 45.

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¹ Economic and Social Indicators (1950–2003). Ankara, DPT, 2004. Table 1.1, 3.11.URL: <http://dpt.gov.tr>.

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¹ Onis Z. *The State and Economic Development in Contemporary Turkey: Etatism to Neo-liberalism and Beyond // Turkey between East and West. New Challengers for a Rising Regional Power.* Oxford, 1996. P. 169.

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¹ Boratav K. Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2002. 7. Baskı. Ankara, İMGE Kitabevi, 2003. S. 123-124.

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¹ Boratav K. Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908–2002. S. 216.

² Onis Z. The State and Economic Development in Contemporary Turkey. . 171.

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¹ AB'ye girmeyi isteyenler azaldı [Elektronik kaynak] // NTVMSNBC [Resmi Kaynak], 15.11.2012, URL: <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/119201.asp>.

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URL: www.dipacademy.ru/doc/avtoref_razlivaev.doc.

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<http://iph.ras.ru/uplfile/aspir/autoreferat/Socheneva.pdf>.

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¹ Sayınaltın S. Avrupa Para Sisteminin İncelenmesi ve Maastricht Anlaşması'nın Etkileri. İstanbul, 2004. S. 232.

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¹ İnsan Hakları Koordinatör Üst Kurulu Sekreteryası e güdümünde hazırlanan Rapor: Kopenhag Kriterleri I 1 ında Türkiye'nin Alması Gereken Önlemler: Demokrasi, Hukukun Üstünlü ü, İnsan Hakları Takvimi, Yeni Türkiye, 6(36). Kasım-Aralık, 2000.

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¹ Selçuk S. Demokrasi ve İnsan Hakları: Avrupa Birliği // Yeni Türkiye, 6 (35), 2000.

² : , 2010. . 85-86.

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¹ *Hürriyet*, 14.07.2010.

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¹ *Milliyet*, 14.07.2010.

² *Sabah*, 14.07.2010.

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¹ *Zaman*, 15.07.2010.

² *Hürriyet*, 09.07.2010.

³ *Radikal*, 08.07.2010.

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¹ *Milliyet*, 15.07.2010.

² *Anadolu Ajansı*, 14.07.2010.

³ Davuto lu A. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu*. İstanbul, 2009. S. 199–202.

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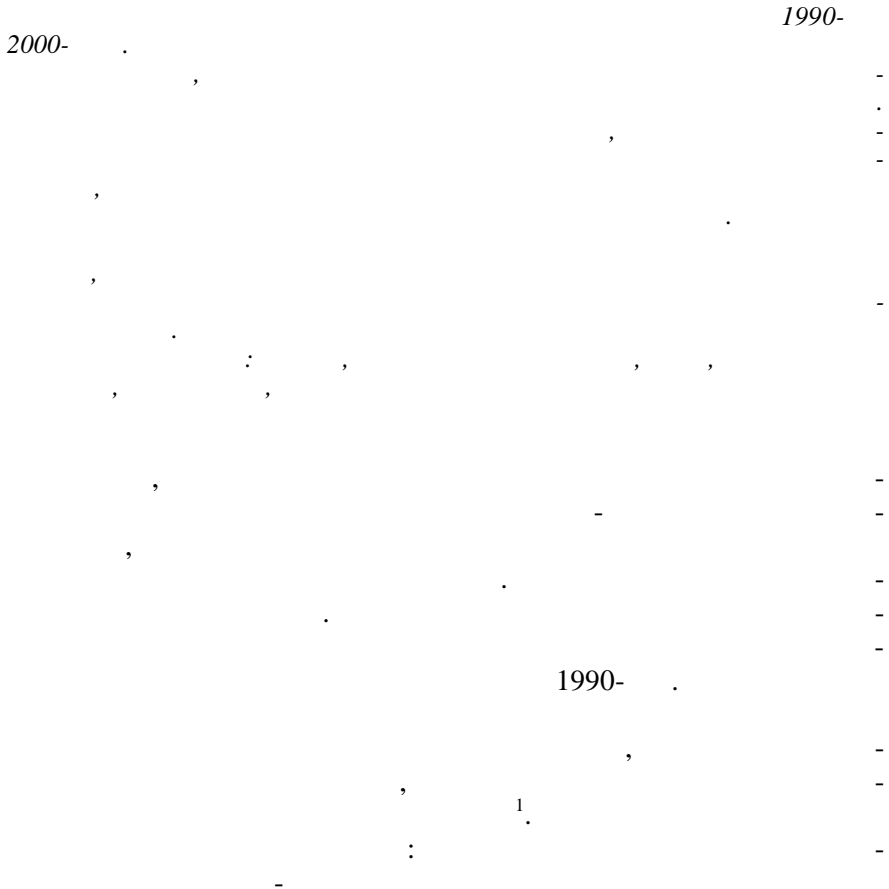
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**Динамика взаимоотношений
гражданского общества Турции
со структурами Евросоюза**



¹ Smith T.W. The Politics of Conditionality: the European Union and Human Rights Reform in Turkey // The European Union & Democratization. London: Routledge, 2002. P. 111–132; Vachudova, Milada A. Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. P. 19–23.

1990- 2000- .

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¹ Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and Candidate Countries. Brussels, 2005. Section 2.2.3.2. URL: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0290:FIN:EN:PDF>

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1999 . (Pre-Accession Financial Assistance, 2007 . – Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance, IPA)¹ –

2002 . 2013 .
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» (Sivil Toplum Destek Ekibi)² 2003 .
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lum Geli tirme Merkezi),
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» (Sivil Toplum Geli tirme Programı),
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(*Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance, IPA*)³,

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» (*Lifelong Learning Program*), «
» (*Framework Pro-
grammes for Research and Technological Development*), «
»²,

(*Kadın Aydınları Destekleme Derneği – KADER*)

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37
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1990- 2000- .

Kürdi-Der)

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¹ (Helsinki Yurttaşlar Derneği - HYD). : Zihniolu Ö. European Union Civil Society Policy and Turkey: A Bridge Too Far? Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. P. 50-71

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¹ : Zihnio lu Ö. European Union Civil Society Policy and Turkey: A Bridge Too Far? Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. P. 50–71.

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¹ Sivil Toplum zleme Raporu. stanbul: TÜSEV Yayınları, 2013.

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<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org>.

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[Avrupa Birli i Uyum Yasa Paketleri. Ankara, 2007. P. 7–10]

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Культурная политика Турецкой республики: факторы и направление эволюции



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К середине XIX в. различия между двумя мирами (Востоком и Западом) все еще были чрезмерно велики... Долгое время оба эти мира уживались в одном сознании без какого то ни было взаимного синтеза, а величайшей проблемой турецкого общества было существование этого дуалистического мировоззрения, в раках которого не удавалось добиться какого бы то ни было взаимного влияния...¹

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**Новые тенденции в развитии
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**Исторические, идеологические и географические
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ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ БЛИЖНЕВОСТОЧНОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ ТУРЦИИ В РЕСПУБЛИКАНСКИЙ ПЕРИОД

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**Пакистано-турецкие отношения
на современном этапе (2011–2013 гг.)**

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Основные этапы турецко-российского сотрудничества в республиканский период

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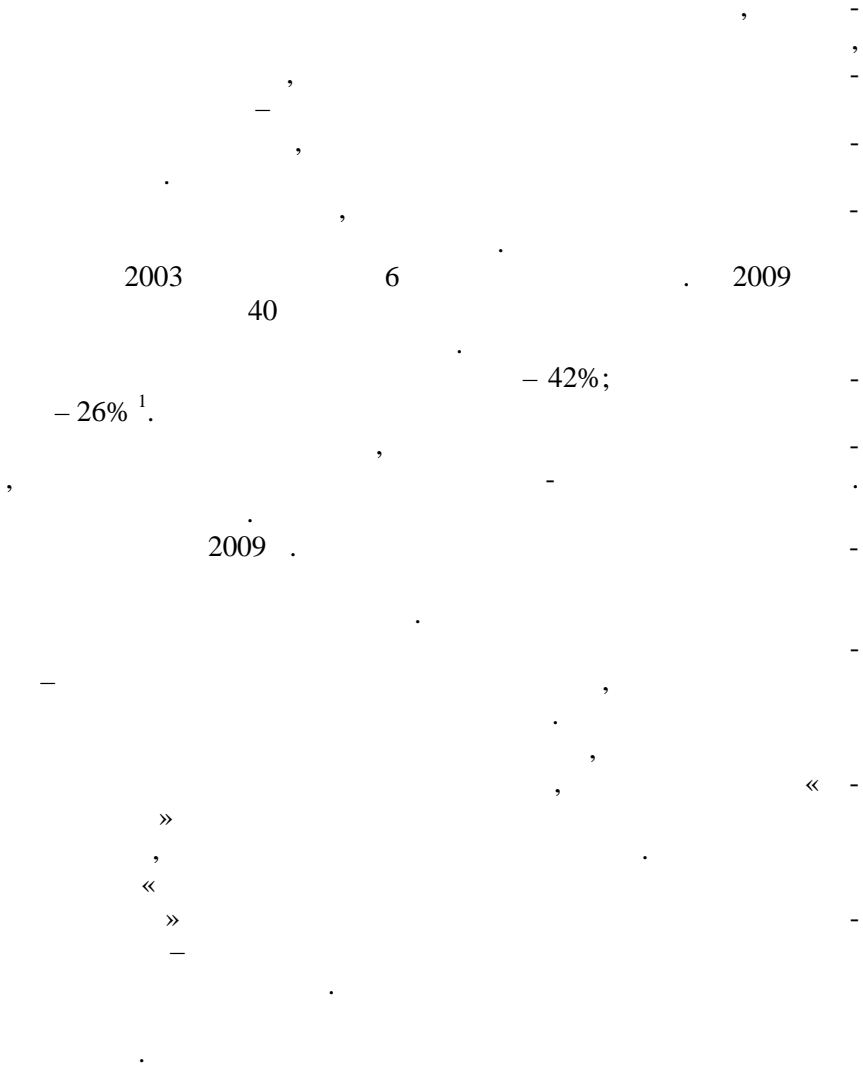
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**Некоторые неизвестные аспекты
советско-турецких отношений в 1920-е годы**

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SUMMARIES

Svetlana F. Oreshkova. The Ottoman legacy and the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

At its formation the Turkish Republic was able to abandon the Ottoman Imperial traditions, the ideology of pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism, to get rid of the shackles of the Caliphate. In Turkey the new national ideology rejecting the usage of Islam for political purposes has started its formation, The new Kemalist elite has formed on its base and the country has made significant progress in state-building and economic development. Currently in the Republic of Turkey the new elites are trying to protest the Kemalist foundations. Being European-educated but these elites grew out of those people's depths, where Islamic traditions continued to exist. New Islamism whose birth Kemalists could not foresee is spreading its influence.

Key words: Kemalism, the national vow, the Imperial tradition, the Caliphate, the new Islamism, Orhan Pamuk.

Nikolay G. Kireev. The participation of Muslims-patriots of Turkey in the struggle for independence(1919-1922)

The article discusses the participation of religious leaders in the national liberation struggle of the Turkish people, focuses on the facts proving the difference in approach of the Ottoman clergy to the Kemalist movement. "Court" theologians supported the Sultan, losing as a result their respect in the eyes of ordinary Muslims, and secular M. Kemal, who fought for Homeland of Turks, occurred to be stronger than Islamic Caliph, ready to cede the country to foreigners. The author considers the participation of religious leaders and ordinary Muslims in the struggle for independence to be decisive factor in its success.

Key words: religion, state, M. Kemal, the Ottoman clergy.

Vladimir V. Tishin. On the one case of indirect polemics of H. Nihâl Atsız against . Kafeso lu: a methodological aspect of the controversy between the Turanism and Turkish nationalism as a two trends in the development of Turkish historiography of 1950th – 1960th years

The article discusses the problem of one possible case of indirect polemics of Hüseyin Nihâl Atsız against brahim Kafeso lu and his ideological concept of “Turkish Islamic Synthesis”. In view of author, it can possible to speak about two different trends in Turkish historiography of 1950th – 1960th years, such as the global Turanist and Turkish nationalistic direction was the most radical in its interpretation of the Turkic history.

Key words: Turkism, Turanism, Turkish nationalism, historiography

Elena.I. Urazova. Structural changes in the economics of Turkey

This article gives a review of the major stages and key factors of the Republic Turkey’s rise from the level of lagging agricultural of undeveloped countries to the average state of economic development with diversified industrial and service business.

Key words: Turkey, GDP structure, industrialization, modernization

Natalia Y. Ulchenko. Alternative approaches to the periodization of Turkish Republic economic history

The paper introduces the alternative approach to the periodization of Turkish Republic economic history. During the Soviet period the point of view has been dominated in Russia under which the change in the level of presence of public property in the national economy, especially in industry was the main character of the period or economic strategy of the period. In the article the nature of interdependent fiscal and monetary policies was chosen as the main character of the periods in the development of the Turkish economy, as the reason for the their changes is explained within the approaches of institutional Economics. As a result a more multidimensional picture of the economic development of Turkey has become available as well as prediction of its father prospects.

Key words: economic history of the Turkish Republic, periodization, period, statism, state ownership, fiscal policy, budget deficit, monetary policy, inflation, institutional Economics, economic populism.

Amur G. Gadzhiev. The integration of Turkey and the EU: The Milestones of the Big Way

European integration is a strategic choice and one of the most important projects of “the Republican era”. However, over the last ten years there have been changes in Turkey, shaken the foundations of the republic. Ankara’s attitude towards Europe began to change. If before the Turkish authorities stressed that Turkey belongs to the European continent, but today, on the contrary, “Europe is the actual continuation of Asia in the north-west”. The Turkish society, tired of waiting half a century, became more and more convinced of the illusory prospects of their full participation in the affairs of the united Europe. But yet, formally, the course towards European integration is still keeping.

Key words: European integration, full membership, Customs Union, the EU institutions, the Copenhagen criteria.

Pavel V. Shlykov. The Dynamics of Relations between Turkish Civil Society and Institutions of the European Union

The sphere of civil society in Turkey has been undergoing functional and substantial transformation since the 1990s which expanded tools and possibilities of civil society’s interference with Turkish politics. One of important drivers behind this process is the EU which long ago recognized the importance of civil society and considers the use of civil society institutions as key factor for the success of the European politics. Using the wide corpus of primary sources and modern social theories the present paper focuses on the mechanisms of cooperation between the EU institutions and civil society in Turkey and consequences of this interaction.

Key words: Turkey, civil society, NGO, political culture, democracy, EU.

Yordanka Bibina. Republic of Turkey’s Cultural policy: factors and the ways of evolution

Cultural policy is a general term for different models of governing in the field of culture at various times, but mainly used in scientific research since the second half of the 20th century. As a matter of fact not only the intrinsic cultural factors affects the cultural policies but also political, economic, socialones, as well as radical turns in the social history. They differ from country to country in accordance with their historical past and

cultural transformation they passed through . So generally speaking, the cultural policies models resulted from different historical accumulations and dynamics of cultural processes themselves, that could be best understood in the specific cultural and historical context of a country. Although cultural policy is not limited only to state government, the existing models of today are mainly determined by the degree of public/state participation in the development of culture in a country and could be divided into a few models: centralized, decentralized, federal and semi-autonomous. The proposed analytical overview is not intended to be exhaustive and detailed description of cultural policies in the Republic of Turkey since the establishment of the state to now, but rather is trying to put some essential questions and to give some answers on what models of cultural policies have been applied in the Turkish Republic during the long period of ninety years in terms of main objectives, principles of governance, long-term outcomes for the Turkish society; have the early so called ‘kemalist model’ been changed under the influence of the profound social and and political circumstances occurred in the mid-20th century and if so, to what extent and how; what are the latest trends and orientations in the field of cultural policies of the governments of Party of Justice and Development in the last decade; to what extent are they sustainable in the face of globalization challenges and whether measures taken in terms of privatisation in the field of culture or decentralization are result of public consensus; are they consistent enough to achieve the desired cultural diversity and democratic participation.

Key words: Republic of Turkey, cultural policy, Kemalism, globalization, decentralization of the cultural policy.

Maria M. Repenkova. New trends in the development of Turkish Literature at the turn of XX – XXI centuries

The article discloses the main reasons of literal (wider – cultural) situation radical changes in Turkey at the border of the centuries, inquires the literal field structure of the country, analyses its sub-fields and their interaction, gives proof of the development intensity and the detective marginal style (genre) advancement to the first plan.

Key words: literal field, Turkish submodernism, “narrativists”, “new narrators”, simulacrus, popular literature, paradigm, detective style.

Alim V. Suleymanov. Historical, ideological and geographical determinants Turkey's foreign policy

The article examines the key factors affecting the implementation of the foreign policy of the Turkish Republic – history, ideology and geography. The first should include historical heritage of Turkey, to get her from the Ottoman Empire. The second factor is the doctrinal guidance of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and their impact. The third factor – a particular geographical situation of Turkey. The author reveals in detail the content and assesses their role in the development of Turkish state.

Key words: Turkey, the Ottoman Empire, Ataturk, Kemalism, republicanism, secularism, populism, statism.

Inessa I. Ivanova. Evolution of the Turkish Middle East policy during the Republican period

The Middle East policy of Turkey is an essential part of the Turkish foreign policy in general and during more than 90 years of the republican period it has gone evolution. This article deals with a short characteristic of the Middle East direction of the Turkish foreign policy in the period of Ataturk governing, during and after the cold war. Special emphasis was placed on analyzing this theme during the period of AK Party rule.

After World War II the foreign policy of Turkey, the ruling circles of which were serving as an obedient tool of British and American influence, met distrust from the side of the most of the Arabian leaders as well as people of Arabian countries. This was intensified by friendly relations which were established in 1949 between Turkey and Israel.

After coming into power in 2002 of the AK Party, the Middle East foreign policy started to acquire its shape. In this connection a certain shift towards Arabian countries took place at the same time with the realization of the "zero problem policy" with the neighbor states.

The "Arab Spring" which broke out at the turn of 2010–2011 significantly amended the relations with the countries of the region and the "zero problem policy" turned into "loads of problems". The Turkish-Syrian relations have seen a dramatic turn, relations with Iran have strained because of instability in the country as well as with the position of Turkey. Certain rivalry between Turkey and Iran has become apparent ; relations between Turkey and Israel have strained. After the dismissal of the Presi-

dent of Egypt Morsi the government of AK Party lost its significant ally in the Middle East.

Although we can speak about some attempts undertaken after 2013 to return to the previous "zero problem policy"(some cautious steps towards Iraq, Iran and Israel), there were no visible changes for better in the relations with Syria and Egypt.

Key words: republican period, AK Party, "zero problem policy", "Arab Spring"

Natalia M. Gorbunova. Some aspects of the Turkish-Lebanese relations in retrospective and perspective view of the situation in the Middle East

The analysis of the relations between Turkey and Lebanon from the point of view of the current prolonged Middle East crisis and particularly with the regard to the Syrian armed conflict can highlight the characteristic features and the main tendencies of the Turkish foreign policy regarding neighbor countries and Lebanon in particular.

Formally Lebanon is taking a neutral stand in the Syrian crisis. At the same time, concerning Syria the Lebanese society is split into two uncompromising parts.

As far as Turkey is concerned, under such circumstances it has made a decision to turn the Kurdish problem into the negotiation course having toned down its position. This enabled Ankara to take an active part in the adjustment of the conflictual relationship between Syria and Lebanon. Recently there have been numerous mutual visits of the Turkish and Lebanese official leaders. At the same time, supporting the forces struggling against B. Asad makes the Turkish foreign policy rather single-sided.

Turkey and Lebanon are evidently both interested in the peaceful adjustment of the critical regional problems as far as the escalation of the crisis can extend the area of influence of the Sunnis and the Shiites on the territory of Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and can lead to the unpredictable consequences for the whole Middle East region.

Key words: Middle East crisis, Syrian crisis, Kurdish problem, peaceful adjustment of regional problems

Natalia A. Zamaraeva. Pakistan-Turkish relations (2013–2014)

The paper is devoted to the analysis of further development of bilateral political, military and economic relations. The author focuses on the efforts of the two countries to strengthen regional security, the fight against piracy and the threat of international terrorism, as well as studying the causes and objective circumstances preventing the growth of trade between the two countries.

Key words: regional security, international terrorism, trade, Pakistan, Turkey.

Irina A. Svistunova. Contemporary Turkey–Iran relations: bilateral cooperation and regional rivalry

Deepening economic cooperation between Turkey and Iran limits their regional rivalry at the time of growing instability in the Middle East. It is clear however that the aims of Turkey and Iran in the Syrian crisis will continue to diverge, and the two countries will strive for that kind of settlement, which gives each of them the biggest advantages in the region. Therefore the situation in Syria will continue to be an important aspect for the Turkish-Iranian relations and will have its impact on regional rivalry between Ankara and Tehran in the Middle East.

Keywords: Turkey, Iran, Turkish foreign policy, Turkey–Iran relations, Middle East.

Gennadiy I. Starchenkov. Turkey in the period of "Arab unrest"

The article analyzes Turkey's policy in the period of the crisis of the Arab secular regimes in 2011–2013. As the author has concluded Turkey had occurred in a difficult foreign policy situation because the personal diplomacy of Prime Minister R. T. Erdogan, who sought to strengthen Turkey's influence in the Middle East during the "Arab unrest", led to the fact that Turkey had seriously affected its relations with its Arab neighbors.

Key words: Turkey, middle East, foreign policy, "Arab spring", R.T. Erdogan

Andrey V. Boldyrev. The Black Sea Straits in Russian-Turkey Relations in XX–XXI centuries

The article is devoted to the role of the Black sea Straits in Russian-Turkish relations in the XX–XXI centuries. According to the author, the Straits largely determined the policy of Turkey and Russia in the XX century and have retained its value in our days. Until the mid-XX century The USSR sought to limit the influence of Turkey in the black sea region through joint control of the Straits. In response, Turkey has tried to defend its sovereignty. Currently, the most urgent problems are shipping through the Straits, bypass oil pipelines and the military regime of Bosphorus and Dardanelles. In addition, both countries have different ideas about the international legal status of the channels. This leads to periodic difficulties in relations between Russia and Turkey.

Key words: Russia, Turkey, the Black sea region, the Black sea Straits of Bosphorus, the Dardanelles.

Gul A.Uysal. Main Stages of Turkish- Russian Cooperation during the Republican Period

After the election on 29.10.1923 of M. Kemal as the president of the Turkish Republic the first international act of the country was an appeal to Russia suggesting the establishment of diplomatic relations and requesting financial and military aid. Soviet Russia was the first country which supported Turkey and supplied it with arms, ammunition and gold. At the beginning of 1920-s the general pattern of bilateral relations was formed, a significant part of which accounted for financial-economic aid from Russia.

The period of rapprochement between The Soviet Union and Turkey started after rising into power of the government of the leader of the Republican People's Party B. Edjevit. He supported strengthening relations with all neighbouring countries regardless the social system, particularly with the USSR. The main result of the official visit in June 1978 to the USSR of a governmental delegation headed by B. Edjevit was signing of political Document of the principles of neighbourliness and friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union and Turkish Republic. At the same time

an agreement concerning the delimitation of the continental shelf of the Black Sea was signed.

In spite of the competition between the two countries to gain influence over Caucasus and the Central Asia Russia and Turkey adhere to similar positions regarding many international problems. Turkey played a significant role in Russia's entry in OIC as an observer. At the same time Turkey also supported Russia's entry into WTO . Russia as well as Turkey tends to peaceful settlement in the Middle East and in Iran. Russia considers Turkey's future membership in EEC as beneficial for Russia as it will provide more allies in this community.

An active political dialogue between Moscow and Ankara is a solid base for development of efficient trade and investment cooperation. The exchange of visits in 2012 of the Turkish Prime Minister R. Erdogan to Moscow and the Russian President V. Putin to Istanbul contributed to this process. One of the future prospects is a significant rise in mutual trade and direct investment in the nearest future. It could be provided by implementation of governmental long-term strategies and projects.

Key words: Turkish-Russian, Caucasus, Central Asia, OIC, WTO.

***Mikhail A. Repenkov.* Some unknown aspects of the Soviet-Turkish relations in 1920-s**

The article investigates the early period of the Soviet Union and Kemalist Turkey relations, based upon Turkish and Russian archives documents. The comparative analysis of the comments of the said sources, carried out by domestic (Soviet and post-Soviet) as well as foreign (Turkish, British, American) researchers allows to bring to light unstudied earlier aspects in relations of the two countries.

Key words: Soviet-Turkish relations, Mustafa Kemal-Pasha (Ataturk), Entente countries, Moscow and Kars treaties (1921), Soviet-Turkish treaty of friendship and neutrality.

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