Since the Turkish Republic was established, “Peace at home, peace in the world” principle has always constituted the basis of Turkish foreign policy originated by the founder of Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. As formulated on this principle of Atatürk, Turkish foreign policy can be analysed in two terms. The first one refers to the traditional period which contains Turkey’s foreign policy until the end of the Cold War. The second terms includes the transformation process that has started in the late 1980s with Turgut Özal period and with the end of Cold War. (1)

In order to understand classical Turkish foreign policy, one has to focus on terms like status quo and Westernization concepts as key points. To maintain the status quo refers to keep the things as the way they presently are. Status quo was the main principle in classical Turkish foreign policy. On the other hand, Westernization was the second most important dynamic in classical Turkish foreign policy orientation starting from 1920s until 1980s. Westernization has been a pervasive and accelerating influence across the world in the last few centuries. Some thinkers assume that Westernization is equivalent to modernization, a way of thought that is often debated. The overall process of Westernization is often two-sided in that Western influences and interests themselves are joined with parts of the affected society, at minimum, to change towards a more Westernized society, in the hope of attaining Western life or some aspects of it. To assume, however, Western societies are not affected or changed by this process and interaction with non-Western groups is misleading. These two concepts; namely status quo and Westernization are decisive in traditional Turkish foreign policy understanding. After the War of Independence, main purpose of Turkey was to provide national integrity inside and sovereignty outside. Generally, Turkey set sight on security oriented foreign policy in the early years. During the Cold War years, the world system policy has started getting into a transformation period towards a bipolar system led by United States of America and Soviet Union. In this period, Turkey tried to engage with USA and to implement Westernization policies. Change in classical Turkish foreign policy has started in Özal period in the 1980s. This change is called “revolutionary” in many aspects. Many of the classical policies of Turkey were revised during this period. This coincided with the economic growth of Turkey, which in total provided a kind of autonomy to the country in foreign policy unlike the previous Western-dependent policies of the past. (2)
In 2002, Islamist originated Justice and Development Party (AKP) took majority of the votes in the country. This event was a precursor of the fundamental changes in the domestic policy and foreign policy that will take place in the years to come. Starting from AKP, Turkey has showed its willingness to act as the leader of its own region and with Foreign Minister Prof. Ahmet Davutoğlu’s principles, Turkey started to act more aggressively and in an assertive way in foreign policy. Balance between security and freedom, zero-problems with the neighbours, developing relations with the neighbouring regions, pro-active diplomacy, multi-dimensional foreign policy are main principles of Turkish foreign policy during AKP term. Especially, ‘Zero Problems with Neighbours’ attracts the most attention in the world political area and published lots of articles about it. I try to explain positive and negative situations of this concept in the active foreign policy of AKP in the period of 2002-... (3)

Turkish foreign policy shaped around zero problems with neighbours approach from 2002 to 2008. Turkey wants to regulate the region condition to decrease the conflict and gets the developing process in the actors of its own region such as its own neighbours and Middle East. The concept of the new strong man of the Middle East provides by unproblematic actors in the Turkey’s neighbours and Middle East area. How can Turkey do it? There is very simple answer this complex question; using diplomacy, soft power and taking on the responsibility of this region and world politics. Three important materials creates the roof of trouble-shooter. It is called zero problem with neighbours which created by Former Foreign Minister Prof. Ahmet Davutoğlu. During the period of 2002- 2008, Turkey faced lots of problem in this time as the result of intervention of Afghanistan, the intervention of Iraq, the issue of Cyprus, Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia, nuclear processing plants of Iran etc. we show that they are deep bog. Turkey used uninterrupted communication to political actors for getting the better of facing conflicts and finding a solution to the problems.

Zero problem-oriented approach to foreign policy began to change with the things are instruments to used in Turkey's foreign policy. Consequences of this event provided the soft power elements start leaving more foreground, Turkey outs the mold on military state concept to transform the commercial state concept, to fall into the background of the military component initiation and in foreign policy making process, to start the significant innovations about 'elected politicians' are more important than 'appointed bureaucrats'. But none of Turkey's foreign policy
means that foreign policy began to follow more value-oriented and identity policy to leave behind national interests and real politic approach factors. Changing things in a way consistent with the spirit of the time are the foreign policy tools and rhetoric. According to a new understanding of power in the region of Turkey consists of the result from his ability to convince and in the eyes of others attraction and shooting. Regional leadership and influence policies have become impossible to perform with the old methods to be adopted new methods and techniques. In this context, the Turkish foreign policy is similar to follow China's peaceful development policies. Economic development and acquisition of political influence remove the elimination of environmental instability and depends on the formation of positive detection in the eyes of neighbouring countries.

Before the Arab Spring, there was real three major events to take the initiative and facilitate to increase Turkey’s regional legitimacy. First, the United States and its own the military presence in Iraq was to see the task of guarantee as well as the area of security umbrella. Different ethnic and religious groups in Iraq began to develop a common Iraqi identity under favour of America which offered the guarantee of domestic security. Even before the US withdrawal from Iraq at the last two elections, , Iraq's central unit and politicians who care about the nation-state character achieved the success in 2009 local election and in the general election of 2010. US presence in the country facilitated the under control to parser religion and ethnicity and political dynamics. On the other hand, US military presence in Iraq helped in balancing efforts of Sunni Arab and Iran monarchies in the Gulf. In this case, the requirements of regional powers such as Turkey, Iraq act more comfortable and to be able to pursue objective policy as well as in the region in general. Almost all regional actors were to move with reference to the US military presence in Iraq. The basic dynamic was the existence and policies of The United States. All the other actors’ priority foreign policy issue was how to deal with US presence and policy. US presence and policies draw each of the actors in the region's fire and each of the actors in the region was enable them to establish pragmatic relations.

Second, the polarization in the region was not sharp until the moment. US military presence in Iraq with the effect of the Sunni-Shiite Iranian regime management had never seen in the current as well as potential threats. Turkey’s communication was to be much easier with the
different group in regions. Turkey is part of the Sunni Arab countries block that the direction was not a question of perception.

Thirdly, the Palestinian issue and the general sense of Arab-Israeli conflict occupied much space place in the regional agenda. The Palestinian issue and Israel's policy were on the agenda that has been criticized by everyone, the result of this condition provided that Turkey's maneuver was much higher. Critical attitude which was against Israel to had a positive impact the Turkey's image in the eyes of many of the actors. Turkey established the good relations with Hamas and supported it in domestic and foreign areas. Beginning at the time of the purpose of these relationships has attracted the criticism of Western actors. But, step by step, this sensation was changed and supported the Turkey’s radius of actions. A similar situation in the context of the Turkey-Syria relations was also mentioned. Turkey- Syria relationship began to see more support from the international community. Turkey planned clever policy to acceptable by the western countries, especially, by US. I think that this first steps achieved the success and zero problem of neighbour was be in full slate. Turkey's Middle East vision and compliance with policies of the US and EU policies seems to be consistent. Turkey's efforts in this direction which was to arbitrate in resolving regional conflicts, and exhibit a neutral stance towards different actors were consistent with the Middle East politics of The United States. Under favour of zero problem with neighbours, The result of Turkey's contribution of regional peace and stability reduced the negative air and provided the unity of components about the future features for the region states. The other important result of the policy of zero problems with neighbours would facilitate US global religious movements which are executed against terrorism and tried to resolve the problem of the negative impact of the US regional presence. The contributions of Turkey such as Iraq's integrity and overall peace and stability in the region is supported by US and maybe, this policy is very trend for the result of good benefits for the US region foreign policy. Because, US did not want to have internal turmoil of the disintegration of Iraq and other parts of the state. This probability of this condition might cut about US foreign policy. Turkey had a good position to use the soft power concept in the region and gain the high level of benefits. On the other hand, Turkey's Islam with liberal-democratic values is appreciated by US and Western Countries to this situation supported the US policy of against radical Islam. Before the Arab Spring, Turkey-Iran relationship was coming closer to the indirect interest of the United States. For as much as, US did not want to have a problem with Iran and US had very deep
problem with Iraq. Turkey took the initiative in reducing nuclear tensions between the West and Iran. It is related directly to benefits of US.

Another development that should be highlighted in this manner which is long time to be in good relations with Israel and Turkey that was a major pillar of the zero-problem policy which was the elimination of the conflict between Israel and Syria. Turkey arbitrated as mediator between Israel and Syria from 2006 to at the end of 2008.

Real political and interest-oriented character of Turkey with the context of relations between the European Union showed up oriented approach to foreign policy of zero problems with neighbours. This way was going to healthy but, some analysts argued that turkey has axis shift in the prior foreign policy. The way of axis shift was from Europe to Middle East. Importance of the main factors of Middle East for Turkey that Turkey’s security and national interests is starting to be affected by resulting of developments from this region. Zero problem policy in dealing with these challenges should adopt to be seen as a tool. Otherwise, Turkey does not huff the EU to begin to turn face of the Middle East. when you look closely the case, you look the matter of fact. Zero problems with neighbours and Turkey's approach to the Middle East provide the positive act in the eyes of EU, increase the bargaining power across the EU and facilitate Turkey's possible EU membership. This policy provides to get dialogues and losing the control of the Middle East from EU is caused to increase the importance of Turkey as a role of mediator for solving the problems. And EU played the Turkey’s zero problems with neighbours’ policy to solve the problem in the Middle East over Turkey. Zero Problems with neighbours served a purpose of in this two policies. Stability and peace in the Middle East will increase to accelerate Turkey's liberal democratic transformation. If the Turkey solves the problems of Middle East security especially, Kurdish population area, Turkey will face with the minority problems as Kurdish. Iraq’s and Syria’s Kurdish unstable domestic policy effects eastern part of the Turkey to cause the chaos domestic stable peace process. Inducing of regional instability will be difficult to solve Turkey's own problems, such as the Kurdish problem.

After the 2008, Zero Problem with Neighbours Policy has a steady state in the world politics. Failure to achieve the desired objectives in Syria and Turkey-Syria relations begin to return to the confrontational character show as the most unsuccessful example of a zero-problem approach. According to more dominant views, Turkey kept the very high expectations from the
Assad regime; result of this event caused that Turkey had a limited range of motion. Establishing close relations with the Assad regime created an expectation that take into account the warnings and advice of Turkey. But, Result of this expectation achieved the negative outcome and showed that Turkey has the lack of effect over the Syria. In another indication of the Syrian special dilemma appeared the paradoxical approach and Turkey adopted this paradoxical approach. To use of military force against the Assad regime in a way that the prediction of the safety zones and humanitarian corridors while encouraging the establishment of an approach, on the other hand, Turkish authorities unilateral initiatives in this direction was not willing to take decision. Turkey said that we don’t accept the possible military intervention to Syria to get the confirmation from UN Security Council. But, Turkey declared that legitimacy needed for a possible military intervention of humanitarian concern is to emphasize that already have provided. Turkey criticized International Organizations about remain passive role in Syria and supported UN’s and Arab League’s special envoy Kofi Annan’s the ceasefire plan. Turkey criticized the policy of China, Russia and Iran toward Syria, but Turkey did not freeze ties with this states to whatever happens. Because, Turkey follows the pro-active diplomacy, multi-dimensional and zero problem with neighbours which are the main arguments of the foreign policy of Turkey. Turkey's basic dilemma in Syria is human rights and democratic values precede liberal approach with existing regional and systemic realistic approach that considers the balance of power. Changing from one side of the regime in Syria, Turkey wants to play an active role in the process and trying to lead the development in this direction, however, Turkey hosted the Friends of Syria Group and patronages of Syrian opposition forces, but on the other hand, Turkey is unwilling to take the active initiative. I think that it is a big dilemma of zero problems with neighbours. Turkey chooses its own role in Syria which is to against the Assad regime. So, the zero problems with neighbours finished in Syria and Turkey determines the new concept of foreign policy in Syria. ‘Turkey is side of oppressed People in Syria.’ Why Turkey breaks into the dialogue and zero problems with neighbours in Syria? According to Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu:

‘For many months in 2011 and 2012, first we (Turkey) tried to convince and then Kofi Annan and other players tried to convince Bashar Assad to have a dialogue. But Bashar Assad rejected the opposition outside Syria and claimed this opposition is terrorists. So will he recognize the opposition, the Syrian National Coalition, as the new player in Syria? Without
recognizing Syrian National Coalition or opposition, what kind of dialogue will it be? It cannot be a dialogue if Bashar Assad claims that all these people are terrorists. Secondly, dialogue should not be legitimizing Assad's authority as if there is one government making dialogue with the rebels. This image will legitimize Assad's power and will give an impression, wrong impression. And then who is accountable for 60,000 people being killed? Hundreds of thousands of people are refugees and millions of people are IDPs (internally displaced persons). Who is responsible for that? Third, the objective of the dialogue should be for interim government. And then there should be a basic understanding that this government will have full executive power, which means Bashar Assad should be ready to deliver all his power to this authority. Otherwise, dialogue will be not reaching anywhere in this sense. We are not against dialogue, but the substance and contents of the dialogue should be well defined.’ (4) Consequences of this speech shows that why Turkey break into the dialogue and zero problems with neighbours in Syria.

What is the way of zero problems with neighbours with Israel? Turkey’s relation with Israel is another important problem of foreign policy of Turkey. Because, Turkey faced lots of problem from conflict area of Israel- Palestine. Israel military forces attacked the Mavi Marmara ship and lots of citizens of Turkey and people killed by storming of Israel military forces. Result of this event, Turkey finished the relations with Israel, the zero problem dynamics did not work in this events. It is a normal situation and lots of time criticized this position of Turkey by political experts. According to political experts; we depend of Israel situation in Middle East ad world politics. It is a big lie. Maybe the dialogue and soft power is not used by Turkey in conflict of Israel. Maybe we lost huge money from not working of exporting and importing with Israel. It is not matter for our honour. And then, Israel apologized for Mavi Marmara event and consented to pay compensation. What is the result of this event? It is to used the soft power, dialogue, and zero problem with neighbours policy from Turkish foreign policy. Because turkey has a role of mediator to coordinate the big problems’ solving process. Because, Middle East states believe that Turkey has the intimate behaviour to solve the problems and does not oversee its own benefits, Turkey has a role of peace making process to oversee all of states benefits.
Conclusion

According to Mustafa Kibaroğlu: ‘First and foremost an academic, Davutoğlu devised his “zero problem” doctrine for overcoming disputes in the region. In short, Davutoğlu’s doctrine can be considered as giving peace a chance, an attempt rarely seen in the area of international relations due to the concepts like “national interest” or “power politics” which dominate the minds of most practitioners and theoreticians, leaving little room for hopes of peace to flourish. In that sense, Davutoğlu’s aspirations for improving the bilateral relations between Turkey and its neighbours and thereby enhancing the relations among the regional states in the Middle East is commendable.’

Turkey's soft power on the region has the ability to harmonize its domestic and foreign policies. Determining the ongoing transformation process principles and values that shape the internal politics to the extent reflected in the foreign policy will be a centre of attraction in Turkey. Turkey’s success in this direction is undoubtedly closely linked to its Kurdish-Arab and the Shi’a-Sunni button issues to resolve in the context of liberal democratic values. All final results of this study revealed, Turkey cannot tolerate the existence of authoritarian and repressive regimes in the region. Otherwise, Turkey would be incompatible with the philosophy of the transformation process to accept the existence of authoritarian and repressive regimes in the region. In addition, Turkey’s increasing the power and possibilities begin to be closely linked to the regional development of its own security and prosperity will push its own around in order to play more a role of founder in the coming days.(5)
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