

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AS A FOREIGN POLICY TOOL OF TURKEY:
THE CASE OF TURKSOY

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ABSTRACT

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AS A FOREIGN POLICY TOOL OF TURKEY: THE CASE OF TURKSOY

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This thesis analyzes the International Organization of Turkic Culture (Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Teşkilatı, TURKSOY) as a significant cultural diplomacy organization established in 1993 upon the signing of its founding agreement by the Ministers of Culture of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Turkey in the post-Soviet era in order to foster relations among these Turkic countries. The main research question of this study is how effective TURKSOY is as an institution of cultural diplomacy used as a tool of soft power politics in Turkish foreign policy.

Keywords: Cultural Diplomacy, Turkic World, Turkic Institutions, Turkish Foreign Policy, Soft Power

ÖZ

TÜRK DIŞ POLİTİKASINDA KÜLTÜREL DİPLOMASİ: TÜRKSÖY ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışma, Azerbaycan, Kazakistan, Kırgızistan, Özbekistan, Türkmenistan ve Türkiye Kültür Bakanları tarafından imzalanan anlaşma ile Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasını takiben, 1993 yılında, Türk cumhuriyetleri arasındaki ilişkileri geliştirmek amacıyla kurulan Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Teşkilatı (International Organization of Turkic Culture, TÜRKSÖY)'nı incelemektedir. Bu inceleme, önemli bir kültürel diplomasi örgütü olarak TÜRKSÖY'un, Türk dış politikasının yumuşak güç politikaları bağlamında ne derece etkili olduğunu ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kültürel Diplomasi, Türk Dünyası, Türk İş Birliği Örgütleri, Türk Dış Politikası, Yumuşak Güç

To build a brighter future together for the Turkic World.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Anadolu Agency
AK PARTİ	Justice and Development Party
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
IRCICA	Research Center for Islamic History, Art and Culture
ISESCO	International Islamic Organization for Education, Science and Culture
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OIC	Organization for Islamic Cooperation
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and Turkey
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
TİKA	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
TMV	Turkish Maarif Foundation
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
TÜRK KONSEYİ	The Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States
TÜRKPA	Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic-Speaking Countries
TÜRKSOY	International Organization of Turkic Culture
YEE	Yunus Emre Institute
YTB	Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the International Organization of Turkic Culture (Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Teşkilatı, TURKSOY) as a significant cultural diplomacy organization established in 1993 upon the signing of its founding agreement by the Ministers of Culture of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Turkey in the post-Soviet era in order to foster relations among these Turkic countries.

The main research question of this study is how effective TURKSOY is as an institution of cultural diplomacy used as a tool of soft power politics in Turkish foreign policy.¹ Within this framework, this research will touch upon the role of culture in international relations while defining the notions of soft power politics and cultural diplomacy. As such, this research is also an attempt to answer the following two questions: What are the cultural diplomacy objectives and achievements of TURKSOY? To what extent do the activities carried out by TURKSOY in terms of cultural diplomacy have a positive impact on relations among countries of the Turkic World? These questions will reflect TURKSOY's role in the development of long lasting relations among the countries of the Turkic World.

¹ This thesis will not focus on how TURKSOY has an impact on the foreign policies of other members of the organization.

1.2. Literature Review

Culture is an essential component of identity. As such, it contains important hints as to what an individual wants and thinks. Hence, it is omnipresent in world politics. There are many different opinions as to the role played by culture in international relations as well as regarding the notion of international relations itself (Reus-Smit, 2018). Human communities have created their own cultural characteristics through the influence of many elements in different geographies in various time periods. These characteristics shaped international relations and the domestic and foreign policies of countries (Reeves, 2004).

Conflicts arising from cultural differences are rather frequent in today's world. The notion of culture which has been relatively ignored for many years in the field of international relations, started raising more attention among scholars following the publication of Samuel Huntington's article on "Clash of Civilizations" in 1993 according to which conflicts occurring worldwide would be actually arising among different civilizations. Later on, many articles were written on the influence of culture on international relations (Pethiyagoda, 2014).

The main actors of the international arena have always tended to use oppression, threats and power as means to obtain what they wanted. The destructive influence of the two World Wars and the Cold War, which we witnessed as a result of continuous conflicts, eventually led to a shift from this attitude towards an approach in which the notion of power is considered as something one must reflect more intensively upon (Baldwin, 2016). This process has also led to the recognition of new notions such as soft power which is one of the main subjects in relation to the concept of culture and cultural diplomacy dealt with in this thesis.

The notion of soft power put forward by Joseph Nye actually started becoming popular in the 1980s. As far as the shortest definition of soft power is concerned, it can be stated as the ability of countries to obtain what they want without using oppression, threat or power. According to Nye “if its culture and ideology are attractive, others will more willingly follow” (Nye 1990, p.182).

Nye who stressed that power does not just consist of military components categorized this term as “soft power” versus “hard power”. According to this approach, hard power consists of military interventions, oppressive diplomacy and economic sanctions while soft power is the ability to shape countries’ choices without making use of interventions and oppression (Nye, 2004).²

Nye also considers the fading of peoples’ belief in communism and the destruction of the Berlin Wall as a victory of soft power (Nye, 2015). He emphasizes the undeniable contribution of soft power to put an end to the Cold War and stresses that a country’s soft power depends on its resources of culture, values, and policies. In the debate on soft power, Nye attaches particular importance to culture. Hence, he argues that the cultural customs and ideas, which are dominating global norms will enhance the credibility and promote the soft power strength (Nye, 2008).

With the rise of the notion of soft power, it has become a priority for many countries to reach their aims by influencing the global arena via this new version of power. Countries like China, Russia and the United States of America amongst many others have made

² In time, the notion of soft power which may appear as an alternative to hard power at first sight, has evolved towards new notions such as smart power. As such, the notion of smart power which is based on the appropriate use of both soft and hard power is gaining increasing importance and recognition in international relations nowadays (Nye, 2009).

short and long term soft power investments. While Nye conceptualized a country's success in this respect as its "soft power potential", John Arquilla pointed at the reason why countries make efforts to develop their ability to apply soft power. According to him, "victory may sometimes depend not on whose army wins, but on whose story wins" (quoted in Nye 2014, p.20). The increasing visibility of culture and its components in international matters has led to the understanding that soft power can also be described as cultural power (Ferguson, 2006).

Many leading countries of the world have established new institutions in order not to lag behind in their cultural propaganda. Examples of such institutions are the Confucius Institutes of China, the British Council centers of the United Kingdom, the Goethe Institutes of Germany, the Alliance Française of France and the Yunus Emre Institutes of Turkey (Aral, 2014).

Many years have passed since the end of the Cold War in world politics. There have been times when facts which actually occurred did not correspond to Nye's projection in his approach based on soft power. As a matter of fact, various scholars have stressed the catastrophic outcomes of some initiatives and policies carried out by soft power politics on both peoples and countries (Li, 2018).

Nevertheless, soft power continues to be a significant foreign policy tool. Diplomacy is another key term used in thesis in relation to culture and soft power. This term is related to the efforts, activities, abilities of countries as well as other international actors such as international organizations. As one of the fundamental notions which soft power is based upon, culture appeared as an important notion in terms of ties established through cultural diplomacy among countries after the Cold War. Today, cultural diplomacy is one of the

notions of standard foreign policy thinking. The term eventually emerged as a national self-promotion tool for states. According to Cummings, states are exchanging ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture with other nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding. The actors of the process such as diplomats, state-level organizations and international bodies are serving their national governments and trying to shape and channel the natural flow of culture to advance their national interests. At some point, cultural diplomacy helps nations to merge nationalism and internationalism. In order to achieve the determined goals, government agencies, civil society and/or private sector stakeholders also should be considered as main actors of the process (Cummings, 2003).

David Clarke identifies actors of cultural diplomacy in a group of four: first are policy-makers; that is, politicians and legislators. The second group is comprised of agents such as institutions and individuals. When it comes to the third group, cultural practitioners such as artists, poets, authors and ensembles take the scene. Consumers are the fourth group as individuals engaging with the final products (Clarke, 2016). Although this thesis mostly concentrates on the second group, that is international organizations, it is inevitable to consider other actors as well.

The US Department of State defines cultural diplomacy as a tool to serve national interests. This is an example of instrumental use of culture both for national security and the nation's international image (Cultural Diplomacy, the Linchpin of Public Diplomacy, 2005). Nation-states were the primary actors of international politics for a long time but with the flows of people, products, media, technology and money, this has changed (Ang,

Isar and Mar, 2015). In the last decades, researchers have focused on cultural diplomacy much more intensely than before, making this term globally known.

UNESCO's (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) foundation within the body of the United Nations after the Second World War has changed the understanding of cultural diplomacy in foreign affairs. Establishing UNESCO was all about securing the world peace and stability at that time. However, the role of culture in this international body turned out to be equally important. In time, UNESCO become an attractive organization for many governments who wanted to benefit from soft power politics and cultural diplomacy within this organization (Purtaş, 2017).

The recognition of the concept of soft power after the Cold War, the establishment of new international organizations having their say in world politics and the fact that states realized the positive contribution of cultural diplomacy in their foreign policy have led to the establishment of organizations such as TURKSOY. Indeed, TURKSOY is an organization of cultural diplomacy which was established in 1993 taking the example of UNESCO's structure, with a view to strengthening ties among countries of the Turkic World.

In this context, it shall be appropriate to define the notion of the Turkic World. Taking into consideration the relations among the peoples of the Turkic World, the dissolution of the Soviet Union can be considered as a milestone (Purtaş, 2017). Although the definition of the Turkic World is accepted as a geographical and cultural concept, when this concept is used, Turkic speaking communities are also meant. Some researches only use this term to refer to Central Asia. However, the notion of the Turkic World encompasses a much wider area than a certain geographical territory. Similarly, the notion of Turkic history

does not refer to the history of a single community living in a certain area. It should be understood more as the whole of histories of Turkic communities which are referred to by different names but share the same national culture with their language, religion, customs and traditions (Memiş and Köstüklü, 2005).

The Turkic World, the exact definition of which is uncertain in a geographical context, is defined by Uçar (2007) as the combination of independent Turkic States; autonomous Turkic States/communities; Turkic communities living as minorities and Turkic communities living together through migration and cross-border settlement processes (Uçar, 2007).

In the post Cold-War era Turkey was the first state to recognize the independence of the Central Asian Republics. The first step that Turkey had taken back then was to increase and institutionalize the interaction between Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan as well as other Turkic people. Hence, the establishment of TURKSOY has been crucial in terms of initiating the interaction process between the Turkic peoples. TURKSOY served as the main actor through its cultural diplomacy activities for many years to come (Eren, 2013).³

³ Some other organizations which also play an important role in this process are institutions like the Turkic Council (Türk Konseyi), the Turkic Academy (Türk Akademisi), the International Turkic Heritage and Culture Foundation (Türk Kültürü ve Miras Vakfı), the Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic Speaking Countries (Türk Dili Konuşan Ülkeler Parlamenter Asamblesi, TÜRKPA), the Directorate of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı, TİKA), the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı, YTB) and the Yunus Emre Institute (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü, YEE). However, unless they are related to TURKSOY, this study will not focus on these institutions.

TURKSOY currently has six founding members and eight observer members. Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Turkey are the founding members as independent countries. In addition to the the Autonomous Territorial Unit of Gagauzia (Moldova) and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), there are other observer members which are affiliated to the Russian Federation: Republic of Altai (RF), Republic of Bashkortostan (RF), Republic of Hakasia (RF), Republic of Sakha/Yakutia (RF), Republic of Tatarstan (RF) and Republic of Tyva (RF) (Turksoy.org, n.d.). Through its efforts to increase the level of acquaintance among peoples and states and its collaborations with international organizations such as UNESCO and ISESCO (International Islamic Organization for Education, Science and Culture), TURKSOY contributes to the process of establishing strong ties among its members (Akengin, 2017).

1.3. Outline and Methodology

The thesis will be composed of four chapters. After the Introduction, the second chapter will briefly examine the historical background of Turkish foreign policy regarding the Turkic World. Besides, this chapter will also shed some light upon the establishment of TURKSOY and the current dynamics of the Turkic World.

The third chapter will be devoted to TURKSOY as a cultural diplomacy organization. This chapter will mainly focus on the establishment of TURKSOY as well as its structure, aims, activities and achievements. To that end, this study will focus on some activities carried out by this organization since its establishment such as Permanent Council Meetings of TURKSOY, activities traditionally carried out by TURKSOY every year such as its Nevruz celebrations, Painters and Photographers' Gatherings, academic activities, commemorative years and meetings dedicated to illustrious artists, scholars and

intellectuals of the Turkic World and publications in various languages and dialects as well as special projects carried out by the organization in various countries worldwide.

The conclusion will present a brief summary and discuss the findings within the theoretical framework presented in the Introduction.

In this study, a qualitative analysis will be used in order to evaluate the impact and place of TURKSOY. The primary sources like the annual action plans of the TURKSOY, the website of the organization, the records and the articles as well as the news about the organization's world wide achievements will be analyzed. These extensive sources will also include the speeches made by the heads of the state of the Turkic World and the TURKSOY officials. Additionally, unofficially conducted interviews with the government officials of TURKSOY member countries and TURKSOY will be included where relevant. Published books and articles regarding TURKSOY's cultural diplomacy efforts since its establishment will also be surveyed as secondary sources.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY REGARDING THE TURKIC WORLD

The foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey, which was established with the fall of the Ottoman Empire, was shaped by the Ottoman political heritage. In the early years of the Republic, the main goal was to ensure the independence and sovereignty of the new nation-state on the basis of the Turkish foreign policy of the Atatürk era (Aydın 1999, p. 171). Although the Turkish foreign policy of the Republican period has integrity in its general framework, there have been breaking points and changes in certain periods. The dissolution of the Soviet Union is one of the defining breaking points in Turkey's relations with Turkic Republics, shaping the outlook of Turkish foreign policy towards Central Asia (Hale 2012, p. 287).

Before addressing the dissolution of the Soviet Union as a turning point, giving some general information about Turkish foreign policy will be appropriate. According to many researchers, “westernism” and “status quo” are two key concepts which constitute the basic lines of Turkish foreign policy. Indeed, many international relations theorists refer to Atatürk's *Peace at Home, Peace in the World* motto as it is reflected in the discourses of the principle of status quo. On the principle of westernism, Baskın Oran states that westernism was a legacy of the Ottoman Empire in the Turkish foreign policy, a legacy that was kept for a very long time, until 1990s (Oran 1998, p. 353).

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Turkish foreign policy had to be inevitably reshaped. Turkey, like many other countries was caught unprepared, yet showed a quick reflex in response to this sudden development, becoming one of the first states to recognize Central Asian states, establish diplomatic ties with these countries and realized visits to them at the level of heads of state. This new attitude of Turkish foreign policy was an announcement of this transformation to the whole world (Aydın 2019, p. 371).

The history of the relations between Turkey and Turkic Republics dates back far, but it would not be wrong to say that these relations gained momentum prior to the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.).⁴ Taking the dissolution of the USSR as a reference point will make it difficult to see the whole picture when it comes to evaluate Turkish foreign policy in the context of Central Asia and in the framework of relations with Turkic Republics. Therefore, the relations between the USSR and Turkey should also be included in this assessment.

Since Soviet republics could not carry out a foreign policy independent from Moscow, direct relations between Turkey and the Turkic Republics could not be established prior to their independence. Direct relations, which could not be established during the Soviet Union period, gained momentum with the dissolution of the USSR, with mutual visits and various cultural activities.

Because of historical and cultural ties, Turkey has never severed its relationship with Turkic Republics. Turkish politicians, who did not ignore the possibility of experiencing

⁴ Consecutively in 1991, Uzbekistan (August 31st), Kyrgyzstan (August 31st), then Turkmenistan (October 27th) and finally, Kazakhstan (December 16th) formally declared their independence.

problems with the strong alliance of the Soviets because of these relations, were sensitive in their rhetoric, aware of the need for the friendship of the Soviets at the time. Turkey, which was careful not to draw the portrait of a state that interferes with the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, was being referred to by some circles as a state that did not fulfill its historical responsibility and by some circles as a pan-Turkist state.⁵ These such comments were made not only within the borders of Turkey but all over the world (Yalçın 1990, p. 13).

Sovietization, a general policy implemented by the Soviet Union, was an important factor in weakening the cultural ties that existed between Turkey and Turkic Republics. The ideological wall built by the Soviets did not allow for the development of relations between the two sides (Ruzaliev 2009, p. 46). Furthermore, the Pan-Turkist movement that rose with Enver Pasha brought Turkey and the Soviet Union side by side against the imperialist powers of the West, which were perceived as common enemies, and thus Turkey, which needed military and economic assistance in those years, distanced itself from the Pan-Turkist approach. Over the years, the discourses of Pan-Turkism have changed as the position of Turkey shifted. Some scholars suggest that After the World War II, the İnönü government, which wanted to receive support from the United States against the threats of Stalin, was engaged in Pan-Turkist discourses (Demir, Eminoğlu and Aslantürk 2018, p. 390).

Many intellectuals in the Soviet Union were also denominated as pan-Turkists and therefore, had to face difficulties as a result of their work on the common culture and history of Turkic peoples. On the other hand, the Soviet desire to expel its ideology was

⁵ Pan-Turkism, a political movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, had as its goal the political union of all Turkish-speaking peoples.

seen as a risk to Turkish citizens, creating political problems and obstacles in establishing mutual relations (Birand, 1986).

Towards the end of the Soviet era, Turkey got a chance to establish direct relations with the Turkic Republics of the former USSR. This was seen as a natural continuation of the foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey as set by its founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The letter that Atatürk wrote to Lenin on April 26th, 1920 was considered to be the beginning of official relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union (Erdağ and Kardaş 2013, p. 76). Drawing attention to the necessity of pursuing a policy based on common history, language and culture in the relations with Turkic Republics, Atatürk had allegedly given the following speech during the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Turkish republic to explain the road map for the course of Turkish foreign policy:

Today, the Soviet Union is our friend, our neighbor, our ally. We are in a need for this friendship. However, no one can predict what will happen tomorrow from today. It can fall apart and crumble just like the Ottoman Empire, and Austria-Hungary. The nations the Soviets seize upon today may declare their independence tomorrow. The world can reach a new balance. That's when Turkey should know what to do... In the reign of this friend of ours, we have brothers with the same language, faith and essence. Being ready is remaining silent and waiting for that day to come. It's time to prepare. How do nations prepare for this? By keeping the sentimental bridges intact! Language is a bridge; faith is a bridge; history is a bridge! Today, we are separated from these societies in terms of language, tradition and history, and have fallen far away. So, is it right where we are or where they are? There is no reckoning in doing this! We shouldn't wait for them to come near us. It is us who should approach them (Karakoç 2004, p. 37).

In the post-Soviet era, Turgut Özal became one of the leaders who best understood the words “We shouldn't wait for them to come near us. It is us who should approach them” that Atatürk had expressed for the first time in Turkish political life. In his work “The Years and Memories That Advanced Turkey”, Yalçıntaş mentions Turgut Özal as the

first leader to comprehend the real meaning of the birth of the Turkic World (Yalçıntaş, 2012).⁶

Stating that Özal's policies had a positive effect on the transformation of Turkish-Soviet relations into friendly relations, Yalçıntaş expressed that the point reached in Turkish-Soviet relations during Özal's tenure was a great legacy for the independent states, and that this heritage was very effective on the basis of Turkey's positive relations with the Russian Federation and Turkic Republics (Yalçıntaş 2012, p. 698).

Turgut Özal, who declared "The 21st century to be the century of Turkey and the Turks", turned the discourse of the Turkic World into a new and promising foreign policy agenda. Therefore, for some scholars, the years that Turgut Özal served as prime minister are the most important years in terms of relations between Turkey and Turkic Republics. In a context in which Turkish foreign policy mainly focused on the West, between the years 1983-1993, Turgut Özal's efforts to improve relations with the Soviets on behalf of the relations between the Turkic World and Turkey are considered as a new reference point. In this respect, it is important to point out that Özal made his first official trip to the Turkic Republics in 1986 when he was the Prime Minister of Turkey. The friendship between Özal and Gorbachev, which developed as a result of political activities carried out during this period, is likened to the friendship established between Atatürk and Lenin (Kara 2012, p. 24).

Turgut Özal's approach had its impact on the aftermath of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Turkey immediately recognized all of the newly independent states and adopted a holistic approach towards the post-Soviet world (Çapa 2019, p. 14). Turkey was the first

⁶ Turgut Özal served as Prime Minister between 1983 and 1989 and actively managed Turkish foreign policy. He served as President from 1989-1993. Yıldırım Akbulut, Mesut Yılmaz and Süleyman Demirel served as prime ministers during this period.

country to officially recognize the Republic of Azerbaijan on November 9th, 1991. Two hours after the declaration of independence by the Parliament of Kazakhstan, Turkey, along with other Soviet republics, recognized the independence of all new Turkic Republics (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.). Hikmet Çetin, the Turkish Foreign Minister of the time, stated that the decision to recognize all Soviet republics from the Caucasus to Central Asia as well as to the Slavic and Baltic region was based on the assumption that there would be no animosity between these states (Hürriyet cited in Kara 2012, p. 126).

In these initial years, the need for institutionalization in relations was taken into consideration and, hence, at the end of this cooperation process, TÜRKSOY⁷ was established with the primary duty of coordinating cultural relations among the Turkic Republics and TİKA was established with the primary duty of promoting Turkey's cooperation with these republics in different fields such as economics, security, administration, technology, culture and education. In those days, Turkic-speaking heads of state were brought together for the first time in history (Fidan 2010, p. 113). In a way the process was based on İsmail Gaspıralı's motto "unity in language, thought and action". In 1992 the Turkic Republics came together in "Summit of Turkic Speaking States". In this step, taken to institutionalize cooperation between Turkey and the Turkic Republics, international organizations began to be seen as strategic tools in international politics that provide flexibility and strength to foreign policy.

In terms of relations between Turkey and the Turkic Republics, the institutionalization process started with these summits. While the first summit which was organized on

⁷ TÜRKSOY stands for "Joint Administration of Turkic Culture and Arts". This name was later changed by the decision of the Permanent Council to the International Organization of Turkic Culture.

October 30th, 1992, ended with the emphasis on developing cooperation on economy, culture, transportation, education and security issues, the subsequent summits contributed greatly to the institutionalization of relations (Kohen 1994, p. 18). In this context, it is possible to suggest that relations developed with the Turkic World countries first concentrated in cultural and educational areas prior to political, military and economic areas.

Subsequently, common alphabet studies were the first step taken to increase cooperation. The International Symposium on contemporary Turkish alphabets held in 1991 proposed an alphabet to be used by all Turkic Republics (Devlet 2007, p. 185). Later on, the Ministers of Culture of Turkic Republics came together for further cooperation. The first meeting on this matter was the “Meeting of the Ministers of Culture of Turkic Speaking Countries” which took place in Istanbul in June 1992. Following this meeting, the second meeting of the Ministers of Culture was held in Baku, between November, 30th – December, 2nd 1992. At the 3rd meeting of the Ministers in Almaty on July 9th-14th, 1993, an important step was taken in cultural and artistic cooperation in the Turkic World, eventually leading to the establishment of the Joint Administration of Turkic Culture and Arts (now called TURKSOY) which functions as the UNESCO of the Turkic World (Durmuş and Yılmaz 2012, p. 554). The relations which were accelerated with language studies and reciprocal visits therefore were further strengthened by the establishment of TİKA and TURKSOY. In these relations in which culture and education were seen as the driving force, the relevant ministries of Turkic Republics took an active role.

Thanks to the cooperation of these ministries, artists coming from independent Turkic states have got the opportunity to perform their arts and participate in various training programs. In this period, multilateral efforts were made to commemorate the leading

figures of cultural life in different countries of the Turkic World as well as to preserve the cultural values of these countries, seen as a common treasure. Relations in the field of culture have been the easiest and fastest-growing ones. In the following years, despite widespread view that expectations were not met in economic and political areas, many successes were achieved at the level of cultural relations (Yıldırım 2015, p. 148).

Süleyman Demirel, who became the president of Turkey after, stated that the establishment of TURKSOY was the success of the ministers of cultures and wished this success in the cultural area to be realized in other areas as well, and expressed his hopes and concerns about the process as follows: “I am happy. For we will make use of this opportunity. I am concerned for what will happen in the end if we cannot make use of this opportunity” (Bila, cited in Kara 2012, p. 129).

The mutual visits among Turkic Republics which were increasing in number between 1991 and 1992 led to the acknowledgement of many commonalities among the Turkic Republics based on history, language and culture. Thanks to the 10 summits held between the heads of state of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkey and Turkmenistan, international organizations such as TURKSOY, Turkic Council, as well as joint educational institutions and professional associations were established (Musabay Baki, 2014).

If we refer to the summits with general lines, in the first summit held in Ankara in 1992, leaders expressed that the need for organizations working in different fields, in other words, an institutional structure for multilateral relations in order to deepen the relations between Turkic Republics. At the first summit, especially infrastructure, education and culture issues were on the agenda.

In the second summit, hosted by Turkey in Istanbul in 1994, the leaders, referring to the achievements of the 1st Summit, expressed their appreciation for the work done and shared their satisfaction with the summit processes. With the 2nd Summit, various disturbances about the summit began to be expressed, especially from the Russian side (Acar 1994, p. 10).

During the 3rd Summit held following year in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan cultural and educational issues became the main topics of discussion and opinion exchange. In this meeting, the Hoca Ahmet Yesevi International Turkish-Kazakh University, which can be seen as one of the concrete outcomes of the summits process, had won the appreciation of the summit leaders and it was decided that a similar educational institution should be established in Kyrgyzstan as well (Musabay Baki 2014, p. 143). As such the establishment of joint universities was seen as an important goal for raising a new generation of Turkic people.

An example regarding such an approach is the Turkish-Kazakh University, founded by an agreement signed on November 31st,1992. This university offers education in both Kazakh and Turkish language, and is one of the most important higher education institutions with thousands of graduates, 1171 of whom are from Turkey (Ayu.edu.tr, 2019).

A similar agreement was signed between Turkey and Kyrgyzstan on September 30th, 1995 on the establishment and operation of the Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University. The foundation of this university was based on the collaboration agreement in the fields of education, culture and science, signed back on March 3rd,1992 (Manas.edu.kg, 2019).

The agreements in the field of culture, education and sports were not only limited to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan but were made with many other Turkic Republics after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The aforementioned agreements however became the first step in the implementation of today's institutional structures, thanks to the decisions taken in the first 3 summits between 1992-1995.

In the summits that took place in the following years, issues such as energy, transport and economic cooperation became the main concerns of the political leaders. The 4th Summit was held in 1996 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The 5th Summit was held in 1998 in Astana, Kazakhstan, after a one-year interval. The 6th Summit was held in 2000 in Baku, Azerbaijan. The expression "Turkish Speaking States", which was used in the earlier summits, was changed to "Turkic-Speaking States" in Baku Summit (Musabay Baki 2014, p. 145).

The 7th Summit, which was held in Istanbul in 2001, was the last summit which Uzbekistan participated in the process. Turkmenistan, on the other hand, has participated irregularly to these summits. Despite the decision taken at the 7th Summit that the next meeting would be held in Turkmenistan, it was held in Turkey 5 years after the last summit. So in total, the summits were hosted five times by Turkey, twice by Azerbaijan and once by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. While Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkey have stabilized their participation in the summit process, Uzbekistan has stopped participating in the summits since 2006. In addition to their participation at the head of the state level, Turkmenistan only attended one summit at the level of ambassador and one at the level of vice president (Musabay Baki 2014, p. 145).

At the 9th Summit on October 2nd – 3rd, 2009, where the Nakhichevan agreement was signed and the founding agreement of the Turkic Council was adopted, the leaders

mentioned the importance of the efforts of the International Organization of Turkic Culture (TURKSOY) for cultural cooperation and appreciated these efforts as the first concrete outcome of the summit process. One of the other concrete outcomes of the summits held prior to the establishment of the Turkic Council was the Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic-Speaking Countries (TURKPA), which was established on November 21st, 2008. The last meeting of the Summits Process was held in Istanbul on September 16th, 2010. The Turkic Council was established with the aim of acting as a secretariat to institutionalize the collaboration between the member states and to make positive and important contributions to regional cooperation among the Turkic speaking countries. With the establishment of the Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States, the Turkic Council for short in 2010, the development of relations among Turkic States was institutionalized. The summits process has been one of the most important indicators that Turkey and the Turkic Republics attach importance to be together. As mentioned earlier, the first summit of the Heads of State of the Turkic World held on October 31st, 1992 was the first step taken towards extensive cooperation among Turkic countries in political, economic and social spheres. Hence, it would not be wrong to say that the current level of cooperation among Turkic countries could have been reached thanks to the political will and dedication of these heads of state. Due to the shifting conditions regarding the relations with Russia, the participating states pursued sensitive and balanced policies throughout the process (Purtaş 2012, p. 70).

The election of the Justice and Development Party (Ak Parti) is viewed by many scholars as another breaking point for Turkish Foreign policy. Together with the AK Party, Turkey adopted a multilateral foreign policy based on a “zero problem” approach. This approach was shaped by Ahmet Davutoğlu, who served as a consultant, Foreign Minister

and Prime Minister in the AK Party governments. As opposed to policies of the 1990s, there are views that Turkey wants to take on a regional leadership role by benefiting from its historical background, geostrategic position and soft power (Altunışık and Lenore 2011, p. 10).

Cüneyt Yenigün stated that during this period, when multidimensional foreign policy understanding prevailed, Turkish foreign policy acted in different ways depending on the states involved. Yenigün argued that while religion was put forward in relations with Muslim states, it was the feeling of nationalism which was shaped the relations with the Turkic countries and minorities in Europe. At the same time, Turkish foreign policy adopted an approach mainly based on global identity and values in its relations with countries like Germany, France, Australia and the USA (Yenigün 2010, p. 77).

Despite these changes, developing relations with the Turkic Republics has always been important in order to give a different direction to the Turkish foreign policy and to create alternatives. It has also been observed that common historical, religious and cultural ties provide great advantages in these relationships. A wide range of bilateral contacts and relations based on multilateral institutions, especially TURKSOY and the Turkic Council, have come to the fore in shaping Turkey's foreign policy towards the Turkic World (Kaşıkçı 2019, p. 354).

CHAPTER 3

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF TURKIC CULTURE

This chapter will describe the transformation in the institutional structure of the International Organization of Turkic Culture over the years and the activities that have come to prominence since the establishment of the organization. The aforesaid activities are examined under different headings. The meetings of the Permanent Council, which is the highest-level decision-making body of the organization, were examined chronologically and highlights were identified from the decision files of these meetings. The meeting where the participants who signed the founding agreement of TURKSOY met for the first time was taken as a reference point and all Permanent Council Meetings of TURKSOY held until the completion of the thesis are included in this section. Then, Nowruz celebrations, artistic gatherings, cultural capital practice, commemorative years and ceremonies, art ensembles and some other activities are briefly summarized.

3.1. Permanent Council Meetings

Although TURKSOY, which has the mission of establishing friendly relations between Turkic peoples, preserving Turkic cultural heritage, language, history, art traditions and customs, and passing them on to future generations, was founded with the agreement signed by the ministries of cultures of Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Turkey and Uzbekistan in July 12th, 1993 in Almaty, Kazakhstan; the first seeds of the

organization were laid in Istanbul on June 20th, 1992, when the culture ministers of today's 6 founding countries came together for the first time (Soysal, 2010).

Minister of Culture of Azerbaijan Polad Bülbüloğlu, Minister of Culture of Kazakhstan Erkegali Rahmediyev, Minister of Culture of Kyrgyzstan Daniyal Mukasovic Nazarmatov and Minister of Culture of Uzbekistan Zafer Hakimov, who met in Istanbul at the invitation of Minister of Culture of Turkey Fikri Sağlar, are known as the historical architects of the cultural bridge created among Turkic World (Ocak, 2000).

In the declaration issued at the conclusion of the meeting, the council members stated that the concept of common culture, which has been used side by side with the Turkic World discourse many times, lies in the ties of history, geography and religion, and pointed out the necessity of solidarity for development with the emphasis on human rights, democracy and secularism. In this context, the participants emphasized the immediate realization of the common alphabet. The participants also emphasized the need to create artistic mobility through joint festivals and artistic activities in order to develop mutual cultural cooperation between the countries and stated in their final declaration that they would support efforts in the direction of “taking the necessary place of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) within the family of nations” (Türk Dili Konuşan Ülkeler Kültür Bakanları 1. Konferansı Sonuç Bildirgesi, 1992).

As mentioned in the previous chapter on Turkey's foreign policy, the political issues that caused Turkic summits to be blocked from time to time were also on the agenda of culture ministers' meetings. The Permanent Council participants, who did not wish to be a party to this issue, sometimes did not sign the declaration and sometimes asked the council to change its rhetoric. After the first meeting, it was decided to convene the structure called “Permanent Council of Culture Ministers of Turkic Speaking Countries”

every 6 months and to pursue drafting of the working regulation of the council until the next Baku summit. With this meeting, the foundations of today's TURKSOY have been laid as a cooperation office headquartered in Ankara to act as a secretariat in the works of the council and implement its decisions.

Final declaration of the aforementioned first meeting was signed by the Minister of Culture of Azerbaijan Polad Bülbüloğlu, the Minister of Culture of Kazakhstan Erkegali Rahmediyev, the Minister of Culture of the Republic of Turkey Fikri Sağlar, the Minister of Culture of Uzbekistan Zafer A. Hakimov, the Minister of Culture of Kyrgyzstan Daniyal Mukasoviç Nazarmatov and the Minister of Culture of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus Eşber Serakıncı. Turkmenistan did not sign the final declaration (Türk Dili Konuşan Ülkeler Kültür Bakanları 1. Konferansı Sonuç Bildirgesi, 1992).

Following the Istanbul meeting, the next meeting was held in Baku, Azerbaijan. In the final declaration of this meeting, it was stated that claiming ownership of Turkic cultural heritage would only be possible through joint efforts, and a protocol of intention was signed in this regard. Together with this protocol of intention, it is stated that a continuously operating organization called "Joint Administration of the Turkic Culture and Arts" should be established in order to carry out the measures planned by the council (Türk Dili Konuşan Ülkeler Kültür Bakanları 2. Konferansı Sonuç Bildirgesi, 1992). At the first meeting, a resolution shedding light on TURKSOY's current work was also signed. The participants of the Permanent Council unanimously decided to declare the year 1993 as the year of Hoca Ahmed Yesevi due to the 900th anniversary of his birth. Likewise it was decided that Magtumguly Pyragy's 765th year, would be widely

celebrated in the member states of TURKSOY.⁸ In the following years, TURKSOY turned this initiative into a tradition and dedicated its activities to a different famous personality of the Turkic World each year. One of the most important decisions taken in the aforesaid meeting was the decision of the Republic of Tatarstan to participate in the meetings as an observer member with Azerbaijan's proposal.

The council members, who met for the third time in Almaty, Kazakhstan after the Baku meeting, gave an institutional structure to the relations among Turkic Republics with the "Agreement on the Principles of Establishment and Operation of TURKSOY" signed on July 12th, 1993, to establish a UNESCO-like international cultural cooperation organization to "protect, enrich and promote" the Turkic culture (Turksoy.org, n.d.).⁹

In the final declaration it is stated that TURKSOY is neither a political nor a regional organization, and that it is open to all countries and communities of Turkic origin in terms of membership. The final declaration further states that the aim of the organization is "to support the harmonious development of all traditional and regional cultures of ethnic Turkic communities living in the Middle East, Caucasus, Central Asia, Balkans, China and the Mediterranean region". The statement was signed by the term coordinator of TURKSOY Polad Bülbüloğlu and his successor Erkegali Rahmediyev (Türk Dili Konuşan Ülkeler Kültür Bakanları Konseyi Sonuç Bildirgesi, 1993).

In this historic meeting held in Almaty members of the Permanent Council unanimously decided that Bashkortostan should join TURKSOY as a member with observer status

⁸ TURKSOY also declared the year of Magtuguly Pyragy, the Turkmen philosopher and poet, in commemoration of the 290th anniversary of his birthday in 2014.

⁹ TURKSOY's name has been given by the minister of Culture of Azerbaijan, Polad Bülbüloğlu.

upon the proposal of Kazakhstan. It was also decided that the member states should pay an annual contribution fee of at least USD 10,000 in order to pursue TURKSOY's activities, and that the next meeting should be held in Bishkek in December 1993 upon proposal of Kyrgyzstan (Türk Dili Konuşan Ülkeler Kültür Bakanları Konseyi Sonuç Bildirgesi, 1993).

However, the next meeting could not be held in Bishkek as planned and was held in Marmaris, Turkey between February 17th-18th, 1994. The ongoing wars in Azerbaijan and Bosnia and Herzegovina were one of the agenda items of this meeting. The tradition initiated by the council as the announcement of 1993 as Fuzuli in the 550th year and of 1994 as Uluğ Bey in the 600th year were some of the highlights of the meeting (Cumhuriyet, 1994). As to the year 1995, the council decided that it should be declared as the Year of Manas and Mevlana, and that the 150th year of Kazakh philosopher Abay should be commemorated in all TURKSOY member countries, because of the 1000th anniversary of the Manas legend and UNESCO's declaration of 1995 as the "Year of Tolerance" (Atikoğlu, 1994). Other decisions included organizing various events in the TRNC, which was isolated from the international community at the time, and in Bashkortostan and Tatarstan, which were new observer members.¹⁰

One of the important results of this meeting in terms of the history of TURKSOY was the decision taken on organization of Nowruz celebrations every year, which later became the trademark of TURKSOY. The consensus reached for the adoption of Nowruz in all TURKSOY member countries has played a key role in the initiation of Nowruz celebrations in Turkey and the adoption of Nowruz feast today by the masses. At the

¹⁰ TURKSOY is likely to be seen as a structure to eliminate international isolation of TRNC by the Turkey since its establishment. TRNC has taken part in the meetings of the organization and many decisions regarding to its activities.

term meeting in 1994, another resolution, which can be considered as the first step towards the celebration of cultural capital of the Turkic World, was also signed. This initiative is still being carried out by TURKSOY today. During this meeting the cities of Bukhara, Khiva, Istanbul and Merv were declared as common cultural cities by TURKSOY.¹¹ It was also decided to organize the next meeting in Bishkek in June 1994 and the 6th meeting to be held in Ashgabat in November 1994 (Türk Dili Konuşan Ülkeler Kültür Bakanları 4. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirgesi, 1994).

During the 5th Term Meeting held in Bishkek on July 1th-4th, 1994, the organization chart of TURKSOY proposed by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Turkey and was accepted. In this meeting, Polad Bülbüloğlu (from Azerbaijan) was appointed as Director General to TURKSOY for 3 years.¹² The requirement for member states to send candidates to Turkey's headquarters in Ankara by October 1st, 1994 was also included in the concluding declaration (Şenköken, 1994).

The next meeting was held in Ashgabat between May 27-29th, 1995, although delayed by the originally scheduled date. The council members welcomed the fact that the participating heads of state referred to TURKSOY's successful work and expressed their appreciation, as suggested in the final declaration of the Summit of Heads of State of Turkic Speaking States held in Istanbul on October 18-19th, 1994. In this meeting, various decisions were taken in order to deepen cooperation in the fields of fine arts, sports and tourism (TÜRKSOY Kültür Bakanları 6. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 1995).

¹¹ The city of Merv and Khiva would be selected as the Cultural Capital of the Turkic World in the following years.

¹² The title of General Directorate of TURKSOY was later changed to Secretary General of TURKSOY.

The 7th Term Meeting was held in Ankara on March 19th-20th, 1996, approximately 10 months after the last meeting. Alain Hancock, director of Central Asia and Eastern Europe Development Programme from UNESCO, attended the meeting as an observer where the signing of an agreement between UNESCO and TURKSOY was on the agenda as part of the cooperation initiatives of TURKSOY and UNESCO (Cumhuriyet, 1996). As a matter of fact, a cooperation agreement was signed between the two organizations in June 1996. The timing of this meeting coincided with the Nowruz celebrations. The decision to celebrate Nowruz holiday in all TURKSOY member countries was implemented for the first time at the Marmaris meeting back in 1994. Government representatives of Tyva, Khakasia and Sakha/Yakutia who came to Ankara to participate in the meeting also enjoyed the celebration of Nowruz in Turkey (TÜRKSOY Kültür Bakanları 7. Dönem Toplantısı, 1996).

The 8th Term Meeting was held in Baku, Azerbaijan on November 6-8th, 1996. With this meeting, it was observed that the decisions taken at the Summits of Heads of State of Turkic Speaking States are reflected in TURKSOY activities. TURKSOY was commissioned to conduct a calendar study of Turkic history and culture. At this meeting, with the proposal of the Minister of Culture of the Republic of Kazakhstan, it was agreed that the Republic of Khakassia and the Republic of Tyva should be included in TURKSOY with observer status (TÜRKSOY Bakanlar Konseyi 8. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 1996).

The 9th Term Meeting was held on September 28-29th, 1997 in Almaty, the former capital of Kazakhstan. In the meeting the task of preparing the calendar given to TURKSOY decided earlier at the Summits of the Heads of Turkic Speaking States, was discussed and it was decided that an extraordinary meeting in Turkey in the first half of November 1997

had to be held, as the work did not reach the desired level. With this meeting, Polad Bülbüloğlu, who completed his 3-year, was re-elected as Directory General of TURKSOY for another term. At the meeting, the appointment of Ziya Yılmaz, who was recommended to be the Deputy General Manager of TURKSOY by the Republic of Turkey, was approved. The ordinary meeting was decided to be held in Turkey in the spring of 1998 (Türk Dili Konuşan Ülkeler Daimi Konseyi 9. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 1997).

The 10th Term Meeting was held in Antalya, Turkey on June 17th-19th, 1998, simultaneously with the organization's 5th anniversary celebrations. In this meeting, member states agreed on sending one expert to TURKSOY. The celebration of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey in TURKSOY member states and the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Kyrgyz author Cengiz Aytmatov in cooperation with Turkey and Kyrgyzstan were among the topics included in the meeting's final statement. The Kyrgyz Republic proposed that the 12th meeting be held simultaneously with the 70th anniversary celebrations of Cengiz Aytmatov (in May 1999) and this proposal was viewed positively by the members. As a matter of fact, they expressed their wish to include activities to be carried out in their respective countries in the near future in the agenda of TURKSOY. This can be understood as a tangible sign of member countries' appreciation regarding TURKSOY's efforts. At this meeting, TURKSOY was given the task of establishing a common art ensemble called the TURKSOY International Folk Dance Ensemble (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konsey 10. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 1998).

The 11th Term Meeting was held between December 15th-16th, 1998 in Kazan, the capital of the Republic of Tatarstan. When the final reports of this meeting are examined, it can

be inferred that there have been difficulties in the payment of contributions. Likewise, this issue was listed first in the meeting's final report. At the same meeting, a decision was taken on the construction of the Headquarter of TURKSOY in Ankara, another important issue in TURKSOY's history (Cumhuriyet, 1998). In the meeting, where Chuvash, Gagauzia (Moldova) and Sakha/Yakutia representatives participated in for the first time as observers, an unprecedented joint effort was made to list the cultural heritage of one of its member countries on the World Cultural Heritage List (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 11. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 1998).

The 12th Term Meeting was held in Bishkek on May 25 -26th, 1999. At the meeting where decisions were made about the various cultural activities to be discussed under the title of TURKSOY activities, it was decided to provide financial support for the repair of the museum house in the Talas province, where Cengiz Aytmatov was born. The ministers of culture of TURKSOY member states were invited to the 6th Summits of the Heads of Turkic Speaking States which was to be held in Azerbaijan on June 14th-15th, 1999 on the occasion of 1300th anniversary of the Dede Korkut Saga.

The 13th Term Meeting was held in Ankara on November 30th – December 1st, 1999. Since the year 2000 was recognized as the Year of Peace by UNESCO, the members of the council issued a similar document called the 21st Century Declaration at this meeting (21. Yüzyıl TÜRKSOY Bildirgesi, 2000). When the final report of this meeting was examined, it is observed that TURKSOY was succesful in developing international cooperation in various fields. However, due to problems in terms of language, the issue of participation of experts from TURKSOY member countries in language courses in Turkey has often been raised at meetings of culture ministers. As a solution to this problem, it was decided to employ the personnel of the member countries' ministries of

culture in temporary assignments at TURKSOY headquarters for 3 months alternately (Türkçe Dil Kusları, 2000). At the 13th term meeting, it was also decided to organize the TURKSOY Painters' Gatherings held in Turkey for the first time in that period. This gathering then became one of the traditional activities of TURKSOY. It was also decided that exhibitions would be opened which would present the works of these gatherings to the whole world. Additionally, in order to enable the creation of works that promote Turkic cultural identity in the world, the decision was taken at this meeting to award the TURKSOY Grand Art Prize and to issue the TURKSOY journal, which would be instrumental in the documentation of the organization's work.¹³ Another point that is worth mentioning in the conclusion statement of the 13th term meeting was that the members of the Permanent Council expressed their regret about the earthquake which hit Turkey that year and expressed their solidarity with Turkey (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 13. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 1999).

The 14th term meeting was held on June 02nd-03rd, 2000 in Ufa, the capital of the Republic of Bashkortostan. Council members who decided that Painters' Gatherings of TURKSOY should take place every year, also decided to award succesful painters with the Special Painting Prize of TURKSOY. The Grand Art Award of TURKSOY, which was mentioned in the previous meeting, decided to be given every two years in the fields of theatre, painting, sculpture, drawing and decorative arts, architecture, performing arts, etc. under the name of "International TURKSOY Award". During this meeting, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey proposed to organize a week of Turkic Language and Culture at the headquarters of UNESCO. The celebrations of the 1500th year anniversary of Turkestan and the 3000th anniversary of Osh, which were

¹³ Journal of TURKSOY has published more than 50 copies so far. Today, TURKSOY publishes four issues per year.

celebrated in 2000, were included in the meeting's conclusion statement. In this meeting Polad B lb lođlu was once again elected as the Director General of TURKSOY for the years 2000-2003 (T RKSOY Daimi Konsey 14. D nem Toplantısı Sonu Bildirisi, 2000).

The 15th Term meeting was held in Baku between January 16th-17th, 2001. The event, which was planned to be organized by UNESCO under the name of "Turkic Language and Culture Week" at the previous meeting, was extended to 2002-2003 with this meeting. In line with the decision taken at the 6th Summit of the Heads of States of Turkic Speaking States, the joint calendar of Turkic history and civilization was decided to be re-organized for 2002-2007. Upon the decision of the previous council, the Painting Prize of TURKSOY was awarded to the work of the artist Chalida Shimova from the Republic of Kyrgyzstan (T RKSOY Daimi Konsey 15. D nem Toplantısı Sonu Bildirisi, 2001).

The 16th Term meeting was held in Izmir on June 27th-28th, 2001. In the speech he delivered at the 7th Summit Meeting of the Heads of States of Turkic Speaking States held in Istanbul on April 26th-27th, 2001, the Director General Polad B lb lođlu made a presentation on activities carried out by TURKSOY (T rk Dili Konuřan  lkeler Devlet Bařçıları'nın 7. Zirvesinde T RKSOY Genel M d r , Azerbaycan K lt r Bakanı Polad B lb lođlu'nun Konuřması, 2001). The appreciation of the heads of states regarding activities carried out by TURKSOY was welcomed in the final declaration of this meeting. Trying to deepen the cooperation with UNESCO on the one hand, TURKSOY tried to increase its communication with other organizations that served the same purposes during those years. In this context, it is observed that the ministers of culture added the necessity of establishing communication with the Council of Europe and

academic institutions within TURKSOY to the meeting's final declaration (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konsey 16. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2001).

The 17th Term Meeting was held on January 28th-30th, 2002 in Almaty, instead of the Turkestan city stated by the decision taken at the previous meeting. At this meeting, it was decided that the International TURKSOY Award, amounting to USD 15000, should be given to Viktor Bhutanayev, a well-known scientist of the Republic of Khakassia. The Painting Award of TURKSOY of USD 1000 was decided to be given to the Azerbaijani painter Reşat Mehdiyev who participated in the 4th Painters' Gathering of TURKSOY (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 17. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2002).

The 18th Term Meeting was held in Istanbul and Ankara on July 16th-17th, 2002, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of TURKSOY's establishment. In addition to the member states, the ministers of culture of the Russian Federation, the Sakha/Yakutia and Altay Republic, as well as famous artists and intellectuals participated in the celebrations. In the first 10 years, TURKSOY's activities concentrated mostly on its member countries since the organization attached a great importance on fostering relations and exchanging experience among the Turkic World. In the speech he delivered at the 10th year celebration, Polat Bülbüloğlu, then Director General of TURKSOY said the following regarding the success achieved by the organization: "there is no international activity in our countries where TURKSOY is not involved" (Şengül, Aliyev and Davletov, 2003). At this meeting, "the 10th Annual Declaration" was adopted, dedicated to all countries of the world. In line with the decision made at the previous meeting, the first International TURKSOY Award was presented to Viktor Bhutanayev during these celebrations. In the

10th anniversary of the organization, a groundbreaking ceremony was also held at the location of its headquarters today (Mülazımoğlu, 2002).¹⁴

The 19th Term Meeting was held in Baku between February 05th-06th, 2003. The Altai and Sakha/Yakutia Republics joined TURKSOY as member states with an observer status. At this meeting, it was decided that the Painting Award of TURKSOY should be given to Aleksey Ulturgasev, a painter from the Republic of Khakasia. In the minutes of the meeting, it was observed that efforts were continuing in the cooperation with UNESCO on the protection of intangible cultural heritage of TURKSOY member countries (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 19. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2003).

The 20th Term Meeting was held between September 22nd-23rd, 2003 in Ufa, Bashkortostan. With this meeting, Polad Bülbüloğlu was once again elected as Director General. During the aforesaid meeting, Dusen Kasseinov, the current Secretary General who was the Minister of Culture of Kazakhstan back then, took over the position of the Term Coordinator of TURKSOY (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 20. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2003).

The 21st session was held in Astana between July 14th-15th, 2004. Together with this meeting, it was approved to replace Ziya Yilmaz, who was appointed deputy general manager of TURKSOY on November 5th, 2003, with Canbolat Hakan Arslan. It was also decided to award the International TURKSOY Award to the Finnish-Turkish Society. It was decided that the 2003 Painting Award of TURKSOY should be given to Dimitri Mete Savattin from Gagauzia (Moldova). The decision to set up a center within TURKSOY to carry out studies in the field of Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage

¹⁴ TURKSOY Headquarter is located in Or-an district, Ankara. The building is constructed by the Azerbaijani architect Cafer Giyasi in a traditional otag form.

was another prominent step taken in this meeting (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 21. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2004).

The 22th Term Meeting was held in Kazan on May 30th-June 01st, 2005 as part of the 1000th anniversary celebrations of Kazan. It is noted that the cooperation agreement between 2005-2008 with the European-Asian Humanitarian Academy was ratified at this meeting. In this meeting the practice of ratification of the agreements signed by the organization in the council has been adopted for the first time. The Painting Award of TURKSOY of 2004 was given to the Khakas painter, Aleksandr Kotojekov (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 22. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2005).

The 23rd Term Meeting was held in Ankara on December 18th-19th, 2006. This meeting was held together with the opening of the TURKSOY Headquarter. The Heads of States of Turkic Speaking States emphasized that they once again appreciated the work of TURKSOY as they did at the 8th summit meeting. Polad Bülbüloğlu was not able to attend this meeting due to health problems and this was included in the result reports of the meeting. In line with the decision made at the previous meeting, the members of the council evaluating the annual report of the coordinator of the International Center for Cultural Heritage of Turkic Peoples approved the establishment of a stationary center in Baku upon the proposal of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Azerbaijan. Furthermore, the proposal to award the Painting Award of TURKSOY to Murat Hocaguliyev from Turkmenistan, who participated in the 8th Painters' Gathering of TURKSOY, and to organize a one-week seminar in Ankara for the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey to train experts in the field of tangible and intangible cultural heritage was accepted.

Together with this meeting, it was agreed that the persons who will be appointed to the office of the General Directorate of TURKSOY should not be ministers and that the director general should serve for two consecutive terms at most. Due to Polad Bülbüloğlu's active duty as the Ministry of Culture of Azerbaijan during the period of his work in TURKSOY, the organization had some difficulties because of his absence. Considering that the activities will be mostly realized in the newly opened headquarter, 23rd Term Coordinator, Minister of Culture of Turkey Atilla Koç continued his term. Election of the General Director was also postponed to the 24th Term Meeting (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 23. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2006).

The 24th Term Meeting was held in Ankara again on May 27th-28th, 2008. In this meeting, Dusen Kasseinov was elected as the general manager of TURKSOY for the years of 2008-2011 by unanimous vote. With this meeting, the appointment of Fırat Purtaş as Deputy Director General of TURKSOY was also approved. Furthermore, it was decided that the International TURKSOY Award should be given every 5 years and the 9th Painting Award of TURKSOY should be given to Andrei Chikachev from the Sakha/Yakutia (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 24. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2008).¹⁵

The 25th Term Meeting was held in Bishkek on October 25th-26th, 2008. TURKSOY's cooperation with UNESCO, ISESCO (Islamic Education, Science and Culture Organization), and IRCICA (Islamic History, Art and Culture Research Center) as well as local structures such as the Union of Municipalities of the Turkic World (Türk Dünyası Belediyeler Birliği) and Eurasian Authors' Union (Avrasya Yazarlar Birliği)

¹⁵ Fırat Purtaş served between the years of 2008-2019 and left this position to Bilal Çakıcı in 2019.

was appreciated by the members of the Permanent Council. The 3rd International TURKSOY Award, which was given to Kyrgyz author Cengiz Aytmatov at the 24th Term Meeting, was presented to the author's wife and the Painting Award of TURKSOY was given to the Kyrgyz Painter Adilbek Bayterekov during the meeting (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 25. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2008).

The 26th Term Meeting was held in Baku on October 16th-17th, 2009. This meeting was a historic one in the institutionalization of relations among the countries of the Turkic World. A number of amendments to the TURKSOY legislation were also adopted in the meeting's final statement expressing support for the Nakhichevan Declaration adopted at the Summit of Heads of States of Turkic Speaking States held on October 3rd, 2009. It was agreed to change the name of the organization as the International Organization of Turkic Culture, to change the office of the General Directorate as the Secretariat General, and to renew the definition of the country expert as the representative of the member country. The adoption of the TURKSOY legislation in accordance with the national legislation of the member states was also included in the meeting's final statement. At the meeting where it was decided to award the Painting Award of TURKSOY to the Uzbek painter Ortikbay Kazakov, the member state contributions were fixed at \$ 200000 for the founding countries and \$ 50000 for the observer countries. In this meeting, 2010 was declared as the Year of Ahmet Zeki Velidi Togan as part of the commemorative years, which became traditional as of today (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 26. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2009).

The 27th Term Meeting was held on May 18th, 2010 in the city of Komrat, located in Gagauzia (Moldova). As part of the commemorative years, 2011 was declared as the Year of the Tatar poet Abdullah Tuqay at this meeting. In these years, it is seen that the

Nowruz celebrations have reached out beyond the boundaries of the Turkic World and that TURKSOY has tried to carry out international activities outside its member countries. In this context, the Permanent Council of TURKSOY decided to hold an event at the United Nations Headquarters (New York) to promote the Nowruz holiday on March 21st, 2011. It was further decided that the Painting Award of TURKSOY should be awarded to Radun Marsenic, a painter from Montenegro. During this period, when cultural and art activities were gaining momentum, TURKSOY Special Awards were planned and budgets were determined in different categories in order to foster cultural relations (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 27. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2010).¹⁶

The 28th Term Meeting was held in Antalya on November 24th-25th, 2010. The “Cultural Capital of the Turkic World” practice proposed by TURKSOY at the Summit of Heads of State of Turkic Speaking States held in Istanbul on September 14-15th, 2010 was adopted at this summit and Astana, the capital of Kazakhstan, was chosen as Cultural Capital of the Turkic World for 2012 (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 28. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2010).

The 29th Session was held in Astana on September, 20th-21th 2011. At this meeting, Dusen Kasseinov was re-elected as Secretary General. The members of the council decided to declare 2012 as the Year of the Khakas historian Nikolay Katanov, and after Astana, Turkey’s Eskişehir province was chosen as Cultural Capital of the Turkic World for 2013. In 2011, the council decided to pursue the wide-scale celebration of Nowruz

¹⁶ Different types of awards and their amounts are as follows: Painting Prize: USD 3,000 Ural Mono Special Award (Bashkortostan RF): USD 3000 Ballet Special Award (Turkey): Euro 3,000, Gold Pulpit Special Award (Tatarstan RF): USD 3,000, Çir Çayan Special Award (Khakas): USD 3,000, Rudolf Nuriyev Special Award (Bashkortostan RF, Tatarstan RF): USD 3,000, Eastern Market Special Prize (Crimea): USD 5,000, Singing Competition Award: USD 3,000, Cultural Heritage Restoration Award: USD 3,000, Photography Award: USD 3,000.

held in the United Nations in different countries and recommended that the contributions paid to TURKSOY be increased to \$ 300000 for the founding members and \$ 75000 for the observer members (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 29. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2011).

The 30th Term Meeting was held once again in Ufa on September 7th, 2012. Two days before this meeting, participants also inaugurated the first TURKSOY chair in the national university of Ufa. Kazan, the capital of Tatarstan, was unanimously elected as Cultural Capital of the Turkic World of 2013. The Permanent Council declared 2013 as the year of Mukan Tulebayev within the framework of the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of his birthday as part of the annual commemorative years (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 30. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2012).

The 31st Term Meeting was held on October 1st-2nd, 2013 in Ankara, in TURKSOY Headquarters. This was the first time that TURKSOY hosted a Permanent Council Meeting. The meeting, which was held in Ankara on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of TURKSOY, was attended by the ministers of culture as well as by representatives of institutions and organizations related to TURKSOY.¹⁷ In the meeting, it was decided to give the Painting Award of TURKSOY to Khakas painter Vitaly Kızlasov. Furthermore, the year 2014 was declared both as the year of Magtuguly Pyragy within the framework of the commemoration of the 290th anniversary of his birthday; and the year of Kyrgyz poet Toktogul Satylganov within the framework of the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of his birthday. With this meeting, TURKSOY dedicated its

¹⁷ Representatives of Turkic Council, Turkic Academy, Turkic Culture and Heritage Foundation and Parliamentary Assembly of the Turkic Speaking States were present at this meeting.

commemoration year to two different people for the first time (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 31. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2013).

The 32nd Term Meeting was held in Kazan on November 21st, 2014. Secretary General Dusen Kasseinov was appointed once again for the years of 2014-2017 at this meeting. According to the meeting's final declaration, Merv city of Turkmenistan was chosen as Cultural Capital of the Turkic World for 2015. As part of the commemorative years, a name was chosen from Turkey for the first time. Indeed, TÜRKSOY declared 2015 as the year of Haldun Taner in the 100th anniversary of his birth and Semen Kadyshchev in the 130th anniversary of his birth upon decision of the Ministers of the Permanent Council (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 32. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2014).

The 33rd Term Meeting was held in Merv City on November 26th, 2015. According to the decisions reflected in the final report of this meeting, the city of Sheki, Azerbaijan was selected as Cultural Capital of the Turkic World 2016 and with the proposal of Kyrgyzstan, 2016 was declared as the Year of Yusuf Khass Hajib in the member states of TÜRKSOY (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 33. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2015). Furthermore, all events and activities carried out by the International Organization of Turkic Culture in 2016 were dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the Independence of Turkic Republics of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan (Turganbayev, 2017).

The 34th Term Meeting was held in Sheki on December 1st, 2016. At this meeting, the city of Turkistan, Kazakhstan was selected as Cultural Capital of the Turkic World of 2017 and the year 2017 was declared as the Year of Mullah Penah Vagif, due to the 3000th anniversary of his birth. In terms of the financial issues, contributions were agreed to be increased to \$ 1.5 million for Turkey, \$ 500000 each for Azerbaijan and

Kazakhstan, \$ 300000 for Kyrgyzstan and \$ 100000 for other countries (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 34. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2016).

The 35th Term Meeting was held on December 5th, 2017 in Turkistan, Kazakhstan. At this meeting the city of Kastamonu, Turkey was declared as Cultural Capital of the Turkic World of 2018. TÜRKSOY's activities which were dedicated to one name in the previous years and then to two names, were dedicated to three different names with the decision taken at this year's meeting. In line with the proposals, it was decided that 2018 would be declared as the year of Gara Garayev in its 100th anniversary of birth, Magcan Cumabayev in its 125th anniversary of birth and Cengiz Aytmatov in its 90th anniversary of birth. During this meeting, Dusen Kasseinov was once again elected as Secretary General for the period 2017-2020 (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 35. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2017).

As of 2019, the 36th Term meeting was the last meeting. It was held in Kastamonu on December 18th, 2018. At this meeting, Osh, the historical province of Kyrgyzstan, was chosen as Cultural Capital of the Turkic World for 2019. As part of the commemorative years, the year 2019 was announced as the Azerbaijani poet Imadeddin Nesimi in its 650th anniversary and Turkish poet Aşık Veysel in its 125th anniversary of their birth (TÜRKSOY Daimi Konseyi 36. Dönem Toplantısı Sonuç Bildirisi, 2018).

When the 36 meetings held in the last 27 years are looked at, it is seen that the meetings held every 6 months in the first period were held once a year in the later periods. All of the constituent countries participated in the meetings of the organization, which has been working with 2 senior managers so far. In terms of participation in the meetings, irregularities were also seen, especially regarding the levels and frequency of participation of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Although Turkmenistan has participated

more regularly than Uzbekistan in these meetings, it one time attended a meeting in Ankara at the level of the ambassador. The proceedings of the meeting further state that Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan did not sign the resolutions in some meetings. Due to the difficulties in signing the resolutions, the organization presented the results of the meeting in a separate copy with the signatures of the term coordinators. In the early years, the attendance of ministers was more regular, afterwards, it was pointed out that the deputy ministers or the undersecretaries were attending the meetings by proxy to the ministers on a periodic basis.

The Permanent Council Meetings were hosted 12 times by Turkey, 6 times by Azerbaijan, 6 times by Kazakhstan, 3 times by Kyrgyzstan, Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, 2 times by Turkmenistan and 1 time by Gagauzia (Moldova). As a result of the meetings of the Permanent Council of TURKSOY, which is the highest decision-making body, consisting of the ministers of culture of the member states, today the TURKSOY has become an international organization that unites 14 Turkic-speaking states and communities under its auspices. At the recent Summit of Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States held in Baku on the concept of Turkic speaking countries, Nursultan Nazarbayev, the founding president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, proposed the use of the term “Turkic States” rather than “Turkic Speaking States” (Yeniçağ, 2019).

To date, the Permanent Council Meetings held by TURKSOY brought about many decisions on the alignment of cultural policies and the development of cultural cooperation between countries identified as kindred countries. The meetings which established TURKSOY and contributed to the development of the relations within the Turkic World in an institutional structure have also provided the recognition of

TURKSOY as a platform for the strengthening both multilateral and bilateral cooperation among the Turkic Republics.

When these meetings are looked at, some of the activities that TURKSOY maintained during the historical period are worth mentioning. The most prominent among these activities are the Nowruz celebrations, commemorative years announcements and the announcement of Cultural Capital of the Turkic World. The agenda of the meetings held together with the establishment of the institutional structure of the organization was followed in the usual way and the member states expressed their proposals at meetings as a result of their year-long work and tried to increase their position in the activities of the organization. Painters' Gatherings, Photographers' Gatherings and Opera Days can be given as examples of other activities that have become traditional in the period elapsed since the establishment of the organization.

As mentioned at the 10th term meeting held in 1998, TURKSOY was requested to establish an art ensemble. In line with its commitment to duties assigned to it, TURKSOY even did more and created three art ensembles, namely the Youth Chamber Orchestra of TURKSOY (2010), the Youth Choir of TURKSOY (2015) and the Orchestra of Traditional Instruments of TURKSOY (2018). In addition to its many cultural, artistic and scientific activities, the organization has supported the efforts of different institutions and organizations, and signed cooperation agreements with many regional and international actors. Before addressing the issues mentioned above in detail, however, it would be appropriate to mention the Nowruz celebrations, another major activity that is associated with TURKSOY.

3.2. TURKSOY and Nowruz

Nowruz, known as the herald of spring and the new day, is an ancient feast symbolizing plentifulness, abundance, vitality, love, brotherhood, sharing, peace and friendship that nature offers to people (Durbilmez, 2003). Nowruz, a spring festival cherished not only by the Turkic people but also by many people living in the Northern Hemisphere, is being celebrated today worldwide partially due to the initiatives of TURKSOY. Indeed, upon the proposal of TURKSOY member countries (Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey) and Iran, Pakistan and India, Nowruz was included in the UNESCO “Intangible Cultural Heritage List” in 2009 and became an international holiday with the bill adopted at the United Nations General Assembly on February 23rd, 2010. According to this bill, the date of March 21st, has been declared as “International Nowruz Holiday” all over the world (Un.org, n.d.).

TURKSOY, which has organized Nowruz celebrations in Turkey since 1995, with the initiatives of Dusen Kasseinov, who took office in 2008, organized a celebration of Nowruz outside the TURKSOY member countries for the first time in 2010. With the participation of over 100 artists from Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey, Tatarstan (RF), Bashkortostan (RF), Tyva (RF) and Gagauzia (Moldova), Nowruz celebration of TURKSOY took place in UNESCO headquarters in Paris. The celebrations, which were carried out with the active contribution of the Permanent Representatives of TURKSOY Member Countries to UNESCO, turned out to be the most widely attended celebration prepared. After UNESCO announced the year 2009 the International Year for the Rapprochement of Cultures, TURKSOY took the opportunity and organized Nowruz celebrations in New York in 2010 with a wider number of participants. The most important address of the Nowruz celebrations in 2011, where the

participation of nearly 150 artists from 11 countries was recorded, was the United Nations Headquarter (Purtaş, 2010).

UN General Assembly Hall, home to historic resolutions, was assigned to TURKSOY on March 24th, 2011 and prior to the celebrations, Mehmet Ali Şahin, the President of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM), Joseph Deiss, the President of the United Nations General Assembly, and TURKSOY Secretary General Dusen Kasseinov delivered their speeches describing Nowruz. During the press conference, TURKSOY Deputy Secretary General Fırat Purtaş stated that Nowruz celebrations were forbidden during the Soviet era and that they could not reach large masses due to their politicization in Turkey. Purtaş further stated that Nowruz had attained its true character through the efforts of TURKSOY (Şıvgın Dündar, 2011).

In terms of the Nowruz celebrations organized by the organization, it is observed that the most widely attended celebrations were those held in Turkey. The interest and participation of the state leaders in these celebrations have also been intense. The tradition started when Turkish President Abdullah Gül accepted representatives of the groups who came to Turkey to participate in the TURKSOY Nowruz celebrations in 2012 at the Çankaya Mansion. This tradition was continued by the next Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan; so the traditions of celebrating Nowruz, dating back centuries, were remembered once again in Turkey with the support of these state leaders.

Turkey's 11th President Abdullah Gul, who accepted TURKSOY artists at the Presidential Palace in 2013, expressed the following words during the reception:

I consider you all to be ambassadors of culture and art. We are actually parts of a great nation living in different states, communities. Your activities, your efforts, will bring everyone closer together. Our common culture, our common traditions,

all our common feelings will unite each other much more. In that respect, I would like to thank TURKSOY for its efforts (Abdullahgul.gen.tr, 2013).

President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, also accepted TURKSOY artists from Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Moldova, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Mongolia who came to Turkey on the occasion of the Nevruz events in 2016 and expressed his wish that Nowruz would be instrumental in the unification and integration of not only Eurasia but the entire family of the world populations (Tccb.gov.tr, 2016).

The Nowruz celebrations, especially the ones held in Turkey, turned out to be the first of TURKSOY's traditional activities. In the section of the TURKSOY promotional film about Nowruz, it was stated that "Nowruz, which is the common heritage of humanity, is delivered to the wide masses through the celebrations held in different countries with the participation of hundreds of artists every year" especially making reference to the organization's efforts to promote Nowruz, which is considered an intangible cultural heritage (Youtube.com, 2019).

TURKSOY organized Nowruz celebrations with the participation of artists from different countries in Germany, Austria, Great Britain, Romania, Belgium and various Balkan countries.¹⁸ These celebrations were organized together with not only artists from TURKSOY member countries but also artists from other countries of the world. This became a key factor in the revival of the Nowruz tradition and its recognition all over the world over the years.

¹⁸ Beside member countries of TURKSOY, Nevruz celebrations were held in 2010 and 2015 in UNESCO Headquarters in Paris (France); in 2011 and 2016, the United Nations General Assembly, New York (USA); in 2013, at Trinity College, Cambridge and Westminster Hall, London (UK); in 2015, Stadthalle Mülheim, Cologne (Germany) and the Royal Palace of Hofburg, Vienna (Austria); in 2016, Warner Theater, Washington DC (USA); in 2017, Bucharest (Romania); In 2018 in the Balkan countries; in 2019 various cities of Germany and Belgium.

3.3. Artistic Gatherings

These gatherings of TURKSOY bringing together photographers, opera singers, poets, members of the media, theatre, dance and music groups, are called artistic gatherings. One of the oldest artistic gatherings of the organization has been the Painters' Gathering of TURKSOY as it has been held every year since 1999. Painting Award of TURKSOY was presented to a painting selected from among the works of the painters who participated in these meetings. Within the scope of such meetings, 500 painters were brought together and hundreds of work added to the TURKSOY collection. TURKSOY continues to show these art pieces to art lovers through various exhibitions (TÜRKSOY Faaliyet Raporu, 2019).

Another TURKSOY event that has become traditional over the years has been the Opera Days. The event, held with the contribution of talented artists from TURKSOY member countries, has been organized 22 times so far. All 22 Opera Days of TURKSOY since the beginning took place in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Although various concerts were held in different countries and cities within the scope of the event, the common point of all 22 Opera Days was that their opening or closing concerts were held in TRNC. Over the years, hundreds of artists from TURKSOY member countries have participated in activities in TRNC. These activities including concerts as well as master classes have helped participants to increase their artistic capacity. Opera Days of TURKSOY are dedicated to opera singers from TURKSOY member countries such as Kulaş Bayseitova and Leyla Gencer (TÜRKSOY Faaliyet Raporu, 2019).

Photographers' Gathering of TURKSOY was another event that became a tradition. In 2019, the 16th meeting was organized. Within the framework of Cultural Capitals of the Turkic World, photographers from TURKSOY member countries have come together

every year in the selected city. Works, resulting from these gatherings have been regularly published in catalogues of the organization and photography exhibitions of TURKSOY have taken place in various parts of the world besides TURKSOY member countries (Turksay.org, 2019).

In addition to these activities, the TURKSOY has been regularly carrying out events such as sculptors' and composers' gatherings along with congresses of literary journals of the Turkic World, short story competitions and cultural heritage seminars every year since its establishment.

Artistic gatherings that have been traditionally carried out every year fostered communication among institutions of TURKSOY member countries and contributed to exchange of repertoires and artists in the Turkic World. An example of this interaction is the inclusion of the opera by the Kazakh composer Mukan Tolabeyev, "Birjan and Sara" in the Turkish repertoire of Turkish Opera houses by the State Opera and Ballet of Samsun, and the inclusion of "Arşın Mal Alan" the masterpiece of the famous Azerbaijani composer Uzeyir Hajibeyli in the repertoire of operas in Kazakhstan. (Haberler.com, 2014).

3.4. Cultural Capital of the Turkic World Practice

At the "10th Summit of the Heads of Turkic Speaking States" held in Istanbul in 2010, TURKSOY proposed to implement a similar project based on the example of the European Capital of Culture. Hence, Astana which was declared Cultural Capital of the Turkic World in 2012; to be followed by Eskişehir in 2013; Kazan in 2014; Merv in 2015; Sheki in 2016; Turkestan in 2017; Kastamonu in 2018 and Osh city in 2019.

Today, it is possible to suggest that there is a competition among the cities of TURKSOY member countries to hold this title in its 9th year. The high demand for this title can be explained by the fact that the cities selected as Cultural Capital of the Turkic World host many cultural and artistic events throughout the year. Within the scope of the practice, artists, scholars and intellectuals from all over Turkic World contribute to the cultural and artistic life of the chosen city through the contributions of TURKSOY as well as other organizations working in cooperation with TURKSOY.

With this practice, it has become a tradition for Permanent Council Meetings of TURKSOY to be held in the city which has been declared as cultural capital of culture. The realization of the opening and closing events organized within the framework of cultural capital project under the auspices of the heads of states has enabled this project to be recognized worldwide (Purtaş, 2019).

The initiative launched in order to contribute to cultural and artistic life of the cities, has also enabled the cities with this title to become an attraction center in terms of tourism. Janseyit Tuymebayev, the governor of Turkistan, Kazakhstan, which was declared Cultural Capital of the Turkic World for 2017, stated that the number of people visiting Turkistan has almost doubled compared to the previous year (Yeni Şafak, 2017).

Similarly, the province of Kastamonu in Turkey, which held this title in 2018 saw the number of visiting tourists considerably increasing compared to previous years thanks to this initiative (Ntv.com.tr, 2019).

Although such data is not available yet for Osh, Cultural Capital of the Turkic World 2019, the Opening Ceremony of the Capital of Culture, which was broadcasted live by many channels, raised great interest. In the speech he delivered at the opening ceremony

of the Cultural Capital of the Turkic World, the President of the Kyrgyz Republic Sooronbay Jeenbekov said, “Today the flags of the Turkic World are floating proudly in Kyrgyz skies over the territory of Osh”. Sooronbay Jeenbekov further stated that guests from 20 countries of the world came to Osh city, and expressed his gratitude to TURKSOY, for giving this meaningful title to Osh. The opening ceremony featuring a concert with performances of more than 250 artists from 12 countries was followed by many events held in Osh throughout the year (Turksoy.org, 2019).

Another aspect that has become traditional with this practice has been the organization of traditional activities of TURKSOY in the cities selected as the cultural capital. In this way, the organization has also provided more comprehensive recognition of such capitals of the Turkic World. The fact that a city has the title of cultural capital means that two large events (opening and closing ceremonies), meeting of Culture Ministers of TURKSOY member countries (Permanent Council of TURKSOY) and various TURKSOY artistic meetings (photographers, painters, opera singers, etc.) are held in that city.

Another traditional TURKSOY event that can be mentioned under this heading is the TURKSOY Press Awards ceremony, which is held simultaneously with the cultural capital ceremonies. Since 2010, the “TURKSOY Press Award” has been presented to individuals and institutions who have contributed to the preservation of the rich cultural heritage of the Turkic World and its transmission to future generations. So far this award has been given to more than 200 people and institutions, including journalists as well as television producers, news agents, newspapers and professionals who have been working in the field of communication for the last 9 years. Winners of the Press Award of TURKSOY are also invited to the opening ceremonies of the Cultural Capital of the

Turkic World. Apart from member countries of TURKSOY, the Press Award of TURKSOY has so far been presented to journalists and institutions from Dagestan (RF), Bulgaria, Kosovo and North Macedonia (Turksay.org, 2019).

3.5. Declaration of Commemorative Years and Commemoration Ceremonies

The organization of various activities aiming at the recognition of the valuable personalities who have left their mark on the cultural and artistic life of the Turkic World not only in TURKSOY member countries but also throughout the world make up an important part of TURKSOY's activities. Although the declaration of commemorative years has only started in 2010, it appears in the proceedings of Permanent Council Meetings that leading names have been remembered and honored since the very beginning of these meetings. In addition to the commemorative years declared by TURKSOY, annual reports of the organization show that hundreds of artists and scholars of the Turkic World have been commemorated so far.

Upon the proposal of the ministers of culture of TURKSOY member countries and the approval of the Permanent Council, the organization annually declares commemorative years throughout which panels, meetings and concerts are held along with publications in different languages. The list of these years are as follows: 2010 – Year of Zeki Velidi Togan, the Bashkort scholar, in commemoration of the 120th anniversary of his birthday. 2011 – Year of Abdullah Tukay, the Tatar poet, in commemoration of the 125th anniversary of his birthday. 2012 – Year of the Azerbaijani playwright Mirza Fatali Ahundzade, in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of his birthday, and of the Khakas Turcologist Nikolai Katanov in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of his birthday. 2013 – Year of Mukan Tulebayev, the Kazak composer, in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of his birthday. 2014 – Year of Magtumguly Pyragy, the Turkmen

philosopher and poet (290th anniversary) and of Toktogul Satylganov (150th anniversary). 2015 – Year of Haldun Taner, the Turkish playwright (100th anniversary) and of Simion Kadyshev, the famous Khakas author of legends (130th anniversary). 2016 – Year of Yusuf Khass Hajib, the poet, scholar and philosopher (1000th anniversary). 2017 – Year of Molla Panah Vagif, the famous Azerbaijani author (300th anniversary). 2018 - Year of Cengiz Aytmatov (90th anniversary), Year of Gara Garayev (100th anniversary) and Year of Magjan Jumabay (125th anniversary). Finally 2019 – Year of Aşık Veysel (120th anniversary) and Year of Imadeddin Nesimi (650th anniversary). Dusen Kasseinov, Secretary General of TURKSOY, stated the reason for organizing these events as follows:

We need to introduce the people who light our way to younger generations. This is our top priority. So far, we have managed to introduce many important figures who are not well known in the Turkic World such as Dina Nurpeyisova, the first woman composer of the Turkic World which is one of the great values trained in Kazakhstan; Kasım Amanjolov, the Kazakh poet; Abdullah Tukay, the most brilliant representative of Tatar language and literature; Mirza Fatali Ahunzade, the first playwright of Azerbaijan and the East; Ahmet Cevad, the national poet of Azerbaijan; Ismail Semenov, Karachay Malkar folk poet; Magtumguly Pyragy, first Turkmen philosopher and Nikolay Katanov the first Khakassian scientist. We come together with our friends on the occasion of these efforts. We are once again witnessing the richness of our cultural geography and transmitting our cultural heritage to future generations through our activities (Kaseinov 2015, p.22).

3.6. Art Ensembles of TURKSOY

There are three different art ensembles which were established upon the initiatives of TURKSOY. The first of these ensembles is the Youth Chamber Orchestra of TURKSOY, which brings together young artists in the field of classical music and was founded in 2010. Members and the repertoire of the Youth Chamber Orchestra of TURKSOY changes each year. In addition to world classics, orchestra's repertoire includes Turkish composers in order to introduce Turkish music and composers to the

world. Anvar Akbarov from Kazakhstan and Mustafa Mehmandarov from Azerbaijan serve as conductors in the orchestra. Besides TURKSOY also has established the Orchestra of Traditional Instruments composed of artists performing with traditional instruments of its member countries. The orchestra takes the scene with different dance ensembles. There is also the Youth Chamber Choir of TURKSOY, gathering conservatory students of the Turkic World (Turksay.org, 2019). The Youth Choir of TURKSOY is composed of students from member countries of TURKSOY and perform under the choirmaster of the Turkish Radio and Television Mrs. Elnara Karimova and the choirmaster of the Philharmonic Choir of Kazakhstan Mrs. Gulmira Kuttybadamova.

The aim of the Youth Chamber Orchestra of TURKSOY is to reflect the musical potential of Turkic Speaking peoples through the universal language of classical music, and to enhance recognition of Turkic culture and composers of Turkic classical music. To date, the orchestra, composed of talented young artists from TURKSOY member countries, has given nearly 60 concerts worldwide including the United States of America, Germany, England, Italy, Scotland, France and Austria in addition to TURKSOY member countries. The orchestra recorded 3 different albums dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the independence of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan in 2011, dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the founding of TURKSOY in 2013, and dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the founding of TURKSOY in 2018 (TÜRKSOY Gençlik Oda Orkestrası Broşürü, 2019).

The Orchestra of Traditional Instruments of TURKSOY, featuring instruments such as *dombra*, *bağlama*, *kopuz*, *kemençe*, *komuz*, *kil-kiyak*, *tar*, *nay*, *igil*, *kury* and *doyra* from TURKSOY member countries, was established in 2016 in order to introduce ethnic and traditional music and instruments of the Turkic World to audiences worldwide. The

orchestra, which consists of professional soloists, dancers and musicians working in famous music and dance ensembles in various countries of Turkic World, has taken the scene many times in TURKSOY member countries and performed in Nowruz celebrations held in the historical General Assembly Hall of the United Nations. Most recently, in the year 2019, the orchestra went on a tour in Japan. (TÜRKSOY Halk Çalgıları Orkestrası Broşürü, 2018)

The Youth Choir of TURKSOY was established to foster exchanges of repertoires, conductors and musicians among choirs of the Turkic World and to introduce Turkic music to the world. The choir, featuring talented students from member countries of TURKSOY, met for the first time in 2015. The Youth Choir of TURKSOY gathering young artists of the Turkic World has achieved great success in a short time. With 3 gold medals it won at the European Choir Games in 2015, the choir has become a great source of pride for the Turkic World. In 2019, the Youth Choir of TURKSOY went on a tour covering Balkan countries and European cities (TÜRKSOY Gençlik Korosu Broşürü, 2019).

3.7. Other Scientific, Cultural, Artistic and Sportive Activites

TURKSOY organizes many scientific, cultural, artistic and sporting events in addition to the activities presented under various headings in this section. It also supports activities organized by various international organizations, non-governmental organizations and ministries of member countries with common goals.

One of TURKSOY's outstanding scientific activities that should be mentioned in recent years is the series of conferences dedicated to Pioneers of the Turkic World Including people such as Hoca Ahmet Yesevi, Muhammed Hüseyin Şehriyar, Alikul Osmanov,

Konstantin İvanov, Bekir Sıtkı Çobanzade, Zeynelabid Batırmurzayev, Alişir Nevai, Cemal Mustafayev, Mehmet İzzet Hattat, Estay Berkimbayulı, Kadriye Temirbulatova, Necati Zekeriya and Cafer Cabbarlı. Once every month, TURKSOY Headquarters host a conference dedicated to the commemoration of such illustrious personalities of the Turkic World. To date, these conferences brought together nearly 50 scholars and artists from TURKSOY member countries.

Another scientific activity to be mentioned in this section is the series of meetings of UNESCO National Commissions of TURKSOY member countries, which have been dating back to 2008. Within the framework of annual seminars on Intangible Cultural Heritage, the national commissions of TURKSOY member countries to UNESCO have held such meetings. The most recent of these meetings took place in Osh, Kyrgyzstan during the opening ceremony of the Cultural Capital of the Turkic World 2019. Thanks to these meetings, many items of tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the Turkic World were included in the list of UNESCO (Unesco.org.tr, 2019).

As far as the artistic activities carried out by TURKSOY are concerned, concerts given by many guest orchestras and artists every year as well as special projects such as the Köroğlu Opera¹⁹, Yunus Emre Oratorio²⁰, Birjan and Sara Opera²¹ have fostered the mobility of artists of the Turkic World (Youtube.com, 2019).

¹⁹ Full video of Köroğlu Opera can be found online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fyFU6lmb_QU

²⁰ Full video of the concert of Yunus Emre Oratorio can be found online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4pC4FCEfVI>

²¹ Full video of Birjan and Sara Opera can be found online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iQX35SD7EVE>

With 58 issues published so far TURKSOY's journal is undoubtedly another strong contribution of TURKSOY to the promotion of the Turkic culture and art through the documentation of activities it carries out as well as through the publication of articles dedicated to illustrious personalities of the Turkic World.

3.8. International Cooperation of TURKSOY with Other Organizations

The Turkic Council, the Turkic Academy, the Turkic Culture and Heritage Foundation and the Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic Speaking Countries are sister organizations of the Turkic World with which TURKSOY is in cooperation. Besides these organizations, TURKSOY also cooperates with other international organizations such as UNESCO and ISESCO which share the same principles and objectives. Since its establishment, it is noted that TURKSOY has also worked in close cooperation with local governments, universities and non-governmental organizations.

Currently known as the UNESCO of Turkic World, TURKSOY signed a cooperation agreement with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on June 08th, 1996. As part of this agreement, both organizations agreed to inform each other of their respective activities and made decisions on the consultation, exchange of information and documents, as well as on mutual assistance in technical matters. According to the agreement reached on mutual representation, both organizations agreed to send representatives to the meetings of the highest-level decision-making bodies (TÜRKSOY ile UNESCO Arasında Anlaşma, 1996).

Another agreement that is worth mentioning in terms of international cooperation activities of TURKSOY carried out since its establishment, is the cooperation protocol signed between TURKSOY and the International Islamic Organisation for Education, Culture and Science (ISESCO) (ISESCO ve TÜRKSOY Arasında İşbirliği Protokolü, 2011).

With the protocols signed in 2011 and 2018, the cooperation of TURKSOY with ISESCO has been successfully pursued through joint projects. The protocol signed on April 8th, 2011 in Baku determines co-working areas as follows: Intercultural, Inter Civilizational and Interfaith Dialogue; Muslims in the West as well as Islamophobia and all forms of religion-based discrimination. In 2018, TURKSOY and ISESCO agreed upon a program of activities to be jointly carried out between 2019-2021. Hence, TURKSOY and ISESCO will carry out 8 projects in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan and the TRNC with a total budget reaching USD 165,000 in this time frame (TÜRKSOY ve ISESCO Arasında İşbirliği Programı, 2018).

Another remarkable agreement in the history of TURKSOY was the one signed between TURKSOY and the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation. The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed in Moscow on November 12th, 2014. Areas of joint activities set forth in the MoU cover music, theatre, museology, cultural heritage, dance and painting amongst others. This memorandum states that the Ministry of Culture is the party concerned in TURKSOY's relations with the administrative units of the Russian Federation. With this memorandum, the parties agreed upon mutual exchange of relevant information on activities to be held in TURKSOY member countries and in the Russian Federation as well as upon the realization of annual meetings of experts. Russian and Turkish were identified as the language of mutual interaction.²² (TÜRKSOY ve RF Kültür Bakanlığı Arasında Mutakabat Zaptı, 2014).

²² The effective date of the agreement in question expired however on December 31st, 2017; no agreement was signed after that date.

“The Host Country Agreement between TURKSOY and the Government of the Republic of Turkey”, signed on February 4th, 2010, is one of the other important agreements in terms of the institutional structure of TURKSOY organization. This agreement provided for the legal determination of privileges and immunities of TURKSOY and its staff including, judicial Immunity, Building Immunity, Archive Immunity, Immunity from Customs and Direct Taxes. Value Added Tax (VAT) Exemption also guarantees the personal rights of the staff of TURKSOY. With the entry into force of this agreement, the “Protocol On the Status of The TURKSOY Organization, Its National Representatives And International Personnel” signed in Ankara on September 4th, 1994 was abolished (TÜRKSOY ile Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Arasında Ev Sahibi Ülke Anlaşması, 2010).

According to the documents in the archives of TURKSOY, the most recent cooperation agreement signed by the organization was the one signed between TURKSOY and the Hungarian Ministry of Human Capacities. Hungary, which became an observer member of the Turkic Council in 2019, also strengthened its relations with TURKSOY and, as a result, these relations gained an institutional dimension in 2019. Signed on December 9th, 2019, the agreement is valid until December 31st, 2023 (TÜRKSOY ve Macaristan İnsan Kaynakları Bakanlığı Arasında Mutabakat Zaptı, 2019).

Since its establishment, TURKSOY has also cooperated with many educational institutions within the framework of agreements it signed. These institutions are the Keimyung University (South Korea), the Eastern Mediterranean University (TRNC), Girne University (TRNC), the State Pedagogical University of Azerbaijan (Azerbaijan), the University of Hacı Bayram Veli (Turkey), University of Komrat (Gagauzia), Kyrgyzstan-Turkey Manas University (Kyrgyzstan) and Al-Farabi Kazakh National University (Kazakhstan).

As a final note it was also be mentioned that as far as international relations are concerned, TURKSOY Headquarters hosted visits of many delegations over the years. The visit of the founding President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev to the Secretary General of TURKSOY on October 23rd, 2009 was the first and only visit made to TURKSOY at the level of the president of the member states. This visit of President Nazarbayev, stood as a proof of the importance he attached to the organization. Indeed, with his great efforts regarding Turkic cooperation former president of Kazakhstan is considered as one of the pioneers in the development of ties among Turkic Republics. (Kazakistan Cumhurbaşkanı Nursultan Nazarbayev TÜRKSOY Teşkilatını Ziyaret Etti, 2010). In recognition of his strong contribution to the rapprochement of the Turkic World, Nazarbayev was elected as the honorary president of the Turkic Council upon the suggestion of the President of the Republic of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the 7th Summit of Turkic Council held in Baku in 2019.

Another high-level visit to TURKSOY over the years was that of former UNESCO Director General Irina Bokova, who came to Turkey to attend the 7th Conference of Ambassadors and establish official contacts upon invitation of Mr. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey. The visit, which took place on January 5th, 2015, was very important for TURKSOY as it was often referred to as the UNESCO of the Turkic World at the time. During this visit, Director General Bokova underlined that the cooperation between TURKSOY and UNESCO was approaching its 20th anniversary and she expressed her happiness to be visiting TURKSOY Headquarters within the framework of her first official visit in Turkey (Turksoy.org, 2015).

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This study, which analyzes TURKSOY, an important cultural diplomacy organization, consists of 4 chapters. In this context, it offers research of the place of the concept of culture in the discipline of international relations, the emergence of the concept of soft power and the relationship of cultural diplomacy with this concept, goals and achievements of TURKSOY as the first Turkic cooperation organization and a cultural diplomacy organization, the organization's contributions to relations between the Turkic peoples in general, and importance in Turkish foreign policy, in particular, to the attention of the readers.

The first chapter of this study, which argues that TURKSOY is an instrumental actor in both, the relations with Turkic peoples and attaining the goals of Turkish foreign policy, includes the conceptual framework of the study and research questions.

Consequently, the second chapter of the study summarizes the transformation in Turkish foreign policy before and after the independence of the Turkic republics and conveys the journey of the institutionalization process of Turkic cooperation that led to TURKSOY within the framework of foreign policy.

The detailed information about TURKSOY is given in Chapter 3 to reveal what an important actor TURKSOY is in the field of cultural diplomacy, one of the most popular elements of soft power.

Located in the geography that has seen the largest power struggle the history has ever witnessed, Turkey had to incorporate soft power as a part of its foreign policy in the post-Cold War period. In fact, in 1992, Turkey took the first steps in the field of cultural diplomacy, which is one of the main pillars of soft power, as the foundation of TURKSOY. In terms of Turkish foreign policy, this initiative, together with culture, one of the three main sources of soft power, has been instrumental toward Turkey's geo-cultural hinterland extending from Central Europe to beyond the Caspian Sea.

One of the most widely used concepts in Turkish foreign policy in recent years is the notion of a strong Turkey in the field and at the table. Success in the field can be achieved more with hard power. On the other hand, in order to be successful at the table, hard power alone is not enough. Public support is an important element that increases the soft power, which can be increased through cultural diplomacy. States that have discovered this use many innovative methods in order to express their rightfulness in their policies and to gain public support (Alemdar, 2018). The ability of organizations such as TURKSOY to communicate directly with the public is unique in this process.

Turkey has established relations with, gained membership and/or has promoted the establishment of many international organizations within the context of foreign policy objectives, security needs, and political interests. Under national institutions, each ministry in Turkey is ultimately a tool that contributes to Turkish foreign policy goals. Apart from the ministries, institutions such as Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA), Yunus Emre Institute (YEE), Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), Anadolu Agency (AA), Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMV) and similar governmental and non-governmental organizations can be considered as other sub-contractors of the objectives of Turkish foreign policy. In the

international arena, apart from Turkic cooperation organizations, processes in accordance with the objectives mentioned above are carried out with organizations such as UNESCO, European Union (EU), European Commission (EC), ISESCO, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Research Center for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA) and Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and Turkey (OSCE) (Güleç, 2012).

TURKSOY was founded and hosted by Turkey when it comes to the soft power of Turkish foreign policy, and it has conducted its work with two senior officials since its foundation. The first of these was the Minister of Culture of Azerbaijan Polat Bülbüloğlu, and the other was Dusen Kaseinov, an artist, who served as the Minister of Culture in Kazakhstan. They are both cultural figures who have proven themselves and have been recognized at the level of heads of state.

When the Bülbüloğlu period, covering 1993-2007, is examined, it can be seen that achieving rapprochement between TURKSOY and related countries and peoples is a priority target for the organization. In order to achieve this closeness, many steps have been taken in the process and some activities that started in that period have become traditionalized and have reached contemporary times.

TURKSOY, in the Bülbüloğlu period, has tried to develop mutual relations between Turkic republics that were struggling to build their national identity, by eliminating the division created by the Soviet period, through emphasizing mutual history and culture. To bring back the identity that was to be lost, to extend a helping hand to those people who gained their independence but were struggling to revitalize their language was the responsibility TURKSOY undertook in its work at that time.

At the end of the first 10 years, in his speech on the 10th-year anniversary of the organization, Polad Bülbüloğlu signaled the possible expansion for years ahead by saying: “TURKSOY will embrace the Turkic World not only metaphorically but in the fullest sense of the word.” As a matter of fact, a turning point was experienced in the history of the organization in 1998. Tatarstan (RF), Bashkortostan (RF), Sakha/Yakutia (RF), Khakasia (RF), Altai (RF) and the Republic of Tyva joined TURKSOY in 1998 with an observer status. The participation of these members in TURKSOY can be interpreted as the inclusion of the Russian Federation in the organization.

The organization, which assumed the task of introducing the Turkic cultural identity in the Turkic republics in the first years, aimed to consolidate the place of Turkic culture within the world civilization as its next step. General Manager Polad Bülbüloğlu once said in a speech that to some people a person of Turkic descent still seems more cruel, informal, uncivilized and far from democratic culture, and he pointed out that in order to break down these thoughts, to open up to the world rapidly and gain international prestige, TURKSOY needs to continue its efforts in an accelerated rate. Names such as “steppe people”, which were used instead of the Turkic name at that time, were thought to be expressions that belittled the Turkic peoples (Arslan, 2016).

Polad Bülbüloğlu has stated during his time in the office and after it that Turkey is the driving force of TURKSOY’s work. Bülbüloğlu who on the organization’s 10th-year anniversary stated: “It is clear that TURKSOY’s growth and gain of international prestige has been foremost through the valuable contributions of our brother Turkey” (Şengül, Aliyev and Davletov, 2003), also had this to say about Turkey’s continuous support in his congratulatory message for 15th-year celebration of the organization, after leaving his position in the Directorate General of TURKSOY:

I am very happy today, it is not an easy task to establish an organization such as TURKSOY in 1992-1993, that is, in difficult and hard years, and to keep this organization going for 15 years. In this process, presidents have changed, governments changed, different ministers of culture came to the office, but the Turkish Republic and Turkish people that have undertaken the hosting of our institution have always provided full support to TURKSOY (Anon 2009, p.19).

As stated by Bülbüloğlu, Turkey has always been the driving force of the TURKSOY. Indeed, we need to keep in mind that the founding treaty of TURKSOY was written and opened for signature with Turkey's efforts. It is also noteworthy that the headquarters of the organization is built by means of Turkey's financial institutions and on the land allocated by Turkey, and that the majority of workers have been the citizens of the Turkish Republic.

Looking at the activities organized by the organization since its establishment, it can be observed that although from time to time the activities in some countries have increased in terms of number of activities that a country hosts, it is evident that TURKSOY has tried to carry out activities in all member countries without making a distinction between small and big cities. In some countries where communication difficulties were experienced due to the periodic crises, the artists of those countries routinely took part in the activities of the organization without interruptions.

Under the leadership of Dusen Kaseinov, TURKSOY has changed. While Bülbüloğlu focused on the work aiming for the rapprochement between Turkic republics, Kaseinov prioritizes TURKSOY's acceptance in the world and the rapprochement between world countries and Turkic republics. After the period of Bülbüloğlu, which can be described as the first period where publications and exhibitions comprised the majority of the output, the organization has realized great multinational projects during the Kaseinov period. In

the process, TURKSOY has become successful at attracting the attention of the public by directing itself to popular activities aimed at becoming recognized worldwide.

It was Dusen Kaseinov who put into practice the agreement signed between TURKSOY and UNESCO, which was established during the time of Polad B lb lođlu and can perhaps be regarded as the most comprehensive and meaningful agreement in the history of the institution. Looking at the scale of the artists and projects participating in TURKSOY activities, it is noteworthy that TURKSOY has signed major projects during this period. In 2018 alone, the organization carried out more than 300 activities and raised the bar quite high for other Turkic cooperation organizations (T RKSOY Faaliyet Raporu, 2018).

To summarize the transformation of TURKSOY, in the period of Dusen Kaseinov, the organization has become a cultural diplomacy mechanism that realizes, nurtures and transforms the Turkic culture to reach wider masses rather than trying to prove its place in the world civilization.

In 2018, having lived through 25 years of diplomatic relations with the Turkic republics, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, carried out a program in Ankara. During this program, TURKSOY Secretary General Dusen Kaseinov was awarded the Distinguished Service Award of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey (T.C. Dışışleri Bakanlıđı, 2017). According to the information on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this award:

is presented to domestic and foreign real and legal persons who have shown devotion, outstanding performance and contribution in promoting Turkey in the international arena, in successfully implementing the foreign policy and protecting and furthering the interests, in promoting the history, language, culture and arts, and to private or legal persons who have shown admirable service in other matters within the areas of mission and responsibility of the Ministry (T.C. Dışışleri Bakanlıđı, 2006).

The deeming of the Secretary General Dusen Kaseinov worthy for this award is an acknowledgment of TURKSOY for its contribution to the soft power of Turkish foreign policy. Speaking during the award ceremony, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Turkey Mevlut Cavusoglu said:

Our relations have developed in every field. We worked together for the prosperity of our peoples. We have worked together for peace, security, and stability in our region. We implemented transportation projects and built energy pipelines. We took the steps to facilitate the work of our businessmen together, and most importantly, we showed respect to each other during our work. We celebrate our victories and success we have achieved in 25 years (Youtube.com, 2018).

While no changes were observed in the number of members in TURKSOY during the period of Dusen Kaseinov, it can be seen that the area of influence of the organization has expanded considerably. Turkey, which was the first to recognize the independence of Central Asian countries, has demonstrated the same stance in the Balkans. Under Kaseinov, the organization greatly increased its influence in the Balkans. It is noteworthy that TURKSOY, which did not have much connection with this geography for many years, has included artists from the Balkans in the organization of activities in recent years. The organization has turned the route of many activities to this geography and declared to the world that this region is also included in the concept of the Turkic World.

During this period, due to the natural process pointing to the importance of relations with the Turkic World, it can be said that TURKSOY received the support that is expected from Turkey, as the country has been acting quite generous toward the organization in contributing its share compared to other countries. Turkey's support for the organization is a clear indicator of soft power.

At this point, concerning TURKSOY's activities, it is useful to open a parenthesis on Nowruz, one of its traditional activities. The organization has made initiatives to

appropriate Nowruz, which is the common tradition of the Turkic World, for humanity. In this respect, it should be remembered that official celebrations in Turkey started with the support of TURKSOY, the first celebration of Nowruz holiday was held in UNESCO and UN with events organized by TURKSOY, and also with contribution of the TURKSOY's work, the March 21st was designated as the International Nowruz holiday by the UN. Nowruz celebrations have become a successful cultural diplomacy activity, which is traditionalized and continues to be held by the organization every year in a different corner of the world.

Efe Sevin, in his study titled "A View of the Impact of Turkish Public Diplomacy on Foreign Policy through TURKSOY" states that TURKSOY has a high potential to create soft power for Turkish foreign policy. According to Sevin, the organization is conducive to this through communicating with the society beyond traditional diplomacy issues, while also doing this by offering opportunities for unmediated communication of actors who direct Turkey's domestic and foreign policy with decision-makers of other Turkic republics through holding regular activities like Permanent Council Meetings. Sevin, who in the same study indicates that TURKSOY provides new agenda items to the societies by promoting Turkish art and artists, hence unearthing the cultural heritage of Turkey, also states that the works of the organization have increased the attractiveness of Turkey for other countries (Sevin, 2015). This success in nation branding also increases the willingness of citizens of other countries to establish relations with Republic of Turkey.

The interest of Hungary, a member of the European Union, to become a member of TURKSOY following the activities carried out in Hungary by the organization, other activities TURKSOY organized in the Balkans, invitations to the festivals of the artists

from member countries of TURKSOY conducted on a yearly basis, are all examples of Turkey's and Turkic culture's increasing global attractiveness with the help of TURKSOY. Another example can be given in the project Cultural Capital of the Turkic World organized by the organization. Indeed, the city of Kastamonu in Turkey that carried the title in 2018 and the city of Eskisehir that carried the title in 2013 saw the number of tourists increase almost two times compared to the previous years, and Kastamonu which hosted over 1000 artists throughout the year of 2018 has increased Turkey's attractiveness in other countries.

Considering that all activities of TURKSOY are designed to increase the visibility of common values of the Turkic World, TURKSOY raises the effect of soft power sources of all the member countries. TURKSOY member countries and almost all countries that are interested in TURKSOY activities believe that the political and economic relations they will establish with the member states of the organization will also be beneficial within their own countries and take steps in this regard.

At this point, it may also be appropriate to mention the contribution of TURKSOY's international branding to the promotion of cultural values to the world. Because TURKSOY, with its cultural and artistic activities, introduces the Turkic culture and history to the world and shows that the Turkic World has a rich culture within the world civilizations and contributes to the image of TURKSOY member countries in the world. If we talk about the contributions of branding of the country, this process, which comes to mean that more tourists visit the country in the short term and more international students prefer this country to receive education, incentivizes foreign investors as a chain and ultimately attracts many cultural ambassadors, and as a result, making the national culture even more attractive in these countries. All these developments can provide great

benefits to the states in terms of foreign policy objectives. It would not be wrong to say that TURKSOY's work includes the cultural dimension of the foreign policies of the member countries.

Another issue that should be mentioned about TURKSOY's activities outside the member countries is the effects of these activities on the Turkish diaspora. TURKSOY introduces the diaspora of the Turkic World to each other and strengthens it with its activities.

Diasporas are extremely important communities for countries. In addition to economic contribution, they are assisting forces in crossing international borders, and they not only provide economic mobility but also transfer science and technology, standing out as communities representing friendship and cooperation between countries (Çelenk, 2015).

According to the data shared by the President of the Turkic Council Baghdad Amrayev at the Baku Summit of the Turkic Council, the Turkic World has a population of more than 150 million, living in an area of 4.5 million square kilometers. The Turkic World, which ranks 13th among the world economies with a total GDP of more than 2.1 trillion dollars, also has a diaspora of more than 20 million people that lives in different countries (Amrayev, 2019).

According to data from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, the Turkic diaspora is close to 5.5 million people in Europe alone. Citizens of TURKSOY member countries are not included in these calculations (T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı, n.d.). TURKSOY introduces this diaspora to each other with its works and thus makes a significant contribution to increasing the soft power of the member countries.

Assuming that the state institutions are working in certain coordination, we can infer that in Permanent Council Meetings, TURKSOY will reflect the objectives and goals of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and contribute to the achievement of these objectives. Although the foreign policies of the countries are determined by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Ministries of Culture and Tourism are subcontractors in the implementation and success of these policies. This is because, within the frame of the soft power, the mobility of the masses for tourism purposes is very important. In this context, it can be assumed that TURKSOY is a sub-contractor for the foreign policy objectives of its member countries or a soft power tool in terms of the foreign policies of its member countries. To ensure maximum benefit from this mechanism, a high level of coordination among government agencies is essential. In Turkey, for example, it can be said that this coordination has been successfully carried out. For example, the productive work conducted between TURKSOY and Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey has won an appreciation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, and TURKSOY Secretary General Dusen Kaseinov was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal.

TURKSOY contributes not only to the relations with the Turkic republics but also to the deepening of the relations between the world states and the Turkic republics. The fact that the autonomous republics of Russia, the leading power of the region, are members of this organization, even as observers, is a significant contribution to Turkish foreign policy. Even in a de facto manner, the participation of Russian Federation, which has a population of Turkic origin that comprises almost 20 million, to TURKSOY's work has played an important role in the development of cultural cooperation and mutual trust between Turkey and the Russian Federation.

In the context of activities, the Yunus Emre Oratorio in the United States organized by TURKSOY that has adopted Yunus Emre's "Let us meet" principle is one of the successful applications of TURKSOY in increasing the attractiveness of Turkic culture. The composition written by the Turkish composer Adnan Saygun, performed by Presidential Symphony Orchestra of the Republic of Turkey, TURKSOY Symphony Orchestra comprised of artists from eight TURKSOY member countries, and by 120 people American Jonathan Griffith Chorus is Turkey's first opera. The most prestigious halls of New York and Washington DC were selected for concerts in which poems and hymns of Yunus Emre were performed in Turkish. This project in which "Turkish culture is introduced with a Western art form" is one of the tens of projects that have been included in cultural history and can be given as an example of a common success of TURKSOY member countries. News on audience feedback and foreign press after the event revealed a positive contribution to the effectiveness of the Turkey-US relations (Purtaş, F. and Özkan, Ö., 2012).²³

Increase in cultural communication between TURKSOY members since the establishment of the organization has brought forward many joint projects in various areas, most notably, in the education field. As a result of this, persons who have studied for years in Turkey have acquired senior positions in their countries today and are currently acting as ambassadors of Turkey there. This is undoubtedly another gain for Turkish foreign policy. The final gain of institutional cooperation of the Turkic World has granted in terms of Turkish foreign policy is the decision to support Turkey in the Peace Spring Operation achieved in the Baku Summit of Turkic Council, organized with

²³ For detailed information about the event, you can read an article *Introducing Yunus Emre Oratorio and Turkish Culture in International Arena (Yunus Emre Oratoryosu ve Türk Kültürünü Uluslararası Çapta Tanıtmak)* by Fırat Purtaş and Ömer Özkan.

the participation of presidents of founding countries, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan (Güler, 2019). Hungary as the observer member to this cooperation organization has also supported this process (Anadolu Ajansı, 2019).

Even in the event of an embargo imposed by any state on one of the TURKSOY member countries, this embargo under the name of TURKSOY is unrequited. As a matter of fact, thanks to TURKSOY, TRNC has been shown as a part of the Turkic World all over the world for years. Although some members are not states, they host hundreds of artists from different nationalities in their country and hence get the opportunity to represent their own culture by participating in TURKSOY events organized in many cities of the world as well as in organizations such as the United Nations and UNESCO. Founding President of TRNC, Rauf Denktaş, expressed his satisfaction with TRNC's membership in TURKSOY in a letter sent to the 10th-anniversary of the organization with the following statement:

I would like to point out that we are happy to observe that the work and events that have been going on for 10 years within the framework of cultural and artistic activities between our countries and peoples are gradually increasing. TURKSOY, which acts as a culture-art bridge among millions of Turkic people who are dispersed in different geographies but come from the same lineage, is proud of its contributions in convergence and fusion. Within the framework of these contributions and mutual interaction, I sincerely wish that the cultural and artistic activities peculiar to our countries will be enriched and would gain a global dimension. We should not spare our efforts for the universal introduction of Turkic culture and art, which has a history of thousands of years; on the brink of a new millennium, we must contribute more to these activities and consolidate the place of Turkic culture in the world (Şengül, Aliyev and Davletov, 2003).

Secretary General of TURKSOY, Dusen Kaseinov frequently stated that TURKSOY is the window of the TRNC to the Turkic World (Starkibris.net, 2019). The TRNC example alone shows how important TURKSOY is in terms of Turkish foreign policy.

TURKSOY carries out all of its activities under the auspices of the heads of state. The work of the organization is also frequently appreciated by the heads of states and by managers of international organizations. Along with Azerbaijan's founder President Haydar Aliyev who said: "TURKSOY unites us. At the basis of our unity lie common origin, civilization, and history. We will do our best to strengthen TURKSOY", President of Turkmenistan Gurbanguli Berdimuhammedov has expressed that he gives great importance to work of TURKSOY, that TURKSOY strengthens the cultural ties between the brother nations, and that it introduces the future generation to the Turkic cultural heritage through researching it. While President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan has voiced on every occasion that he supports the work of TURKSOY, he has expressed their readiness to provide all kinds of support in the matter of Turkic cooperation organizations becoming better known in the world. Irina Bokova, former General Director of UNESCO, the biggest cultural organization of the world together with which TURKSOY's name is frequently mentioned, said during her visit to TURKSOY: "Culture is at the heart of all our works. Our efforts with TURKSOY have contributed to the preservation of the global cultural heritage and transferring it to future generations." By saying this, she has revealed the international dimension of the organization outside the Turkic World (Ezer, 2014).

Considering all these points, it is clear that TURKSOY is a cultural diplomacy organization that has been active in Turkey's foreign policy since its establishment. The possibility that the organization will increase its effectiveness in the coming periods will also have a positive effect on Turkish foreign policy.

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APPENDICES

A. FOUNDING AGREEMENT OF TURKSOY

TÜRKSOY'UN KURULUŞU VE FAALİYET İLKELERİ HAKKINDA ANLAŞMA

İşbu Anlaşmaya katılan ve bundan sonra "tarafklar" olarak adlandırılacak, Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti, Kazakistan Cumhuriyeti, Kırgızistan Cumhuriyeti, Özbekistan Cumhuriyeti, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve Türkmenistan,

- Türk kökenli ve Türk dili konuşan, Türk ülkeleri ve halkların birbirlerini daha iyi anlamalarını sağlamak,

- Türk kültürünün, tüm insanlık medeniyetinin oluşmasında önemli bir yer tuttuğunu ve Türk dili konuşan ülke ve halkların kültür ve sanatının korunması, yeniden canlandırılması ve gelişmesinin gerekli olduğunu gözönünde bulundurarak,

- Ülkelerin gelecek kuşaklarına milli kültürün esaslarını öğretmek ve böylece karşılıklı dostane temaslar sağlamak amacıyla,

- Kültür alanındaki tüm uluslararası anlaşma ve sözleşmeleri dikkate alarak,

bu hususlarda anlaşmaya varmışlardır:

Madde 1

Tarafklar, Türk Dili Konuşan Ülkeler Kültür Bakanlarının 19-20 Haziran 1992 İstanbul ve 30 Kasım-2 Aralık 1992 Bakü toplantılarında kabul ettikleri kararlara ve belgelere bağlı kalarak, Türk Kültür ve Sanatları Ortak Yönetimi (TÜRKSOY) adlı uluslararası bir teşkilat kurmuşlardır.

Madde 2

TÜRKSOY faaliyetini, altı ayda bir alfabetik sıraya göre TÜRKSOY'un koordinatörü olan Kültür Bakanının başkanlığını deruhte ettiği, Kültür Bakanları Konseyi tarafından tesbit edilen proje ve programlar uyarınca yürütür. Koordinatör en az iki ülkenin teklifi üzerine Konseyi olağanüstü toplantıya çağırabilir.

P. Bülbül

Karim

Ramiz

Amman

Madde 3

Türk Dili Konuşan Ülkeler Kültür Bakanları Konseyi, TÜRKSOY'un Genel Müdürünü oy çokluğuyla tayin eder.

TÜRKSOY'un Genel Müdürü, TÜRKSOY'un personelini ve personelin görev kapsamını tesbit ve tayin eder.

Madde 4

Katılan Ülkeler, Türk Kültür ve Sanatları Ortak Yönetiminde Kültür Bakanları tarafından tayin edilen bir temsilci görevlendirirler.

Madde 5

TÜRKSOY'un faaliyetine ilişkin kararlar, Kültür Bakanları Konseyince oy çokluğuyla alınır.

Madde 6

Türk Kültür ve Sanatları Ortak Yönetiminin merkezi Ankara'da yerleşiktir.

Madde 7

TÜRKSOY'un mali kaynağı, Kültür Bakanları Daimi Konseyi tarafından tesbit edilecek katkı payları ile oluşan bir Fon'da toplanır. Katkı payları ile Fon'un işleyişine ilişkin mevzuat her yıl yenilenecek bir Protokol ile tesbit edilir.

TÜRKSOY Fon'u kendine ilave mali kaynak yaratmak için, uluslararası hukuka ve kurallara aykırı olmayan her türlü faaliyet ve girişimi yapar.

Madde 8

Bu Anlaşma, Tarafların herbirinin mevzuatına uygun olarak, Anlaşmayı onay veya kabulünü depoziter devlet olan Türkiye'ye bildirdiği tarihten itibaren yürürlüğe girer.

M. Zeynep
P. Bülbül

3can

Rach

Amir

Madde 9

Bu Anlaşma Almatı'da 12 Temmuz 1993 tarihinde Azerice, Kazakça, Kırgızca, Özbekçe, Türkçe ve Türkmençe altı nüsha olarak düzenlenmiş olup, her altı metin de aynı derecede geçerlidir.

Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti adına

Kültür Bakanı

Polat Bülbüloğlu



Kazakistan Cumhuriyeti adına

Kültür Bakanı

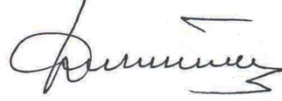
Erkegalı Rahmediyev



Kırgızistan Cumhuriyeti adına

Kültür Bakanı

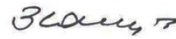
Daniyal Nazarmatov



Özbekistan Cumhuriyeti adına

Kültür Bakanı

Zafar Hakimov



Türkiye Cumhuriyeti adına

Kültür Bakanı

D. Fikri Sağlar



Türkmenistan adına

Kültür Bakanı

Geldimurad Nurmammedov



B. HOST COUNTRY AGREEMENT OF TURKSOY

ULUSLARARASI TÜRK KÜLTÜRÜ TEŞKİLATI (TÜRKSOY) İLE TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ HÜKÜMETİ ARASINDA EVSAHİBİ ÜLKE ANLAŞMASI

Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Teşkilatı (TÜRKSOY) ile Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümeti (Bundan böyle "Taraflar" olarak anılacaktır),

12 Temmuz 1993 tarihinde Almatı'da imzalanan TÜRKSOY'un Kuruluşu ve Faaliyet İlkeleri Hakkında Anlaşma'yı dikkate alarak,

TÜRKSOY Hizmet Binasının Aralık 2006 tarihinde Ankara'daki yerleşkesinde faaliyete geçmiş olduğunu hatırla tutarak,

aşağıdaki hükümler üzerinde mutabakata varmışlardır :

Madde 1 - Tanımlar

Bu Anlaşmada geçen :

(a) Hükümet : Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümeti'ni,

(b) TÜRKSOY : Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Teşkilatı'nı,

(c) Üye Devletler : TÜRKSOY'a üye devletleri,

(d) Bakanlar Konseyi : Üye Ülkeler Kültür Bakanlarından veya Kültür İşlerinden Sorumlu Bakanlarından oluşan en üst karar mercini,

(e) TÜRKSOY Uluslararası Personeli:

Genel Sekreter : Bakanlar Konseyi üyeleri tarafından seçilerek bu göreve atanan ve Konsey'in aldığı kararlar doğrultusunda TÜRKSOY'un çalışmalarını yürüten yöneticiyi,

Genel Sekreter Yardımcısı : Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı tarafından önerilerek ve Bakanlar Konseyi üyeleri tarafından seçilerek bu göreve atanan ve Genel Sekreterin yardımcılığını yapan yöneticiyi,

Üye Devlet Temsilcileri : Üye Devlet tarafından TÜRKSOY nezdinde görevlendirilen Temsilcileri,

(f) TÜRKSOY Hizmet Personeli : TÜRKSOY'un iç hizmetinde çalışan hizmet personelinin,

(g) TÜRKSOY Hizmet Binası : TÜRKSOY'un Ankara'da işlevlerini yerine getirmek amacıyla kullandığı bina ve müstemilatını,

(h) TÜRKSOY Malvarlığı : TÜRKSOY'un resmi işlevlerini yerine getirebilmesi amacıyla sahibi olduğu ve/veya denetimi altındaki fonlar ve diğer malları,

(i) TÜRKSOY Arşiv ve Belgeleri : TÜRKSOY'un kayıtları, yazışmaları, muhasebe kayıtları ve tüm mali belgeleri, el yazmaları, hareketli ve hareketsiz resimler ve filmleri, ses kayıtları, bilgisayar programları, yazılı malzemeleri, video bantları veya disketleri, TÜRKSOY'a ait veya TÜRKSOY tarafından muhafaza edilen verileri yüklü bantlar veya disketleri,

(j) TÜRKSOY Uluslararası Personelinin Bakmakla Yükümlü Olduğu Aile Bireyleri : İlgili personelin eşi, reşit olmayan 18 yaşından küçük çocukları ve bakmakla yükümlü oldukları anne ve babasını

ifade eder.

Madde 2 - Amaç

İşbu Anlaşmanın amacı, TÜRKSOY ile Personelinin Türkiye'deki faaliyetleri sırasında yararlanacakları ayrıcalıklar ile bağışıklıkların hukuki açıdan belirlenmesini sağlamaktır.

Madde 3 - Tüzel Kişilik

TÜRKSOY tüzel kişiliğe sahiptir. TÜRKSOY'un, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti sınırları içinde ve Türk mevzuatı çerçevesinde,

(a) akit yapma,

(b) taşınır ve taşınmaz mal satın alma ve elden çıkarma,

(c) bu amaçla hukukî işlem yapabilme yetkisi bulunmaktadır.

Madde 4 - Yargı Bağışıklığı

1. TÜRKSOY, faaliyetleri çerçevesinde aşağıdaki durumlar dışında her türlü hukuki süreçten bağışık olacaktır :

(a) TÜRKSOY'a ait veya onun adına işletilen bir aracın neden olduğu bir kazadan kaynaklanan ve sigorta tarafından tazmin edilmeyen hasarlardan dolayı üçüncü kişilerin açtığı davalar,

(b) TÜRKSOY veya personelinin ihmali veya eylemi sonucu ortaya çıkan kişisel yaralanma veya ölümle ilgili davalar.

2. Bu maddenin birinci fıkrası hükmü saklı kalmak kaydıyla, TÜRKSOY'un malvarlığı icrai, idari, adli veya yasal kararlara dayanak arama, sorgulama, el koyma, kamulaştırma ve diğer herhangi bir müdahaleden muaf olacaktır.

3. Bakanlar Konseyi alacağı bir kararla bu bağışıklık hakkından vazgeçmeyi kararlaştırabilir. Bununla birlikte hiçbir bağışıklıktan feragat kararı malvarlığına el konulması ve kamulaştırma tedbirlerini içermeyecektir.

Madde 5 - Bina Dokunulmazlığı

TÜRKSOY Hizmet Binası dokunulmazlığa sahiptir.

Madde 6 - Arşiv Dokunulmazlığı

TÜRKSOY arşiv ve belgeleri dokunulmazlığa sahiptir.

Madde 7 - TÜRKSOY Bayrağı ve Amblemi

TÜRKSOY bayrağı ve amblemi, TÜRKSOY hizmet binası içerisinde ve resmi amaçlar için kullanıldığında ulaşım araçları üzerinde bulunacaktır. Üye devletlerin bayrakları TÜRKSOY hizmet binası içerisinde sergilenecektir.

Madde 8 - Fonlar ve Paralar

TÜRKSOY işlevleri çerçevesinde, herhangi bir malî kontrol ve moratoryuma ilişkin düzenlemelerle kısıtlı olmaksızın,

(a) hedeflerine ulaşmak için her tür fon, altın veya döviz sahibi olabilir ve herhangi bir cins para birimi ile banka hesabı açabilir ve işletebilir,

(b) fonlarını Türkiye içinde veya bir başka ülkeye serbestçe havaile edebilir veya sahibi olduğu herhangi bir para birimini bir diğerine çevirebilir.

Madde 9 - Gümrük Vergileri ve Dolaysız Vergilerden Bağışıklık

TÜRKSOY varlıkları, geliri ve diğer malvarlıkları :

a) Gelir Vergisi ve Kurumlar Vergisi'ni de içeren bütün dolaysız vergilerden muaftır. Bununla birlikte, TÜRKSOY kamu hizmetlerinin kullanım bedellerinden ibaret olan vergi, harç ve resimlerinden muafiyet talep edemeyecektir.

b) Depolama, gümrük makamlarının çalışma saatleri dışında ortaya çıkan ve gümrükleme için belirlenen yerler dışında gümrüklenen mallar için istenen bedeller dışında, TÜRKSOY'un resmi kullanımı için ithal veya ihraç edilen kalemlerde, ilgili Türk mevzuatıyla da uyumlu olmak üzere, ithalat veya ihracat kısıtlamalarından, yasaklamalarından, ek mali zorunluluklardan ve tüm gümrük harçlarından muaf olacaktır. Söz konusu muafiyet çerçevesinde

ithal edilen mallar, ilgili üye devletle üzerinde anlaşmaya varılacak koşullar haricinde, ithal edilen ülkede satılmayacaktır.

c) Depolama, gümrük makamlarının çalışma saatleri dışında ortaya çıkan ve gümrükleme için belirlenen yerler dışında gümrüklenen mallar için istenen bedeller dışında, TÜRKSOY'un resmi yayınlarının ithal ve ihracı, ilgili Türk mevzuatıyla da uyumlu olmak üzere, tüm kısıtlama, yasaklama ve gümrük harçlarından muaf olacaktır.

Madde 10 - KDV Muafiyeti

TÜRKSOY, resmi kullanımı amacıyla yaptığı mal ve hizmet alımlarında Katma Değer Vergisinden muaftır.

Madde 11 - Haberleşme ve Yayınlar

1. Hükümet, TÜRKSOY'un resmi amaçlı her türlü haberleşmesine izin verecek ve bunu koruyacaktır.
2. TÜRKSOY'un resmi haberleşmesine ilişkin tüm evrak ve belgelerin dokunulmazlığı vardır.
3. TÜRKSOY'un resmi haberleşme amacıyla şifre kullanma, kurye ile mühürlü valizler içinde evrak ve yazı gönderip alma hakları bulunmaktadır.

Madde 12 - TÜRKSOY Uluslararası Personeli :

1. TÜRKSOY uluslararası personeli yetkilerinin sınırları dahilinde ve resmi görevleri çerçevesinde gerçekleştirdikleri eylemler, sözlü veya yazılı ifadelerden dolayı yargıdan muaf olacaktır.
2. Türk vatandaşı olanlar ile Türkiye'de sürekli ikamet edenler dışında kalan TÜRKSOY uluslararası personeli aşağıdaki ayrıcalıklar ve bağışıklıklara sahip olacaktır :
 - (a) TÜRKSOY tarafından kendilerine ödenen tüm maaş ve ücretlerde Gelir Vergisinden muaf olacaklardır.
 - (b) Eşleri ve bakmakla yükümlü oldukları aile bireyleri ile birlikte göç kısıtlamaları ve yabancıların ikamet kayıt zorunluluklarından muaf olacaklardır.
 - (c) Kambyo işlemleri konusunda benzer düzeydeki uluslararası kuruluşların görevlilerine tanınacak ayrıcalıklardan yararlanacaklardır.
 - (d) Eşleri ve bakmakla yükümlü oldukları aile bireyleri ile birlikte uluslararası kriz dönemlerinde benzer düzeydeki uluslararası kuruluşların görevlilerine tanınacak ülkeyi terketme kolaylığına sahip olacaklardır.

(e) Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilgili mevzuatına uygun olarak, görevlerine başladıkları zaman, bir motorlu araç dahil, mobilya ve eşyalarını gümrüksüz olarak ithal etme ve görevleri sona erdiğinde bu mobilya ve eşyalarını gümrüksüz olarak ihraç etme hakkına sahip olacaklardır.

3. Ayrıcalıklar ve bağışıklıklar, TÜRKSOY uluslararası personeline kişisel çıkarları için değil, TÜRKSOY'un menfaatleri çerçevesinde tanınmıştır.

Bakanlar Konseyi, bağışıklığın adalet sürecini engelleyeceğine ve TÜRKSOY'un menfaatlerine zarar vermeden feragat edilebileceğine karar verdiği hallerde, Genel Sekreter dahil TÜRKSOY uluslararası personelinin bağışıklığını kaldırma hakkına sahiptir ve bunu yapmakla görevlidir.

4. Genel Sekreter, TÜRKSOY uluslararası personelinin ve aile bireylerinin isim ve görevleri ile bu konuda meydana gelecek değişiklikler hakkında Hükümet'e bilgi verir.

5. Hükümet, ilgili Türk mevzuatı uyarınca TÜRKSOY uluslararası personeline ve aile bireylerine uygun kimlik kartı düzenler.

Madde 13 - TÜRKSOY Hizmet Personeli

1. Hükümet, ilgili Türk mevzuatı uyarınca TÜRKSOY Hizmet Personeline statülerine uygun kimlik kartı düzenler.

2. Türk vatandaşı olan veya Türkiye'de sürekli ikamet etmekte olan yabancı Hizmet Personeli, sosyal güvenlik ve iş mevzuatı bakımından Türk mevzuatına tabidir.

Madde 14 - Nihai Hükümler

1. İşbu Anlaşma, Hükümet'in ulusal mevzuatı uyarınca onay işlemlerinin tamamlandığını diplomatik yollardan yazılı olarak TÜRKSOY'a bildirdiği tarihte yürürlüğe girer.

2. 4 Eylül 1994 tarihinde Ankara'da imzalanan "TÜRKSOY Teşkilatının Yerleşimi, Milli Temsilcilerin ve Milletlerarası Personelinin Statüleri Hakkında Protokol" İşbu Anlaşmanın yürürlüğe girdiği tarih itibarıyla yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır.

3. Anlaşmanın yorumu ve uygulanmasından kaynaklanabilecek her türlü anlaşmazlık, TÜRKSOY ve Hükümet arasında görüşmeler yoluyla çözülecektir.

4. İşbu Anlaşma, karşılıklı rızayla değiştirilebilir. Her değişiklik, bu maddenin birinci fıkrasında belirtilen usule uygun şekilde yürürlüğe girecektir.

5. İki Taraf da, herhangi bir zamanda, diğer Tarafa diplomatik yollardan yazılı bildirimde bulunarak bu Anlaşmanın feshini isteyebilir. Böyle bir

bildirimin yapılmasından itibaren altı (6) ay içinde fesih bildirimi geri alınmadığı takdirde Anlaşma sona erecektir.

Ankara'da 4 Şubat 2010 tarihinde, Türkçe ve iki nüsha olarak imzalanmıştır.

TÜRKSOY
Adına



Dussanbay Kasseinov
Genel Sekreter

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümeti
Adına



Prof. Dr. Ahmet Davutoğlu
Dışişleri Bakanı

C. TURKSOY-UNESCO AGREEMENT

-1-

TÜRK KÜLTÜR VE SANATLARI ORTAK YÖNETİMİ (TÜRKSOY) İLE BİRLEŞMİŞ MİLLETLER EĞİTİM, BİLİM VE KÜLTÜR TEŞKİLATI (UNESCO) ARASINDA ANLAŞMA

Türk Kültür ve Sanatları Ortak Yönetimi (bundan böyle kısaca TÜRKSOY diye anılacaktır) ve Birleşmiş Milletler Eğitim, Bilim ve Kültür Teşkilatı (bundan böyle kısaca UNESCO diye anılacaktır);

UNESCO'nun, barış ve güvenliğe katkıda bulunmak için; eğitim, bilim ve kültür alanlarında milletler arasındaki işbirliğini destekleyerek; adalete, hukukun üstünlüğüne ve insan hakları ile temel özgürlüklere evrensel saygıyı geliştirmek amacı ile kurulduğunu;

TÜRKSOY'u kuran Anlaşmanın temel hedefinin kendi üyeleri ve diğer ülkeler arasında eğitim, bilim ve kültür alanlarında, halklar arasında daha büyük bir anlayışın yerleşmesine, barış ve güvenliğin tesisine yardımcı olmak amacı ile dostluk ilişkilerini geliştirmek olduğunu gözönünde bulundurarak;

Faaliyetlerinin uyumlu bir biçimde gelişmesi için, uluslararası ve bölgesel kuruluşlar arasında, karşılıklı yardımlaşma bağlarının kurulmasının temenniye şayan olduğunu gözönünde bulundurarak,

Ortak hedefleri gerçekleştirmek için etkili ilişkiler kurmak arzusu ile;

Aşağıdaki hususlar üzerinde anlaşmışlardır:

Madde I

İşbirliği:

1- UNESCO ve TÜRKSOY, yetkili organları aracılığı ile işbirliği yapılması hususunda anlaşmışlardır.

2- Bu işbirliği; iki kuruluşça sürdürülen eğitim, bilim, kültür alanlarıyla ilgili benzer görev ve faaliyetlere ilişkin tüm konuları kapsar.

Madde II

Karşılıklı Danışma

1- Her iki kuruluşun yetkili organları, birinci maddede belirtilen ve ortak ilgi alanına girebilecek olan bütün konularda, birbirleriyle düzenli olarak danışmalarda bulunurlar.

2- Şartlar gerektirdiğinde: her iki kuruluş, ortak ilgi alanı kapsamındaki konularda, kendi faaliyetlerine tam bir etkinlik kazandırabilecek en uygun yolları saptamak amacıyla özel istişarelere başvururlar.

3- UNESCO, TÜRKSOY'a üye olan ülkeleri ilgilendirebilecek etkinliklerle ilgili programını TÜRKSOY'a bildirecektir. UNESCO her iki kuruluşun bu alandaki çalışmalarını uyumlu kılmak amacıyla TÜRKSOY'un getirebileceği önerileri inceler.

4- TÜRKSOY, UNESCO'ya üye olan ülkeleri ilgilendirebilecek etkinliklerle ilgili programını UNESCO'ya bildirir. TÜRKSOY, her kuruluşun bu alandaki çalışmalarını uyumlu kılmak amacıyla UNESCO'nun getirebileceği önerileri inceler.

Madde III

Karşılıklı Temsil

1- UNESCO Genel Müdürü, Genel Konferans oturumlarını TÜRKSOY Genel Müdürüne bildirir ve TÜRKSOY'u, Genel Konferansa gözlemci göndermeye davet eder.

2- TÜRKSOY Genel Müdürü, Kültür Bakanları Konseyi oturumlarını UNESCO Genel Müdürüne bildirir ve UNESCO'yu Bakanlar Konseyi toplantılarına gözlemci göndermeye davet eder.

Madde IV

Bilgi ve Belge Değişimi

1- UNESCO ve TÜRKSOY her iki kuruluşça ilgi alanı kabul edilen bütün konularda bilgi ve belge değişiminde bulunur.

Madde V

Teknik Çalışmalar Konusunda Yardım

1- Her iki kuruluştan biri, ortak ilgi alanlarındaki teknik çalışmalarla ilgili olarak, diğerinden yardım isteğinde bulunabilir.

2- İki kuruluştan birinin diğerine ileteceği böyle bir istek, o kuruluşun yetkili organı tarafından incelenecek ve yardımı istenilen organ, kendi programları çerçevesinde ve her iki kuruluşça üzerinde mutabakata varılan hükümler uyarınca, her türlü yardımı sağlamaya gayret edecektir.

Madde VI

Uygulama

1- Bu Anlaşmanın uygulanmasından doğabilecek sorunlar konusunda, UNESCO Genel Müdürü ve TÜRKSOY Genel Müdürü, bu Anlaşmanın uygulanması amacıyla; deneyimler ışığında, gerekli gördükleri ve mutabık kaldıkları hususlarda tamamlayıcı hükümler kararlaştırabilirler.

Madde VII

Anlaşmanın Süreci ve Değişiklik

1- Bu Anlaşma, karşılıklı mutabakatla değiştirilebilir.

2- Bu Anlaşmanın taraflardan birinin altı aydan az olmayan bir süre içinde bildirimde bulunması ile feshi mümkündür.

Madde VIII

Yürürlüğe Girmesi

1- Bu anlaşma, UNESCO ve TÜRKSOY Genel Müdürlerince imzalanmasını takiben yürürlüğe girer.

İşbu anlaşma, bu hususta tam yetkili olan ve aşağıda imzası bulunanlar tarafından iki nüsha olarak imzalanmıştır.

İstanbul 8 Haziran 1996

**Türk Kültür ve Sanatları
Ortak Yönetimi adına**

**Polad BÜLBÜLOĞLU
TÜRKSOY Genel Müdürü**

**Birleşmiş Milletler Eğitim, Bilim
ve Kültür Teşkilatı adına**

**Federico MAYOR
UNESCO Genel Müdürü**

Fransızca aslının çevirisidir
8.6.1996

**Ziya YILMAZER
TÜRKSOY Genel Müdür Yrd.**

D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

nemli bir kltrel diplomasi rgt olan TRKSOY'u analiz etmek zere hazırlanan bu alıřma 4 blmden oluřmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, uluslararası iliřkiler disiplinde kltr kavramının yeri, Yumuřak g kavramının ortaya ıkıřı ve bu kavramla kltrel diplomasi iliřkisi, ilk Trk iřbirlięi teřkilatı ve bir kltrel diplomasi rgt olarak TRKSOY'un hedefleri ve bařarıları, teřkilatın genelde Trk halkları arasındaki iliřkilere katkıları, zelde ise Trk dıř politikası aısından nemi okuyucuların dikkatine sunulmaktadır.

Gerek Trk halkları ile olan iliřkiler gerekse Trk dıř politikasının hedeflerine ulařma noktasında TRKSOY'un ok faydalı bir aktr olduęunu savunan bu alıřmanın birinci blmnde alıřmanın kavramsal erevesi ve arařtırma soruları yer almaktadır.

alıřmanın 2. blm bu baęlamda, Trk dıř politikasında, Trk cumhuriyetlerinin baęımsızlıkları ncesi ve sonrasında yařanan dnřm zetleyerek, okuyuculara Trk iřbirlięinin kurumsallařma srecinin TRKSOY'a varan yolculuęunu, dıř politika erevesinde aktarmaktadır.

3. Blmde yer alan TRKSOY'a dair detaylı bilgiler ise, TRKSOY'un yumuřak gcn en popler unsurlarından biri olan kltrel diplomasi alanında ne derece nemli bir aktr olduęunu ortaya koymak iin verilmiřtir.

Tarihin tanıklık ettięi en byk g mcadelesinin yařandıęı coęrafyada yer alan Trkiye, yumuřak gc, Soęuk savař sonrası dnemde Trk dıř politikasının bir parası haline getirmek zorunda kalmıřtır. Nitekim 1992 yılında TRKSOY'un kuruluř

alıřmalarına n ayak olarak, yumuřak gcn nemli dayanaklarından biri olan kltrel diplomasi alanındaki ilk adımlardan birini atmıřtır. Bu giriřim Trk dıř politikası adına, yumuřak gcn  ana kaynağından biri olan kltr ile Trkiye'nin jeokltrel hinterlandının Orta Avrupa'dan Hazar Denizinin tesine ulařmasına vesile olmuřtur.

Trk dıř politikasında son yıllarda en ok kullanılan kavramlardan biri sahada ve masada gl Trkiye kavramıdır. Sahadaki bařarı daha ok sert g ile elde edilebilir. Diğerk yandan masada bařarılı olabilmek iin, oėu zaman sert g tek bařına yeterli olmaz. Kamuoyu desteėi, yumuřak gc arttıran nemli bir unsurdur. Bu destek Kltrel diplomasi alıřmaları ile arttırılabilir. Bunu keřfeden devletler, uyguladıkları politikadaki haklılıklarını ifade edebilmek ve kamuoyunun desteėini alabilmek iin pek ok yeniliki ynteme bařvurmaktadır. TRKSOY gibi organizasyonların kamuoyu ile direk iletiřim kurabilme kabiliyeti bu srete eřsiz bir kabiliyettir.

Trkiye'nin, dıř politika hedefleri, gvenlik ihtiyaları ve siyasi ıkarları baėlamında, iliřki kurduėu, yelik gerekleřtirdiėi yada kurulmasına n ayak olduėu pek ok uluslararası rgt bulunmaktadır. Milli kurumlar altında, Trkiye'de bulunan her bir bakanlık en nihayetinde Trk dıř politikası hedeflerine katkı sunan birer aratır. Bakanlıkların haricinde, TİKA, YEE, YTB, Anadolu Ajansı (AA) gibi kurumlar, Maarif Vakfı ve benzeri sivil toplum kuruluřları da Trk dıř politikasının hedeflerinin diğerk alt yklenicileri olarak kabul edilebilir. Uluslararası alanda ise Trk iřbirliėi rgtleri dıřında, UNESCO, Avrupa Birliėi (AB), Avrupa Komisyonu (AK), ISESCO, İktisadi İřbirliėi ve Geliřme Teřkilatı (OECD), İřlam İřbirliėi Teřkilatı (İİT), İřlam Tarih, Sanat ve Kltr Arařtırma Merkezi (IRCICA) ve Trkiye ve Avrupa Gvenlik ve İřbirliėi Teřkilatı (AGİT) gibi kuruluřlarla yukarıda bahsedilen hedefler doėrultusunda sre yrtlmektedir.

Türk dış politikasının yumuşak gücü konu olduğunda Türkiye'nin kurucu ülkesi ve evsahibi olduğu TÜRKSOY kuruluşundan bu yana 2 üst düzey görevli ile çalışmalarını yürütmüştür. Bunlardan ilki dönemin Azerbaycan Kültür Bakanı Polat Bülbüloğlu diğeri ise yine Kazakistan'da Kültür Bakanlığı görevinde bulunmuş olan, sanatçı kimliği ile ön plana çıkmış olan Düsen Kaseinov'dur. Her iki isimde kendisini kanıtlamış birer kültür insanı olarak devlet başkanları seviyesinde takdir görmüş kişilerdir.

1993-2007 yıllarını kapsayan Bülbüloğlu dönemi incelendiğinde, TÜRKSOY ile ilgili ülkelerde ve halklar arasında yakınlaşmanın sağlanmasının teşkilat için öncelikli hedef olduğu görülebilir. Bu yakınlığı sağlayabilmek için, tarihsel süreç içerisinde bir çok adım atılmış, o dönemde başlayan bazı etkinlikler gelenekselleşerek bugünlere ulaşmıştır.

TÜRKSOY, Bülbüloğlu döneminde, ulusal kimliklerini inşa etme mücadelesi içinde olan Türk cumhuriyetlerinde, Sovyet döneminin yaratmış olduğu bölünmüşlüğü ortak tarih ve kültür vurgusuyla ortadan kaldırmaya çalışarak karşılıklı ilişkileri geliştirmeye çalışmıştır. Kaybedilmeye yüz tutmuş bir kimliği yeniden hatırlatmak, bağımsızlığını kazanan halkların dilini yaşatma çabalarına tanık olarak onlara el uzatmak bu dönemde TÜRKSOY'un sorumluluk bilinciyle yürüttüğü çalışmalardan bazıları olmuştur.

İlk 10 yılın sonunda, teşkilatın 10. yıl kutlamaları vesilesiyle yapmış olduğu konuşmada teşkilatın üye sayısının artmasına dair Polad Bülbüloğlu: "TÜRKSOY Türk dünyasını yalnız mecazi manada değil, tam anlamda kucaklayacak" diyerek, yıllar için olası genişlemenin sinyallerini de vermiştir. Nitekim, 1998 yılında, organizasyon tarihinde bir dönüm noktası yaşanmıştır. Tataristan (RF), Başkurdistan (RF), Saha/Yakut (RF), Hakasya (RF), Altay (RF) ve Tıva Cumhuriyeti 1998 yılında TÜRKSOY'a gözlemci üye ülke olarak katılmıştır. Bu üyelerin TÜRKSOY'a katılımı Rusya Federasyonu'nun organizasyona dahil olması olarak yorumlanmıştır.

İlk yıllarda Türk kültürel kimliğini, Türk cumhuriyetleri içerisinde tanıtmaya görevi üstlenen teşkilat, bir sonraki adım olarak ise Türk kültürünün yerini, dünya medeniyeti içerisinde sağlamlaştırmayı kendisine amaç edinmiştir. Bir konuşmasında, “bazıları tarafından Türk asıllı insan hala daha gaddar, gayri medeni, demokratiklikten uzak şarklı gibi görünüyor” ifadelerini kullanan Genel Müdür Polad Bülbüloğlu, bu düşünceleri yıkmak, süratle dünyaya açılmak ve uluslararası saygınlık kazanmak için TÜRKSOY’un çalışmalarını hızlandırarak sürdürmesi gerektiğine dikkat çekmiştir. O dönemde Türk ismi yerine kullanılan “bozkır halkı” gibi benzer isimlerin Türk halklarını küçümseyen benzetmeler olduğu düşünülmüştür.

Polad Bülbüloğlu gerek görevde olduğu sırada gerekse görevi sonrasında Türkiye’nin, TÜRKSOY’un çalışmalarında itici güç olduğunu sıklıkla belirtmiştir. Teşkilatın 10. yıl kutlamaları sırasında, “çok açıktır ki, TÜRKSOY’un büyümesi, uluslararası prestij kazanması en önce kardeş Türkiye’nin değerli katkıları sayesinde olmuştur” diyen Bülbüloğlu, TÜRKSOY Genel Müdürlüğünden ayrılmasının ardından teşkilatın 15. yılı vesilesiyle göndermiş olduğu tebrik mesajında da, Türkiye’nin dönem gözetmeksizin süren desteğine şu sözlerle değinmiştir.

Bugün çok mutluyum, 1992-1993 tarihlerinde, yani zorlu ve çetin yıllarda TÜRKSOY gibi bir teşkilatı kurmak ve bu teşkilatı 15 yıl yaşatmak kolay bir iş değildir. Bu süreç içerisinde cumhurbaşkanları değişti hükümetler değişti, farklı kültür bakanları görev aldı, fakat kurumumuzun ev sahipliğini üstlenen Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve Türk halkı TÜRKSOY’a her zaman tam destek sağlamıştır.

Bülbüloğlu’nun dile getirdiği gibi Türkiye her zaman TÜRKSOY’un itici gücü olmuştur. Nitekim TÜRKSOY kurucu anlaşmasının Türkiye’nin çabaları ile yazılıp imzaya açıldığını da unutmamak gerekir. Genel merkezin Türkiye tarafından tahsis edilen arsada, Türkiye’nin maddi katkıları ile inşa edildiğini ve kurumun çalışanlarının çoğunluğunun da Türkiye cumhuriyeti vatandaşlarından oluştuğu da göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır.

Teşkilatın kuruluşundan bu yana düzenlediği etkinliklere bakıldığında, ev sahibi etkinliklerin gerçekleştirildiği yerler bakımından dönem dönem bazı ülkelerdeki etkinliklerin arttığı görülsede, TÜRKSOY küçük, büyük şehir ayırmadan, üyesi ülkelerin tamamında etkinlikler gerçekleştirmeye gayret etmiştir. Dönemsel krizler nedeniyle iletişimde zorluklar yaşanan bazı ülkelerde etkinlikler düzenlenemese dahi, o ülkelerin sanatçıları teşkilatın etkinliklerinde kesintisiz olarak yer almıştır.

Düsen Kaseinov'un liderliğinde TÜRKSOY'da değişiklik yaşanmıştır. Bülbüloğlu'nun Türk cumhuriyetleri arasında yakınlaşmaya hedefleyen çalışmalara odaklandığı görülürken, Kaseinov'un TÜRKSOY'un dünyada kabulü ve dünya ülkeleri ile Türk cumhuriyetleri arasındaki yakınlaşmayı birinci öncelik olarak belirlediği görülmektedir. Yayınlar ve sergilerin büyük yer kapladığı ilk dönem olarak tabir edebileceğimiz Bülbüloğlu döneminin ardından teşkilat, Kaseinov döneminde çok uluslu büyük projeleri hayata geçirmiştir. Süreç içerisinde TÜRKSOY'un popüler etkinliklere yöneldiği, dünya çapında tanınmayı amaçlayan etkinliklerle kamuoyunun ilgisini üzerine çekmeyi başardığı görülmektedir.

Polad Bülbüloğlu döneminde kurulan ve belki de kurum tarihindeki en kapsamlı ve anlamlı işbirliği anlaşması olarak kabul edilen TÜRKSOY ve UNESCO arasında imzalanan anlaşmayı pratikte uygulamaya koyan kişi de Düsen Kaseinov olmuştur. TÜRKSOY etkinliklerine katılan sanatçılara ve projelerin ölçeklerine bakıldığında bu dönemde TÜRKSOY'un büyük projelere imza atması dikkat çekmektedir. Teşkilat sadece 2018 yılında 300'ün üzerinde faaliyete imza atarak, diğer Türk iş birliği örgütleri için çitayı oldukça yukarı taşımıştır.

TÜRKSOY'un geçirdiği dönüşümü, kısaca özetlemek gerekirse Düsen Kaseinov döneminde teşkilat, Türk kültürünün dünya medeniyetindeki yerini kanıtlama çabasında

olan bir teşkilattan çok, bu kültürü gerçekleştiren, onu besleyen ve daha geniş kitlelere ulaşması için dönüştüren bir kültürel diplomasi mekanizmasına dönüşmüştür.

2018 yılında, Türk cumhuriyetleri ile diplomatik ilişkilerde 25 yılı geride bırakan, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dış İşleri Bakanlığı, diplomatik ilişkilerinin tesis edilmesinin 25. yıl dönümü içini Ankara'da bir program gerçekleştirmiştir. Bu program sırasında TÜRKSOY Genel Sekreteri Düsen Kaseinov'a, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı Üstün Hizmet Ödülü takdim edilmiştir. Dışişleri bakanlığının internet sayfasında yer alan bilgiye göre bu ödül,

Türkiye'nin uluslararası alanda tanıtılmasında, dış politikasının başarıyla uygulanmasında ve menfaatlerinin korunmasında, geliştirilmesinde, tarihinin, dilinin, kültürünün ve sanatının tanıtılmasında fedakarlık, üstün başarı ve yararlılık gösteren yerli ve yabancı gerçek ve tüzel kişiler ile Bakanlığın görev ve sorumluluk alanına giren diğer konularda takdire şayan hizmetleri görülen özel ya da tüzel kişilere verilmektedir.

Genel Sekreter Düsen Kaseinov'un bu ödüle layık görülmesi, TÜRKSOY'un çalışmalarının Türk Dış Politikasının yumuşak gücüne olan katkılarına bir teşekkür niteliğindedir. Ödül töreni sırasında konuşan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanı Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu:

İlişkilerimiz her alanda gelişti. Halklarımızın zenginleşmesi için hep birlikte çalıştık. Bölgemizde barış, güvenlik ve istikrar için birlikte çaba gösterdik. Ulaştırma projelerini hayata geçirdik, enerji boru hatları inşa ettik. İş adamlarımızın çalışmalarını kolaylaştıracak adımları birlikte attık, hepsinden önemlisi çalışmalarımız sırasında birbirimize saygı gösterdik. 25 yılda elde ettiğimiz kazanımları ve başarılı kutluyoruz.

ifadelerini kullanmıştır. Düsen Kaseinov döneminde TÜRKSOY'da üye sayısında herhangi bir değişiklik gözlemlenmezken teşkilatın etki alanının oldukça genişlediği görülmektedir. Orta Asya'da bağımsızlıklarını kazanan ülkeleri tanıyan ilk ülke olan Türkiye, aynı duruşu Balkanlar içinde göstermiştir. Kaseinov döneminde teşkilat Balkanlardaki etkisini büyük oranda arttırmıştır. Uzun yıllar bu coğrafya ile pek bir bağı bulunmayan TÜRKSOY'un son yıllarda düzenlediği etkinliklerde Balkanlardan

sanatçılara yer vermesi dikkat çekmektedir. Teşkilat pek çok etkinliğinin rotasını bu coğrafyaya çevirerek, Türk dünyası kavramı içerisinde bu bölgenin de yer aldığını dünyaya ilan etmiştir.

Bu dönemde doğal süreç Türk dünyası ile ilişkilerin önemine işaret ettiği için Kaseinov döneminde TÜRKSÖY'un Türkiye'den beklediği desteği gördüğü de söylenebilir. Zira teşkilata Türkiye cumhuriyeti katkı payı ödemelerinde diğer ülkelere kıyasla oldukça bonkör davranmıştır. Türkiye'nin teşkilata olan desteği, Türk cumhuriyetlerinin bağımsızlıkları ile birlikte oluşan bölgesel projeksiyonunun, TİKA gibi ulusal ve TÜRKSÖY gibi ulus ötesi aktörlerin katkılarıyla inşa ettiği yumuşak gücü ile gerçekleştirme imkanı bulduğunun bir açıklamasıdır.

Bu noktada, TÜRKSÖY'un etkinliklerine dair, geleneksel etkinliklerinden Nevruz'a bir parantez açmakta fayda görülmektedir. Teşkilat Türk dünyasının ortak geleneği olarak belirttiği Nevruz'u insanlığa mal eden girişimlerde bulunmuştur. Bu açıdan Türkiye'de resmi kutlamaların TÜRKSÖY katkılarıyla başladığı, Nevruz bayramının ilk kez UNESCO ve BM'de TÜRKSÖY etkinlikleri ile kutlandığı, yine TÜRKSÖY'un çalışmalarının da katkısıyla BM tarafından 21 Mart tarihinin Uluslararası Nevruz Bayramı olarak ilan edildiği hatırlanmalıdır. Nevruz kutlamaları, gelenekselleşmiş ve teşkilat tarafından her yıl dünyanın farklı bir köşesinde gerçekleştirilmeye devam eden etkinlikler olarak, başarılı bir kültürel diplomasi faaliyetine dönüşmüştür.

Efe Sevin, "TÜRKSÖY üzerinden Türk Kamu Diplomasinin Dış Politikaya Etkisine Bir Bakış" isimli çalışmasında, TÜRKSÖY'un Türk Dış politikası için yumuşak güç yaratma potansiyelinin hayli yüksek olduğunu belirtir. Sevin'e göre teşkilat bunu geleneksel diplomasi konuları dışında toplumlarla iletişim kurulmasına vesile olarak yapmanın yanı sıra, Daimi Konsey Toplantıları gibi düzenli faaliyetleri ile Türkiye'nin iç

ve dış politikasına yön veren aktörlerin diğer Türk cumhuriyetlerindeki karar vericilerle doğrudan iletişim kurmalarına fırsatlar sunarak da yapmaktadır. Aynı çalışmada TÜRKSOY'un, Türk sanatı ve sanatçılarının tanıtımını yaparak, bir başka deyişle Türk kültür hazinesini gün yüzüne çıkararak, toplumlara yeni gündem maddeleri sunduğunu da belirten Sevin, teşkilatın çalışmalarının Türkiye'nin, sınırları dışındaki çekiciliğini arttırdığını belirtmektedir. Bu artış diğer ülkelerin ve bu ülkelerin vatandaşlarının Türkiye ile olan ilişki kurma isteğini de arttıran bir unsurdur.

TÜRKSOY'un Avrupa Birliği üyesi olan Macaristan'da gerçekleştirdiği etkinliklerin ardından, Macaristan'ın Türk işbirliği örgütlerine üye olmak için başvuruda bulunması, yine TÜRKSOY'un Balkanlar'da düzenlediği etkinliklerin ardından Türkiye'nin de dahil olduğu TÜRKSOY üyesi ülkelere sanatçıların, düzenli bir şekilde, her yıl festivallere davet edilmeleri, Türkiye'nin Türkiye dışında artan çekiciliğine verilebilecek örneklerdir. Bu konuda bir başka örnek teşkilatın düzenlediği Türk Dünyası Kültür Başkenti projesi kapsamında verilebilir. Nitekim 2018 yılında bu unvanı taşıyan Türkiye'nin Kastamonu şehrine gelen turist sayısı bir önceki yıla oranla neredeyse iki kat artmış, tüm yıl 1000'in üzerinde sanatçıyı ağırlayan Kastamonu, Türkiye'nin Türkiye dışındaki ülkelerdeki çekiciliğini arttırmıştır.

TÜRKSOY'un tüm faaliyetlerinin ortak değerlerin görünürlüğünü arttırmak üzere kurgulandığı düşünülürse, TÜRKSOY esas itibari ile üyesi ülkelerin tamamının yumuşak güç kaynaklarının etkisini yükseltmektedir. TÜRKSOY üyesi ülkeler ile, TÜRKSOY etkinlikleri vesilesiyle muhatap olan neredeyse tüm ülkeler, teşkilata üye ülkelerle oluşturacakları siyasi ve ekonomik ilişkilerin kendi ülkeleri içinde yararlı olacağına inanmakta ve bu hususta adımlar atmaktadır.

Bu noktada uluslararası markalaşmanın, kültürel değerlerin dünyaya tanıtılması hususunda sağladığı katkılara değinmek yerinde olabilir. Zira bir yönüyle TÜRKSÖY, kültürel ve sanatsal faaliyetleri ile Türk kültürünü ve tarihini dünyaya tanıtarak, Türk dünyasının dünya medeniyetleri içinde zengin bir kültüre sahip olduğunu göstermekte ve TÜRKSÖY üyesi ülkelerin dünyadaki imajına da katkı sağlamaktadır. Ülke markalaşmasının katkılarına değinecek olursak kısa vadede daha çok turistin ülkeyi ziyaret etmesi ve daha çok uluslararası öğrencinin eğitim almak üzere tercihte bulunması anlamına gelen bu süreç, zincirleme olarak dış yatırımcıları teşvik etmekte ve en nihayetinde pek çok kültür elçisi kazandırarak, milli kültürün bu ülkelerde daha cazip hale gelmesini sağlamaktadır. Tüm bu gelişmeler ise dış politika hedefleri açısından devletlere büyük faydalar sağlayabilmektedir. TÜRKSÖY'un çalışmalarının üyesi ülkelerin dış politikalarının kültürel boyutunu içerdiğini söylemek yanlış olmaz.

TÜRKSÖY'un üye ülkeleri dışındaki gerçekleştirdiği faaliyetlere dair bahsedilmesi gereken bir başka husus, bu faaliyetlerin Türk diasporası üzerine etkileridir. TÜRKSÖY faaliyetleri ile Türk dünyası diasporasını birbiriyle tanıştırmakta, kuvvetlendirmektedir.

Türk Konseyi Başkanı Bağdat Amrayev'in Türk Konseyi'nin Bakü Zirvesi'nde paylaştığı verilere göre Türk dünyası 4.5 milyon kilometrekarelik bir alanda yaşayan, 150 milyonu aşan bir nüfusa sahiptir. 2.1 trilyon doların üzerindeki toplam GDP'si ile dünya ekonomileri arasında 13. sırada yer alan Türk dünyası, aynı zamanda 20 milyonu aşkın kişinin yer aldığı, farklı ülkelerde hayatlarını sürdürmekte olan bir diasporaya da sahiptir.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dış İşleri Bakanlığı verilerine göre ise Türk diasporası sadece Avrupa'da 5.5 milyon kişiye yakındır. Bu hesaplamalara TÜRKSÖY üyesi ülkelerin vatandaşları dahil edilmemiştir. TÜRKSÖY, çalışmaları ile bu diasporayı birbirleriyle

tanıştırmakta nitekim üyesi  lkelerin yumuřak g c n  arttırma noktasında bulunmaz bir katkı sunmaktadır.

Diasporalar  lkeler i in son derece  nemli topluluklardır. Ekonomik katkının yanı sıra, uluslararası sınırların ařılmasında yardımcı kuvvetlerdir, sadece ekonomik hareketlilik deęil, bilim ve teknoloji transferini de saęlarlar,  lkeler arasında dostluk ve iřbirlięini temsil eden topluluklar olarak  ne  ıkmaktadırlar.

Devlet kurumlarının belli bir koordinasyon i erisinde  alıřtıęını kabul edersek, T RKSOY Daimi Konsey Toplantılarında, T.C. K lt r ve Turizm bakanlıęının hedef ve ama larını yansıtacak, bu hedef ama lara ulařma noktasında katkı saęlayacak unsurların bulunacaęı  ıkarımında bulunabiliriz. Her ne kadar  lkelerin dıř politikaları Dıřıřleri Bakanlıkları tarafından belirlense de, K lt r ve Turizm bakanlıkları bu politikaların uygulanmasında ve bařarıya ulařmasında alt y klenicilerdir. Zira yumuřak g    er evesinde kitlelerin turizm ama lı hareketlilięi olduk a  nemlidir. Bu kapsamda T RKSOY'un,  yesi  lkelerin dıř politika hedefleri konusunda bir alt y klenici olduęu yada  yesi olduęu  lkelerin dıř politikaları a ısından bir yumuřak g   aracı olduęu varsayımına ulařılabilir. Bu mekanizmadan maksimum faydayı saęlamak i in, devlet kurumları arasındaki koordinasyonun y ksek seviyede olması řarttır. T rkiye  rneęinde bu koordinasyonun olduk a bařarılı s rd r ld ę  s ylenebilir. Zira T RKSOY ve T.C. K lt r ve Turizm Bakanlıęı arasında bařarıyla y r t len  alıřmalar, T.C. Dıřıřleri Bakanlıęının takdirini kazanmıř ve T RKSOY Genel Sekreteri D sen Kaseinov,  st n Hizmet Madalyası ile  d llendirilmiřtir.

1991'de bařlayan karřılıklı iletiřim ve sonrasında k lt r bakanlarının giriřimi ile kurulan T RKSOY, karřılıklı diyalog s recinin tıkanıđı kriz zamanlarında dahi s rd rd ę 

toplantıları ve etkinlikleriyle, her ne kadar kültürel ve sanatsal etkinliklere imza atan bir örgüt olsa dahi Türk iş birliğinde siyasi iradenin adıdır.

TÜRKSOY sadece Türk cumhuriyetleri ile olan ilişkileri değil dünya devletleri ile Türk cumhuriyetleri arasındaki ilişkilerin derinleşmesine de katkı sunmaktadır. Bölgenin lider gücü Rusya'nın özerk cumhuriyetlerinin bu teşkilatta gözlemci olarak da olsa üye olmaları, Türk dış politikası açısından kayda değer bir katkıdır. Yirmi milyona yakın Türk kökenli nüfusu bünyesinde barındıran Rusya Federasyonu'nun de facto bir şekilde de olsa TÜRKSOY'un çalışmalarına katılması Türkiye ile Rusya Federasyonu arasındaki kültürel işbirliğinin ve karşılıklı güvenin gelişmesinde önemli rol oynamıştır.

Etkinlik bazında ise, çalışmalarında Yunus Emre'nin "gelin tanış olalım" ilkesini benimsemiş bulunan TÜRKSOY'un, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde düzenlediği Yunus Emre Oratoryosu, TÜRKSOY'un Türk kültürünün cazibesini arttırma noktasında başarılı uygulamalarından biridir. T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Senfoni Orkestrası ve TÜRKSOY'a üye sekiz ülkeden sanatçıların katılımı ile oluşturulan TÜRKSOY Senfoni Orkestrası ve 120 kişilik Amerikan Jonhatan Grifitt Korosu tarafından icra edilen, Türk besteci Adnan Saygun yazdığı eser, Türkiye'nin ilk operasıdır. Yunus şiirleri ve ilahilerinin Türkçe olarak seslendirildiği konserler için New York'un ve Washington DC'nin en prestijli salonları seçilmiştir. "Türk kültürünün Batılı bir sanat formu ile tanıtıldığı" bu proje kültür tarihine geçen, TÜRKSOY üyesi ülkelerin ortak bir başarısına örnek verilebilecek onlarca projeden biridir. Etkinlik sonrasındaki dinleyici görüşleri ve yabancı basındaki haberler etkinliğin Türkiye-ABD ilişkilerine olumlu katkısını ortaya koymuştur.

TÜRKSOY'un kuruluşu ile birbirini tetikleyen süreçlerde, kültürel iletişim, eğitim alanında ortak projeleri meydana çıkarmış, yıllar boyu Türkiye'de eğitim gören kişilerin bugün ülkelerinde üst düzey görevlerde birer Türkiye elçisi olarak çalıştığı da

gözlemlenmiştir. Kuşkusuz ki bu durum Türk dış politikası için başka bir kazançtır. Türk işbirliğinin gelmiş olduğu noktada pay sahibi olan TÜRKSOY'un Türk Dış Politikası açısından son kazanımı, kurucu ülkelerinden Azerbaycan, Kazakistan, Kırgızistan, Özbekistan'ın cumhurbaşkanlarının katılımıyla düzenlenen TÜRKSOY Konseyi Bakü Zirvesi sırasında Barış Pınarı Operasyonu'na dair alınan Türkiye'ye destek kararıdır. Bu toplantıda, gözlemci üye olarak yer alan Macaristan'da bu karara destek vermiştir.

TÜRKSOY üyesi ülkelere birine, herhangi bir devlet tarafından ambargo uygulanması durumunda dahi, TÜRKSOY adı altında bu ambargo karşılıksız kalmaktadır. Nitekim KKTC, yıllardır TÜRKSOY sayesinde dünyanın dört bir yanında Türk dünyasının bir parçası olduğunu göstermektedir. Dünya devletlerinin pek çoğunca, tanınmamış bir ülke olmasına rağmen, ülke içerisinde farklı milletlerden yüzlerce sanatçıyı ağırlamakta, Birleşmiş Milletler, UNESCO gibi örgütlerin yanı sıra dünyanın pek çok şehrinde düzenlenen TÜRKSOY etkinliklerine katılarak öz kültürünü temsil fırsatı elde etmektedir. Kurucu cumhurbaşkanı Rauf Denktaş, KKTC'nin TÜRKSOY'un üyesi olmasından duyduğu memnuniyeti, teşkilatın 10. yılına istinaden yolladığı mektupla, aşağıdaki cümlelerle ifade etmiştir.

Ülkelerimiz ve halklarımız arasında kültür ve sanat faaliyetleri çerçevesinde 10 yıldır sürdürülmekte olan çalışma ve etkinliklerin giderek yükseldiğini gözlemlemekten mutlu olduğum belirlemek isterim. Değişik coğrafyalara dağılan ama, aynı soydan gelen milyonlarca Türk insanı arasında kültür-sanat köprüsü vazifesini gören TÜRKSOY'un birbirimize yakınlaşmada ve kaynaşmada yapmış olduğu katkılar gurur vericidir. Bu katkılar çerçevesinde ve karşılıklı etkileşim içerisinde, ülkelere özgü kültür ve sanat faaliyetlerinin daha çok zenginleşmesi ve dünyasal bir boyut kazanması en içten dileğimdir. Binlerce yıllık tarihi olan Türk kültür ve sanatının evrensel boyutlarda tanıtılması için çabalarımızı esirgememeli; yeni bir bin yılın eşiğinde bu faaliyetlere daha çok katkı sağlayıp, Türk kültürünün dünyadaki yerini sağlamlaştırmalıyız.

TÜRKSOY Genel Sekreteri Düsen Kaseinov'da TÜRKSOY'un KKTC'nin Türk dünyasına açılan penceresi olduğunu sıklıkla dile getirmiştir. Sadece KKTC örneği dahi,

TÜRKSOY’un Türk dış politikası açısından ne derece önemli bir teşkilat olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

TÜRKSOY çalışmalarının tamamını devlet başkanlarının himayelerinde sürdürmektedir. Teşkilatın çalışmaları, üye devlerinin başkanları ve uluslararası örgütlerin yöneticileri tarafından da sık sık takdir edilmektedir.

“TÜRKSOY bizi birleştiriyor. Bizim birlikteliğimizin temelinde ortak kökler, medeniyet ve tarih bulunmaktadır. TÜRKSOY’u güçlendirmek için elimizden geleni yapacağız” diyen Azerbaycan kurucu Cumhurbaşkanı Haydar Aliyev’in yanı sıra Türkmenistan cumhurbaşkanı Gurbanguli Berdimuhammedov, TÜRKSOY’un çalışmalarına çok önem verdiğini, TÜRKSOY’un kardeş halklar arasındaki kültür bağlarını güçlendirdiğini, Türk kültürel mirasını araştırarak gelecek nesillere tanıttığını belirtmiştir. TÜRKSOY’un çalışmalarını desteklediğini her vesile ile dile getiren Türkiye Başkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan ise, Türk işbirliği örgütlerinin dünyada daha tanınır hale gelmesi hususunda her türlü desteği sunmaya hazır olduklarını dile getirmiştir. TÜRKSOY’un adının sık sık birlikte anıldığı dünyanın en büyük kültür teşkilatı olan UNESCO’nun geçmiş dönem Genel Direktörü İrina Bokova, TÜRKSOY ziyareti kapsamında, “Kültür bütün çalışmalarımızın kalbinde yer alıyor. TÜRKSOY’la bereber gerçekleştirdiğimiz çalışmalar dünya kültürel mirasının korunmasına ve gelecek nesillere aktarılması katkı sunuyor” diyerek teşkilatın Türk dünyası dışında uluslararası boyutunu ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Tüm bu noktalar göz önüne alındığında TÜRKSOY’un kuruluşundan bu yana Türkiye’nin dış politikasında etkin olan bir kültürel diplomasi örgütü olduğu açıktır. Örgütün önümüzdeki dönemlerde de etkinliğini arttırması olasılığı, bu çerçevede Türk dış politikasına da olumlu bir şekilde yansımaktır.

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