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**TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
(ПОЛИТИКА ТУРЦИИ В БОСНИИ И ГЕРЦЕГОВИНЕ)**

Introduction

Turkish Foreign Policy has entered a new era in the last decade pursuing proactive diplomacy, using soft power, and projecting the image of regional leadership. This has become possible due to changes on the individual leadership, state, and international system levels. The end of Cold War politics has left more room for Turkey to develop a semi-independent policy from Western Allies. The improving economic standards and political stability has increased the power of Turkey and sponsored the projection of this capacity to an active foreign policy. The strong leadership of AK Party such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Abdullah Gül, and Ahmet Davutoğlu has drawn the framework and goals of this new active foreign policy. Davutoğlu has been the mastermind of this new foreign policy, first as an academic, then as an advisor to Prime Minister Erdoğan, and later as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and currently as the Prime Minister of Turkey.

Ahmet Davutoğlu's outlined the new aims and principles of Turkish Foreign Policy in his book "Stratejik Derinlik" (Strategic Depth) [1]. Davutoğlu contrasts Turkish Foreign Policy before and after AK Party came to power in 2002 to justify the necessary changes for his new foreign policy vision. Some of the aims and principles of this foreign policy include the following: strengthening relations with neighboring countries to solve all problems with them, the so-called "zero problems with

neighbors” principle; proactive diplomacy to promote cooperation and stability in the region to resolve conflicts; and improving ties with countries that used to be part of the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East. Turkey’s new foreign policy vision targeted Bosnia and Herzegovina, or Bosnia in short, because it was part of the Ottoman Empire; has a major Muslim population and there is a large Bosnian origin population living in Turkey.

The ethno-national groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina interpret the long historical ties between Bosnia and Turkey differently. Many Muslim Bosnians or Bosniaks consider the Ottoman period (1463-1878) as the Golden Era of Bosnia, while Serbs and Croats consider it as a period of slavery and tragedy that lasted for more than four centuries [2]. These contrasting approaches illustrate that history is mobilized for the current identity projections of the actors involved. The following section will examine the main principles of current Turkish Foreign Policy (TFP) and discuss its application in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which reflects selective use of the past for the interests of TFP decision-makers. The article will evaluate the perception of TFP by Bosnians based on an original survey of a hundred respondents and its analyses. The article concludes by some policy recommendations on how to improve TFP in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Yugoslavia began dissolving in 1991 as former Yugoslavian countries such as Slovenia and Croatia declared independence followed by Bosnia and Herzegovina through a referendum. This process has led to the rise of ethnic nationalism among Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats in the country. The current political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina is based on Dayton Peace Agreement signed in Paris on 14 December 1995. The main reason for signing the Treaty was to end the war, which had started in 1992. Some of the leaders of Serbs such as Radovan Karadžić and Franjo Tuđman, the first Croatian President after the Croatian independence, had different plans for Bosnia, namely unification into a new union including Bosnia.

This declaration of independence and its international recognition destroyed ideas such as Greater Serbia.

This process has resulted in the three yearlong war. In 1995, Dayton Peace Agreement aimed to end the violence among the three sides. The agreement's main purpose has been to create peace and stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The agreement has its positive and negative sides but it is considered as one of the most impressive conflict resolutions ever made. Content of the agreement states that: Bosnia Herzegovina is composed of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (51% of the territory) and of Republika Srpska or Republic of Srpska (49% of the territory). Bosnia and Herzegovina is a federative state, composed of these two entities. No entity or entities could ever be separated from Bosnia and Herzegovina unless through legal process. Although entities will exist, central government is still going to retain with rotating state presidency, constitutional court and central bank. State presidency means that it is not going to be one president of the country, but instead representatives of three constitutionally accepted groups who will rotate every 8 months within 4 year mandate. Representatives of Bosniaks and Croats are chosen in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina while the Serbian candidate comes from the Republic of Srpska. This complex arrangement has resulted in a huge bureaucracy and an interlocking political decision making process.

New Turkish Foreign Policy

During the establishment of Republic of Turkey in 1923, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's vision of foreign policy turned to the West to form close ties with Western Europe. Kemalist modernization project framed as Westernization continued. For instance, in 1952 Turkey became a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the country continues to working on fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria to become a member of the European Union (EU). After AK Party came to power in 2002, Turkish foreign policy began to become more independent from its Western allies and proactive.

Turkey is using soft power politics through peaceful and proactive diplomacy to prevent conflicts before they begin. New TFP aims to convince political leaders rather than using hard power to resolve conflicts. Ahmet Davutoglu's book "Strategic Depth" lays the basic principles of this new TFP, which draws theoretically from Germany's 'expansionist foreign policy' including terms such as lebensraum or "living space" (2001). According to Davutoğlu, Turkey should abandon the former inactive foreign policy and instead adopt an expansionist, pan-Islamic stance based on the imperial geopolitical theories [3, p. 119–140]. Even though the main focus in this pan-Islamic expansionism is the Middle East, there is an accent on the importance of local Muslim communities in Europe, which is referred to as natural allies of Turkey, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania. Turkey could serve as a bridge to increase the understanding and tolerance among Muslim majority countries and its Western Allies. For Davutoğlu, the word 'bridge' is not acceptable as he sees Turkey as a center. Turkey's reviving economy, which allowed for paying off the debt to International Monetary Fund (IMF), supported the image of an emerging regional actor.

According to Hakan Akyol, when a state aims to formulate an effective foreign policy it needs to use various tools such as economy, military, diplomatic, and cultural. In the end of 20th century TFP faced a lot of global challenges. One of these challenges was the ethnic conflict in the Balkans after the collapse of the Soviet Union. These events including the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995) increased Turkey's role as a geostrategic partner of Western Allies in the region. The Balkans is an important area for Turkey not only because of historical and cultural connections, but because of trade. The shortest road that connects Turkey to Western Europe is through the Balkans. Having an ally or having good relations with those countries is facilitating Turkey to establish trade relations with the rest of Europe and develop economically.

Turkish Foreign Policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Since the 1990s Turkish foreign policy is active in the Balkans, especially in Bosnia. Turkey firstly provided humanitarian assistance after the war and later renovated historical buildings from the Ottoman period; developed educational and intercultural exchange activities. The following activities detail how Turkey is practicing its soft power in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

Yunus Emre Cultural Institute: This institute aims to introduce Turkish language and culture to the Bosnian people. It organizes various activities such as poetry nights, movies and other kinds of arts in order to bring people closer to Turkish culture, language, and religion. There are currently three branches of the institute in the country. The main activity of the institute is to offer Turkish language courses. Students are rewarded by trips to Turkey where they are expected to socialize with the people. Yunus Emre Cultural Institutes became the trade mark of Turkish language school. In short, they work on principles of intercultural exchange comparable to the British Council and the Goethe Institute.

Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency: Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı (TİKA), in Turkish, is an agency established in 1992 to promote cooperation and support the development of less developed countries. TİKA became the institutional means to implement Turkish foreign policy, particularly in the countries where it aims to increase its influence such as the Balkans. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, TİKA opened its first office in November 1995, and since then it is sponsoring projects to support the recovery from the destruction of the war and become stronger economically. 50% – 70% of its budget goes to restorations, but still the exact amount of money is not clear [2]. In the last two decades, TİKA sponsored numerous projects and continues to do so. Zülküf Oruç, former coordinator of TİKA in Bosnia stated:

“Our wish is to rebuild cultural and historical monuments, so we can improve tourism in this area. [...] The bridge in Višegrad for example or

the Gallery of Srebrenica, are the most visited sites in BiH. In Bosanski Šamac, we turned the house where Alija Izetbegović was born into a museum.” [4]

While many other national development agencies have either left or decreased activities in Bosnia, TİKA is increasing its activities. For instance, the restoration of the City Hall known as ‘Vijećnica,’ one of the main recognized symbols of Sarajevo, has been undertaken by the Bosnian government and national development agencies from Europe. However, this project has not yet been completed for the last two decades while TİKA is completing more than ten projects annually.

Diyamet: The Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs, or Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı in Turkish, is also active in the Balkans. Kemal Hakkı Kılıç, chief department for Balkans states:

“When it comes to the Balkans region, we want all Muslim brothers to live in peace and harmony. [...] We’re focused on renovating and rebuilding mosques in Bosnia.” [5]

Diyamet is collecting donations from the congregation in mosques in Turkey to implement its projects in Bosnia. Mr. Kilic explains how Diyanet works in Bosnia as follows:

“The way it goes is the following: We get a note from the Islamic Community in BiH that they need something and we send it. [...] For example, if there is a need to print additional copies of the Qur’an, we print them. Every year we invite a group of five to six muftis and imams from BiH to come to Turkey, spend some time here and we pay all expenses. They ask for it, so we provide it. [...] A list of demands comes from BiH, we evaluate it and then, we do our best to respond to these demands.” [5]

Diyamet made financial contributions to construction of mosques all over Bosnia and it plans to continue doing so, but its budget allocated for Bosnia is unknown.

Education: Educational institutions such as Bosna Sema contribute to spreading Turkish culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina through intermediary

schools. Moreover, there are universities such as International University of Sarajevo and International Burch University. These universities have students not only from Bosnia but also from Turkey. Turkish students from Turkey come to study at these universities in Sarajevo for various reasons. One of the main reasons is that when the headscarf was banned for university students in Turkey some of these students continued their education abroad including Sarajevo until recently. Bosnian students also had a chance to meet these students at the universities, and make new friends.

Scholarships: Republic of Turkey offers scholarships to college students from all over the world to come and study in Turkey. Among them are also Bosnian students who are accepted to undergraduate and graduate programs. These scholarships also cover one year of intensive Turkish language courses until they qualify to get undergraduate education in Turkish. There are YTB¹, TÜBİTAK² other scholarship programs. There are also ERASMUS exchange students from Bosnia who take the opportunity to spend a semester or a year at one of universities in Turkey.

There are also various public financial and media institutions from Turkey that operate as part of Turkish foreign policy in Bosnia such as banks and public broadcasting companies. Anadolu Agency is the official news agency of Turkey and TRT Balkans is a special channel of the Turkish broadcasting group that informs Bosnian and Turkish residents about developments in these two countries and well as in the region. The state owned Turkish Ziraat Bank opened 25 branches in the country.

In addition to these official institutions Turkish foreign policy is active in Bosnia, through indirect ways such as the promotion of tourism to Bosnia and the spread of Turkish soap operas. Bosnia has many natural and historical attractions. The number of tourists from Turkey is increasing

¹ YTB – Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı (Turks Abroad and Related Communities).

² TÜBİTAK – Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu (The scientific and Technological Research Council of turkey).

every year. In 2009 there were 13.000 visitors from Turkey and in 2013 this number increased up to 55.000 visitors. This is a considerable increase in a period of five years [6].

Soap operas are popular pastime activity especially among women. Until a few years ago Mexican soap operas were popular in the Balkans, Turkish soap operas have replaced them. These shows are so popular that approximately 2.235 minutes on one channel are reserved weekly. One of the first Turkish soap opera was “Bin bir gece” (“1001 night”) and after that many other soap operas followed such as “Muhteşem Yüzyıl”, “Gümüş”, “Ezel”, “Sıla”, and “Tek Türkiye”. Those soap operas had different stories, introduced people from all over the Turkey, their dialects, attitudes, traditions and cultures. These shows familiarized Bosnian people with Turkish way of life, and their language. There are no official rating figures for Turkish soap operas watched in Bosnia but on every television channel’s official web site in archive section it is possible to find all the previous episodes.

Relations between Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina

On 15 September 2012, the 550th anniversary of Sarajevo’s foundation was celebrated and that year was pronounced as the year of ‘Isa beg Ishaković’, the founder of the city. This is a rare occasion in which the prime minister and current President of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan received an award as the guest of honor. According to the organizer of the event Amel Suljović, Erdoğan is one of the greatest leaders of today just as Isa beg Ishaković was in his time. He deserved to receive this award for his love and care for Sarajevo and Bosnia. Erdoğan’s victory speech after elections reflect his new foreign policy vision and supports Suljović’s expectations. For instance, after his victory in the local elections in March 2014, Erdoğan saluted the crowd and international community as follows:

“I wholeheartedly greet our 81 provinces as well as sister and friendly capitals and cities of the world [...]. I first want to express my absolute gratitude to my God for such a victory and a meaningful result. I thank my

friends and brothers all over the world who prayed for our victory. I thank my brothers in Palestine who saw our victory as their victory. I thank my brothers in Egypt who are struggling for democracy and who understand our struggle very well. I thank my brothers in the Balkans, in Bosnia, in Macedonia, in Kosovo and in all cities in Europe who celebrate our victory with the same joy we have here.” [7]

This kind of rhetoric of Turkish politicians is not welcome among different ethnic groups in Bosnia and creates further tension inside the country. Politics in Bosnia is already weak, and there is no agreement on the priorities and strategies of foreign. This gives more space to individual politicians to create good relations with countries of their preference disregarding the ideas of the politicians representing the other ethno-national groups. Emotions and sympathies towards Turkey are visible among Bosniaks and Bosniak politicians, but this is not the case among the rest. In a country like Bosnia, where three different readings of history according to the three ethno-national groups exist, basing one’s politics on history and culture can be dangerous. While the majority, not necessarily all, of Bosniaks welcome the increasing Turkish influence in the country; Serbs and Croats are not at ease with this. What Bosniaks see as friendly rhetoric, proof of friendship and brotherhood, Serbian and Croatian representatives feel discomfort and oppose. The following quotations illustrate this disapproval:

“Turkey is always with us on all important matters. It is a nice feeling to have such a friend. We are never alone as long as Turkey is with us.” [8]

“Turkey is causing a lot of problems in BiH. It does not have absolute right to meddle into regional issues.” [9]

“If Alija Izetbegović was so powerful to leave in ‘amanet’ anything, to anyone, then, I would say, aferim.” [10]

“I do not believe that someone likes to hear that BiH is an Ottoman legacy.” [11]

“This statement should draw attention of the EU as it constitutes direct meddling of Turkey, which aims to become an EU member, into an area under direct attention of EU. [...] If the EU does not expand, there are other powers that will, and Turkey is one of them. A part of nations in the Balkans love it in the same way as another part loves Russia. There is one question – what will the EU do?” [12]

Although some voices among Bosniak leaders are critical of what they regard as Turkish expansionism, official representatives rarely air it publicly. Especially some nationalist and secular minded Bosniaks do not approve of a relationship with Turkey that is based on reviving the Ottoman past. For instance,

“I do not want to make coalition with those who are making Ottoman appendage out of Bosnia. Izetbegović and Erdoğan are obviously connected with so called 'Muslim brotherhood' and the idea of more important role of Turkey in Bosnia is neither focusing on strengthening inter-ethnic relations nor making investments. We must bear in mind through our historical experience that Turkey was in any case 500 years occupier.” [13]

Although Turkish politicians are not aware of or ignore such voices from Bosniak leaders, they are aware of the discomfort among Serbian and Croatian political leaders. Nevertheless, they say that TFP treats all ethnic groups equally but political rhetoric and practice do not match. Turkish foreign policy makers state that they support the whole country and not only one entity, but there are difficulties in proving statements like these since there are numerous examples which are showing that one group, that is the Bosniaks, is favored. According to Sinan Ülgen, president of Istanbul Center for Economic and Foreign politics studies, new Turkish foreign policy moves in the Balkans should be regarded as a contribution to the stability of this region rather than the revival of Ottomanism [14]. Erhan Turbedar, coordinator of Balkan studies at TEPAV, the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey, stated that there are two perceptions of

Turkish foreign policy at the ‘Perception of Turkish Foreign Policy in the Balkans’¹ conference held on April 5th, 2012 in Sarajevo. First, positive economic development consolidated liberal democracy and human rights in Turkey. Second is the revival of neo-Ottomanism. In addition to these two perceptions there are three fears towards Turkish foreign politics: 1. Prejudice towards Islam and politics of Islam; 2. Prejudice and fears from Turkey and early Ottoman state; 3. the lack of cooperation between Ankara and Brussels on Balkans. Rašidagić [15] highlighted that Turkish Foreign Policy has positive approach but at the same time it is too idealistic. Even countries that are economically more powerful than Turkey and have been influential in the Balkans for the last century had challenges in continuing their impact in the region. So, it is in interest of Turkey to address and speak openly about unresolved questions in its foreign policies such as pursuing a balanced policy among all the three ethno-national groups. Rhetorically speaking Turkish representatives are claiming how they are treating all ethnic groups equally but the practice shows otherwise.

For instance, Yunus Emre Institute opened three offices in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but none of them is in the Republic of Srpska. Turkish Ziraat Bank has 25 opened branches, and only one branch is opened in Republic of Srpska, in Banja Luka. TİKA’s donations and projects are mainly related in restoration of Ottoman legacies, mosques, madrasas², bridges, and historical monuments. Around 95% of the applications of projects to TİKA come from Bosniaks. Bosniak students get most of the scholarships because other groups are not encouraged enough to apply for them and study in Turkey [16]. The highest state-level institutions are showing that Bosniak officials are dominant in relations with Turkish officials. All three

¹ Conference organized by CNS – Center for developed studies (Centar za napredne studije) and BALMED – Center for civilization of the Balkans (Balkanlar medeniyet merkezi) on topic „Perception of Turkish Foreign Policy in the Balkans“ had two leading speakers: Erhan Turbedar and Ešref Kenan Rašidagić.

² Madrasa refers to schools training imams who lead prayers in mosques and scholars of Islam.

members of the Bosnian Presidency on a rhetorical level agree that bilateral relations between Bosnia and Turkey are good, strong and constantly improving. In practice, they all meet with each other and talk about cultural, political and economic issues. However, the three members of the Presidency only rarely interact with Turkish officials collectively. In 2010 when Presidency members have established an office, a joint meeting happened only four times, half of which took place within the framework of trilateral meetings with Serbian and Turkish heads of state. During the same time period, each of them attended several meetings with Turkish colleagues individually. According to the website of the Presidency of BiH, in more than three years, Nebojša Radmanović, the member of the Presidency from Republic of Srpska, attended three formal meetings, while Željko Komšić, the Croat member of the Presidency, held four official meetings with Turkish officials. At the same time, Bakir Izetbegović, the Bosniak member of the Presidency maintained the most intensive contacts with Turkish side that resulted in no less than 25 formal meetings with Turkish governmental officials. Moreover, it was on six occasions that Izetbegović travelled to Turkey for official meetings, while the other two members only joined him in May 2013 for a trilateral meeting together with the Serbian president Tomislav Nikolić.

	Overall number of meetings held with Turkish officials	Number of meetings held in BiH	Number of meetings held in Turkey*	Number of official visits in Turkey
BiH Presidency jointly	7	5	1	1
Bosniak member of BiH Presidency individually	44	21	24	13
Croat member of BiH Presidency individually	6	6	0	0
Serb member of BiH Presidency individually	6	5	0	0
Chair of Council of Ministers	8	6	2	1
Minister of Foreign Affairs	26	12	9	6

This table shows the number of meetings between state officials of Bosnia and Turkey from January 2009 until May 2014. Source: Archive of Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina [17].

Nebojša Radmanović comments on the frequent meetings of Bakir Izetbegović, representative of Bosniaks in Presidency with Turkish officials as follows:

“Bakir [Izetbegović] is taking advantage of friendly relations with the Turks, using Alija’s previous relations with Turkey. [...] I don’t think this individual engagement is counterproductive for BiH. Bosniaks love Turks, Serbs love Russia.” [18, pg. 30]

It is understandable that ethno-national groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina feel closer to an outside country due to religious, historical, and ethnic ties. However, friendly relations and sympathies are one story but politics and state affairs are another. The case of Bosnian politics is specific and activities of individual political representatives affect the whole country by causing splits among ethnic groups and deepening disagreements. If the main aim of politicians in Bosnia is to increase living standards, then they have to work together, not separately.

Survey Data analysis

Just as politicians make statements and take decisions, the rest of the society has opinions about Turkish foreign policy toward Bosnia and Herzegovina as well. Belma Ibišević conducted a survey in Sarajevo among one hundred students. This survey is undertaken in the city of Sarajevo and the International University of Sarajevo. Surveys should ideally cover all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and include all the ethnic groups. Sarajevo is a multi ethnic city and in time the urban population used to live with each other in a multicultural setting and think more openly than the rural areas in the country.

This survey is composed out of two sets of questionnaires and one hundred respondents. For the first questionnaire there were 50 participants, residents of Sarajevo with different ethnic background. There were three questions:

Nationality: a) Bosniak b) Serb c) Croat d) Bosnian ¹

Gender: a) male b) female

How do you perceive relations between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Turkey? Do you support Turkish Foreign Policy strategy in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Are there any changes that need to be done?

Participants were asked to honestly answer these three questions. Fifty participants were composed of 21 Bosniaks, 12 Serbs, 8 Croats, and 9 Bosnians. There were 23 male and 27 female respondents. The most interesting findings can be summed up as follows. 42 of 50 respondents think that relations between Bosnia and Turkey are positive. Serbs and Croats are not showing different opinions from Bosniaks. Only eight respondents have negative opinion and among those who responded negatively there are not only Serbs and Croats but also Bosniaks. Turkey helps a lot to Bosnia because of cultural similarities.. Those who think that relations are good believe that it could be better by improving more cooperation, communication and economic investments of Turkey for the stability and development of Bosnia. They also recommend Turkish officials to fulfill their promises in practice. They argue that if Turks are considering Bosnians as brothers, and they should not send donations but make more economic investments. One of the Bosniak respondents thinks that there is no special connection between Bosnia and Turkey saying that “Bosnia has a lot of tears, Turkey does not have to cry for them”.

Second questionnaire had also fifty respondents, who are Turkish citizens currently studying in Bosnia at the International University of Sarajevo. They were asked two questions:

1. Gender: a) male b) female

¹ Bosnians are all those who consider themselves as belonging to this country with not looking on religious components. Usually, those who consider themselves as Bosnians are followers of political philosophy that is related to communism and atheism, those who do not tie themselves as Croats and Serbs but instead as Bosnian Catholics or orthodox. This should not create confusion to the reader because in most of the surveys there are 4 groups how nationality can be expressed. Of course, this creates confusion even in the system of Bosnia but there are still things that need to be improved.

2. How do you perceive relations between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Turkey? What was your experience when you came to Bosnia and Herzegovina? Have you ever had some negative experience?

It was interesting to see how Turks who are currently in Bosnia are thinking about relations between these two countries. 34 respondents think that relations are good and positive, but comments were more negative than from the first questionnaire. There were 30 male and 20 female respondents. Females have more negative experience explaining that when they first came to Bosnia they believed that there were more similarities, but living in Bosnia showed that actually there are more differences than similarities. Some of the experiences are showing that Turks thought how Bosnians like them and are happy to be together, but through experience it is seen that not everyone welcome Turkish people. Also, one of the comments is that the government of Bosnia is not doing anything to support Turkish students, and criticize the administration and safety. One participant said that in the beginning he thought how relations are good, but later realized how Bosnians are regarding Turks as ‘walking money’. Some of the examinees wish that Bosnians view Turks differently because it is impossible to generalize and state that not all Turks or Bosnians are bad. Turkish foreign policy in Bosnia is good, but one examinee thinks that Bosnians see donation as success in their politics.

Another survey is done by BILGESAM [19] – Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies on perception in the Balkans about Turkey and Turks. Study is conducted all over the Balkans in different universities including academics and students as well as residents of the countries. In case of Bosnia there were 2.127 direct interviews. Analysis is showing that media, tourism and other spheres are influencing people’s opinion. According to the polls 60,2% of people see Turkey as friendly country. 72,5% of Bosniaks, say they would prefer to live in Turkey among all foreign countries if they get a chance to live abroad.

Conclusion

Turkey has developed an active foreign politics in Bosnia but it needs to take extra measures to improve the image of Turkey, not only in the Federation but also the entire country. This means that existing relations with individual politicians of favorable ethnic group should be formalized and transparent. Turkish foreign policy makers should communicate and disseminate information in a transparent manner, to all three constituent peoples in Bosnia to avoid internal conflicts. As they are reviving the Ottoman and Islamic collective memory, they should respect the Bosnian tradition.

For reasons of transparency as well as effectiveness, TİKA should become part of the Donor Coordination Forum in Bosnia together with other 22 assistance agencies. Since 2005, yearly this Donor Forum is organizing meetings in presenting what has been done in Bosnia so far, and even though there was invitation for TİKA to participate but it did not [20]. It is all up to organizations to decide whether they are going to participate in the Forum or not. Participation to these meetings can only assist Bosnia to develop as number of donations, invested money, projects and other activities need to be registered. Neither Diyanet nor TİKA ever give data of how much they invest in Bosnia. These institutions should become more transparent on their activities in the country.

After the war, Bosnian politicians got used to receive help from other countries and not cooperating to improve the economic status of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole. If Turkey keeps sending help in the form of donation to Bosnia, then it supports politicians to enjoy their privileges and makes them unwilling to develop the country. Bosnia has a lot of potential but many successful young people who are leaving the country and contributing to the development of some other country. Sending only donations are destroying Bosnia and its people. Bosnia and Herzegovina is still a weak and unstable country, but it is the job of Bosnian politicians to find and implement the way forward, not some other country.

Companies do not want to invest in countries with complicated political decision making processes and instability. There are only three big Turkish companies that invested in Bosnia: Şişecam Soda in Lukavac city, Natron Hayat in Maglaj and Cengiz İnşaat in Sarajevo. In interview for Populari agency owners of Natron Hayat and Şişecam Soda companies are advising Turkish investors not to invest in Bosnia because of bureaucratic difficulties and that they even face bankruptcy. In developed countries it takes one hour to apply and establish firm while in Bosnia it takes months or even years because of procedure since not even those in charge know where people should apply (to which entity, to which canton, to which municipality). So, if Turkey really wants to help Bosnia to develop it needs to stop sending donations, provide constant help and replace this with increasing business and economic cooperation. Politicians from all three ethno-national groups support investments, so there should be more economical investment than providing assistance. For instance, Nebojša Radmanović [18, pg. 23] only has words of praise for Turkish cultural investments in Bosnia. Even though it seems to him that Turks are focused more on culture and history than development.

Tarik Zaimović [21] is advising Turkey to decrease emotions towards Bosnia and increase business instead, like Serbia for instance. Serbia offered to Turkey and other countries projects in order to increase the living standards of the country. Although, renewing mosques and bridges by Turkish Foreign policy institutions may improve tourism, Bosnian economy needs more factories and jobs. Thus, more job creating businesses, political stability, and cooperation among ethno-national groups can help Bosnia and Herzegovina to stand on its feet.

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