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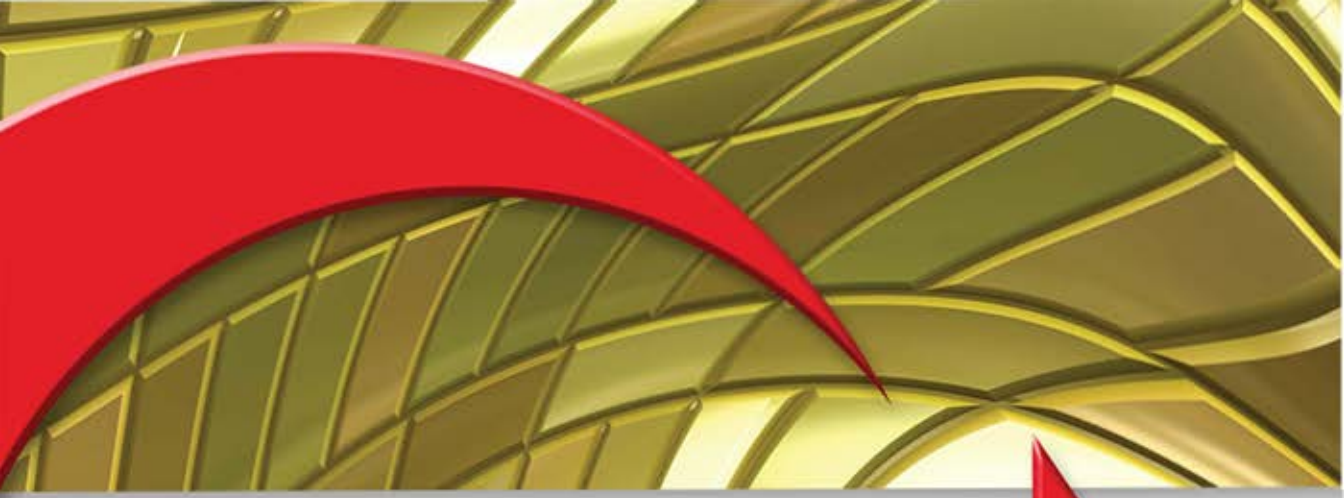

Dennis Rivera
Editor

Encyclopedia of Turkey

Politics and Economics of the Middle East

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DENNIS RIVERA
EDITOR

nova publishers
New York

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Additional color graphics may be available in the e-book version of this book.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Encyclopedia of Turkey / editor: Dennis Rivera.
pages cm. -- (Politics and economics of the Middle East)
Includes index.
ISBN: 978-1-63482-758-4(eBook)
1. Turkey--History--21st century--Encyclopedias. 2. Turkey--Politics and government--21st century--Encyclopedias. 3. Turkey--Economic conditions--21st century--Encyclopedias. I. Rivera, Dennis.
DR414.E53 2015
956.10403--dc23
2015013334

Published by Nova Science Publishers, Inc. † New York

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PREFACE

This encyclopedia presents important research on Turkey. Some of the topics discussed herein include the prospects and challenges involved in Turkey and United States defense cooperation; Turkey-Kurdish regional government relations after the U.S. withdrawal from Iraq; Turkey's new regional security role's implications for the U.S.; and Turkey's background and relations with the United States.

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In: Encyclopedia of Turkey
Editor: Dennis Rivera
ISBN: 978-1-63482-757-7
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Chapter 1

TURKEY-UNITED STATES DEFENSE COOPERATION: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES*

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SUMMARY

Congress and the Obama Administration are seeking to manage longstanding bilateral and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-based defense cooperation with Turkey at a time when a more independent Turkish foreign policy course and changes in regional security conditions are creating new challenges for both countries. Defense cooperation rooted in shared threat perceptions from the Cold War era and built on close U.S. ties with the Turkish military leadership now must be reconciled with a decline of the military's political influence in Turkish society and some negative turns in Turkish popular sentiment toward the United States over the past decade. At the same time, Turkey's importance as a U.S. ally has arguably increased on issues of global significance in its surrounding region that include Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. In early 2011, Turkey's regional role has arguably become even more prominent—exemplified by its significant involvement politically and militarily on the question of NATO's intervention in Libya.

How Congress and the Administration manage defense cooperation with Turkey in this evolving context is likely to have a significant bearing on U.S. national security interests, as well as on both U.S. and Turkish calculations of the mutual benefits and leverage involved in the cooperative relationship. Some officials and analysts believe that, in at least some respects, the United States needs Turkey more than Turkey needs the United States. Others counter that claims of Turkish leverage over the United States are exaggerated.

Possible general congressional and Administration approaches to U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation ("Possible U.S. Policy Approaches") include

- avoiding major recharacterizations of the alliance, while emphasizing and expressing confidence that existing NATO and bilateral relationships—with their long legacies—can address mutual security challenges;

* This is an edited, reformatted and augmented version of Congressional Research Service, Publication No. R41761, dated April 8, 2011.

- according high priority to the alliance and revising expectations for it by accommodating new developments within and outside of Turkey;
- linking cooperation in some way to Turkey's relations with certain third-party countries or non-state actors—including Iran, Israel, Hamas, Armenia, and China—or to Turkish actions on issues of U.S. national security interest; and
- using or combining any of these approaches on a case-by-case basis.

Specific issues that remain of significant importance for Congress (see "Specific Issues and Possible Options for Congress"), given its authority to appropriate funds, review major arms sales, consider non-binding resolutions, and provide general oversight include the following:

- *Continued military access to Turkish bases and transport corridors*: The ongoing availability to the United States and NATO of Turkish bases and transport corridors—which have been used heavily for military operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya—is valuable and remains a possible point of contention and leverage. The extent of its importance and of alternatives may be subject to further analysis.
- *Future of Turkey-Israel relations*: U.S. efforts to maintain alliances with both Turkey and Israel could be made more complicated if relations between them do not improve—potentially influencing the regional security environment.
- *Missile defense radar*: Whether Turkey agrees in 2011 to host a U.S. forward-deployed radar for missile defense as part of the NATO system may depend on its perceptions of whether doing so would be more likely to cultivate stability or to be unduly provocative to neighboring countries.
- *Arms sales and industrial cooperation*: Turkey continues to seek advanced military equipment from U.S. sources, particularly with respect to fighter and drone aircraft, helicopters, and missile defense systems (see "Arms Sales and Industrial Cooperation"). At the same time, Turkey is increasingly diversifying its defense contacts and procurement relationships with non-NATO countries.
- *Military and security assistance*: Although the United States no longer provides major annual grant aid to Turkey's military, assistance continues to foster cooperation on counterterrorism, law enforcement, and military training and education.

INTRODUCTION: ISSUES FOR CONGRESS

The United States enjoys a strong legacy of defense cooperation with Turkey, both bilaterally and in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), dating from the onset of the Cold War. For both countries, mutual cooperation has major implications for national security priorities in Turkey's surrounding region—particularly the greater Middle East. A more independent Turkish foreign policy course—reflected in recent international events involving Iran, Israel, and other countries—has raised concerns among some Members of Congress.

This, coupled with a decline of the military's influence in Turkish society, may affect prospects and present challenges for bilateral and NATO defense cooperation, while also generating ongoing debate over which country needs the other more to pursue and achieve its national security objectives.

A challenge for U.S. officials—particularly in the White House, the Defense Department (DOD; both civilian and military branches), and the State Department—is to adjust future modes of bilateral interaction with Turkey on defense matters to account for greater fluidity within the internal Turkish civil-military power structure.

Determining proper interlocutors for both countries on different but interrelated questions of (1) grand strategy (which involves political objectives beyond pure military matters), (2) military strategy, and (3) tactical and operational objectives could lead to an approach that is more multidimensional than the well-established pattern some observers see in which the State Department and other U.S. officials rely on the "Pentagon to wield its influence."[1]

Areas of potential interest or concern for Congress, as well as other U.S. policymakers, include the following:

- *Overall Defense Relationship*: Reconciling regional perceptions of growing Turkish influence and declining U.S. influence with persisting Turkish interest in defense cooperation to address immediate security and deterrence needs.
- *NATO/Missile Defense*: Turkey's role in NATO, both in
  (1) defining the scope of alliance action and objectives in possible cases of intervention, such as Libya; and
  (2) regarding aspects of alliance-wide defense, such as an approved missile defense system that could feature a radar station and other elements in Turkey to counter threats from Iran and elsewhere.
- *Iraq and Afghanistan*: Cooperating with Turkey to achieve stability and a reduced threat of terrorism from Iraq and Afghanistan through
  (1) joint counterterrorism efforts,
  (2) use of Turkish bases and territory for cargo transport,
  (3) possible arms sales, and
  (4) direct involvement of Turkish non-combat troops (in Afghanistan) and trainers.
- *Israel*: Addressing implications of increasingly distant Turkey-Israel relations on U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation.
- *Armenian Genocide Resolution*: Continuing defense cooperation with Turkey in light of a possible adverse Turkish reaction to a potential U.S. congressional resolution or presidential statement characterizing World War I-era actions of the Ottoman Empire against Armenians as genocide. Expectations regarding the likely nature and extent of a possible adverse Turkish reaction vary.[2]
- *Future Prospects for Various Modes of Defense Cooperation*: These include
  (1) joint exercises and missions;
  (2) stationing of U.S./NATO personnel and arms (including a reported nuclear weapons arsenal) in Turkey;
  (3) forms of defense-related U.S. aid, including International Military Education and Training; and
  (4) defense industrial cooperation.

OVERVIEW OF COOPERATION

Background

Turkey's NATO accession in 1952 during the early years of the Cold War was premised upon the concept of a "mutuality of benefits." Turkey received U.S. security guarantees against Soviet aggression. In return, the United States and its other Western allies could (1) station and base troops and equipment in Turkey for defensive and intelligence-gathering purposes, (2) count on Turkish control over Soviet access to the Mediterranean through the Bosporus and Dardanelles straits and on Turkish co-belligerency in case of an attack, and (3) contain Turkish-Greek tensions within the NATO umbrella.

Although events over the last few years have strained U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation to some extent, tension in the bilateral relationship is not new. According to one scholar, "Apart from a honeymoon in the early 1950s, the US-Turkish alliance has always been troubled."[3] Turkey's relations with Greece and its involvement in Cyprus have been the focus of many of these troubles. When in 1974 Turkey sent troops using U.S.-supplied arms to intervene on behalf of the Turkish Cypriot minority, Congress responded by placing an embargo on U.S. military grants and arms sales to Turkey that lasted from 1975 until 1978,[4] despite objections voiced by the executive branch.

The embargo delivered a serious blow to the Turkish military's operational readiness. Turkey, in turn, closed U.S. defense and intelligence installations on Turkish territory throughout the period of the embargo (except for those installations that had a purely NATO function). In addition, according to a 2005 article in the journal *Turkish Studies*, "The resentment and loss of confidence in the US transformed the alliance to a great extent and made Turkey focus on two important strategic priorities from then onwards: to diversify the sources of arms imports and to improve the development of a domestic arms industry."[5]

Yet, some believe that the nature and degree of U.S.-Turkey tensions, and how they affect mutual threat perceptions and defense priorities, might be changing. Longtime Turkey analyst Henri Barkey of the Carnegie Endowment of International Peace wrote in 2010 that "Turkish-American relations were always difficult and acrimonious even in the best of times.... What is different now is that the issues over which Turkey and America differ are far more numerous and complicated than in the past."[6] The vote of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Parliament) in 2003 not to allow U.S. troops to use Turkey's border with Iraq as a second front in their invasion of the country showed the United States that in its defense relationship with Turkey, it could no longer rely solely on past legacies of cooperation and its close ties with the Turkish military.

The onset of more numerous and complicated differences within the U.S.-Turkey alliance may be reflected in Turkish popular sentiment toward the United States. Results from a December 2010 poll stated that despite the long-time alliance, and despite several potential threats along Turkey's borders, the Turkish people see the United States as its biggest external threat by a wide margin.[7] This apparent sentiment exists within a context of Turks' generally low favorability ratings for foreign countries, partly based on historical concerns about encirclement by outside powers— particularly the West and Russia. Reports posit that the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq is a major shaper of the Turkish people's threat perception,[8] along with U.S. closeness to Israel and congressional action on Armenia.[9]

However, a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) poll released in March 2011 indicates that—though still negative on balance—Turkish perceptions of U.S. influence in the world have improved significantly from a year earlier.[10] Future trends in these perceptions are likely to influence democratically elected Turkish leaders' approaches to strategic cooperation.

Since 1948, the United States has provided Turkey with approximately $13.8 billion in overall military assistance—$8.2 billion in monetary and in-kind grants and $5.6 billion in loans. However, the end of the Cold War and Turkey's increasing economic and military self-sufficiency led to the discontinuance of most aid. Current annual military and security assistance is limited to International Military Education and Training (IMET); International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLE); and Non-proliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining and Related Programs (NADR) funds. For a more detailed breakdown of this assistance, see Table 1 below; and for a historical overview and chronology of U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation, see Appendix A.

Table 1. U.S. Military and Security Assistance to Turkey (historical $ in millions)

Fiscal Year(s)	Foreign Mil. Fin.	Excess Defense Articles	Int'l Mil. Ed. and Training	NADR	INCLE	Other Grants	Total Grants	Loans
1948-1975	—	869.0	111.8	—	—	3,406.0	4,386.8	185.0
1976-1981	—	—	3.4	—	1.0	10.5	14.9	952.9
1982-1992	1,884.0	—	36.4	—	6.7	1,362.1	3,289.2	2,769.1
1993-2001	—	205.1	14.0	0.1	3.2	—	222.4	1,678.1
2002-2008	170.0	21.1	23.7	8.6	0.1	—	223.5	—
2009	1.0	—	3.2	1.9	0.5	—	6.6	—
2010	—	—	5.0	3.0	—	—	8.0	—
2011 Request	—	—	4.0	1.4	0.5	—	5.9	—
2012 Request	—	—	4.0	—	0.5	—	4.5	—
TOTAL	2,055.0	1,095.2	205.5	14.0	12.5	4,778.6	8,160.8	5,585.1

Source: U.S. Agency for International Development, U.S. State Department.

Notes: All amounts are approximate. NADR stands for Nonproliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining and Related Programs; INCLE stands for International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement.

Turkey's Importance to U.S. National Security

Arguably, Turkey is a more significant ally for the United States at present than during the Cold War. With several challenges to U.S. national security emanating from the greater Middle East, the United States has already shown that it seeks to use Turkey's geographic location for its advantage, and it is likely that future U.S. regional interests will dictate a similar U.S. outlook. Given Turkey's location near several global hotspots, the availability of its territory for the stationing and transport of arms, cargo, and personnel remains valuable for the United States and NATO (see Figure 1 and "Bases and Trans-port Corridors" below). In

addition, Turkey, with its sizeable armed forces and modern weapons systems, is considered to be among the strongest military powers in its region, and continuing Turkish economic growth and increases in domestic military spending and arms exports support the view that it will play a major role in regional security for years to come.[11] As Turkey's regional influence expands through economic, political, and cultural means, its importance has arguably increased for the United States on issues of global significance that include Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Israeli-Palestinian issues.

In early 2011, Turkey's regional role has arguably become even more prominent—exemplified by its significant involvement politically and militarily on the question of NATO's intervention in Libya—as political change and unrest generates international debate about links between internal governance, humanitarian and civil society issues, and regional security. Moreover, Turkey's growing importance as a regional energy transport hub whose supply sources are not limited to (even though they include) Russia and Iran elevates the continued importance of Turkey's security for world energy markets.[12]

Source: DOD; NATO.

Notes: All locations are approximate. Incirlik air base is a Turkish base, part of which is used for limited purposes by the U.S. military.

Figure 1. Map of U.S. and NATO Military Presence and Transport Routes in Turkey.

This affects both U.S. and Turkish calculations of the mutual benefits and leverage of defense cooperation. The United States hopes that involving Turkey's military and territory in various defense initiatives (such as in Libya and Afghanistan, and with NATO missile defense) both provides greater influence for the United States with regional actors and politically legitimizes U.S. actions to Muslim populations. Turkish leaders use the importance the United States confers upon Turkey's role both to seek benefits from the United States and to elevate their prestige in dealings with other countries. At the same time, however, many high-profile Turkish officials and international analysts speak of increased Turkish economic and military self-sufficiency and a relative decline of U.S. influence in the region as other actors become more consequential.[13]

Although Turkey is an increasingly important regional and even global player in the use of its political, economic, and cultural influence, many of its national security priorities remain concentrated on (1) protecting its borders and population, especially from the transnational threat posed by Kurdish militants; and (2) deterring would-be aggressors in its neighborhood without provoking them. Its defense cooperation with the United States, therefore, presents a dilemma. Avoiding provocations of those of Turkey's neighbors whom the United States perceives as adversaries or potential adversaries might be difficult for Turkey to the extent that the neighbors view Turkey as enabling U.S. actions in the region.

Cooperation during the Obama Administration

In General

Developments during the Obama Administration on matters both bilateral and under the NATO umbrella have led to new questions about the extent to which Turkish and U.S. national security goals and defense priorities overlap. In April 2009, President Obama, speaking of a "model partnership," visited Turkey during his first presidential trip abroad and addressed the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Parliament) in Ankara, saying that "Turkey is a critical ally.... And Turkey and the United States must stand together—and work together—to overcome the challenges of our time."

One month later, Ahmet Davutoglu, a foreign policy academic-turned-advisor to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan from Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), became Turkey's foreign minister, giving Davutoglu greater visibility with regard to the more independent and assertive Turkish foreign policy course he had helped to establish. This course envisions Turkey being "in the centre of its own sphere of influence" through "strategic depth" (based largely on regional soft power ostensibly based on geopolitical, cultural, historical, and economic influence) and having "zero problems" with the countries in its vicinity.[14]

Subsequent Turkish and U.S. actions and statements on Armenia, Iran, and Israeli-Palestinian issues revealed tensions between the Obama Administration and AKP government visions for overcoming regional challenges. These tensions spilled over into bilateral defense relations.[15] In March 2010, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs reported H.Res. 252 for consideration by the full House (by a vote of 23-22). H.Res. 252 characterized actions of the Ottoman Empire (Turkey's predecessor state) against Armenians from 1915 to 1917 as genocide. Similar resolutions had been reported multiple times by the same committee for full House consideration since 2000, and by various House and Senate committees from 1984 to 1990. Neither H.Res. 252 nor any of the other resolutions passed. Nevertheless, in response to the March 2010 committee action, Turkey recalled its ambassador from the United States for one month, and at least one prominent AKP lawmaker reportedly warned that "the relationship would be downgraded on every level" in the event of House passage of the resolution (which as stated above, did not occur). This warning was commonly perceived as including a threat to at least partially or temporarily curtail U.S. access to Turkish bases and territory that it uses to transport non-lethal cargo to military missions in Iraq and Afghanistan.[16] Turkey also had briefly recalled its ambassador from the United States after a nearly identical resolution was reported by the same committee in October 2007.

Then, in May and June 2010, two developments raised significant concerns regarding Turkey U.S. defense relations:

1) Turkey's Iranian nuclear diplomacy with Brazil—the Tehran Declaration on possible nuclear fuel swaps, followed by the Turkey-Brazil "no" vote on U.N. Security Council enhanced sanctions on Iran in Re-solution 1929.
2) The *Mavi Marmara* Gaza flotilla incident and its aftermath, which publicly exacerbated the Turkey-Israel tensions that had been worsening since Israel's military operations in Hamas-controlled Gaza in December 2008.[17]

Some Members of Congress and Administration officials, viewing Turkey's rhetoric and actions as (1) undermining a top U.S. priority in the Iranian nuclear issue and (2) being at odds with the U.S. characterization of Israel as an ally and Iran as a threat, openly questioned Turkey's orientation on global security issues. Philip Gordon, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, said in June 2010,

> We think Turkey remains committed to NATO, Europe and the United States, but that needs to be demonstrated. There are people asking questions about it in a way that is new, and that in itself is a bad thing that makes it harder for the United States to support some of the things that Turkey would like to see us support.[18]

Officials' and analysts' questions about Turkey's foreign policy direction intensified following reports that the 2010 version of the Turkish National Security Policy Document (MGSB, also known as the "Red Book") down-graded or did not explicitly list possible threats from Iran, Syria, Greece, and Armenia that were listed in previous versions, and at the same time reportedly defined Israel's actions in the region as a threat—claiming that these actions induce conditions of instability.[19]

Turkey's alignment has major global implications and is driven by a variety of factors, including the AKP government's activist foreign policy.[20] The United States has limited influence over these factors. One of the main U.S. levers could be its ability to boost Turkey's short-term military capabilities (see "Arms Sales and Industrial Cooperation" below). However, the usefulness of such a lever could be fleeting, and its longer-term merits for regional security would be debatable. In the immediate aftermath of the Gaza flotilla incident and the U.N. Security Council Iran sanctions vote, the resulting prospect of greater congressional scrutiny of Turkey's objectives and actions reportedly led President Obama to warn Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan of the difficulty of gaining congressional approval for potential foreign military sales (FMS) of weapons systems—including drone aircraft—Turkey has reportedly sought for use against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK, a U.S.-designated Foreign Terrorist Organization).[21] In this political climate, speculation arose about the possibility of increased support in Congress and the Administration for H.Res. 252 or another resolution or presidential statement regarding Armenian genocide claims.[22]

U.S. concerns about Turkey's position on Iran were somewhat allayed at the November 2010 NATO summit in Lisbon, Portugal, when Turkey joined its allies in approving a new strategic concept that specified the defense of territory and populations from ballistic missiles as a NATO mission. Separately, however, no decision has been announced on whether Turkey will agree to host a U.S. forward-deployed radar as a key element in the first phase of the Obama Administration's European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA) to missile

defense. The Administration's timeline for the EPAA calls for such a radar to be deployed in southeastern Europe by the end of 2011,[23] and the *Wall Street Journal* reported in October 2010 that Turkey "is the location of choice ... according to military analysts and diplomats."[24] At the Lisbon summit, Turkey joined in the consensus of all NATO allies welcoming the EPAA as a "valuable national contribution to the NATO missile defense architecture," along with "other possible voluntary contributions by allies."[25] Thus, the question of the radar's deployment is important for both U.S. and NATO missile defense plans. U.S. and other international perceptions of Turkish cooperation on Iran may also improve following Turkey's March 2011 interdiction of two Iranian cargo planes en route to Syria over its airspace, from one of which Turkish officials reportedly confiscated a weapons cache pursuant to the U.N. Security Council embargo on Iranian arms exports and its enforcement mechanisms promulgated in Resolutions 1747 and 1929.[26]

On Libya and NATO's Role

As political unrest has spread throughout the Middle East in early 2011, President Obama has consulted frequently with Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan on political change in Egypt and other events occurring in the region. Following the passage of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1973 on March 17, 2011, which provided an international mandate to protect Libyan civilians,[27] the United States, France, and the United Kingdom began armed intervention in Libya against forces loyal to Muammar al Qadhafi's regime, initially repelling a planned assault on the Qadhafi opposition stronghold of Benghazi.

Turkey's position regarding NATO's role in the intervention has become increasingly important given both its geographical closeness to Libya and its status as a Muslim-majority country with significant cultural and historical ties to Libya. Before passage of Resolution 1973, Erdogan publicly opposed the idea of NATO involvement in Libya. Even though he criticized Qadhafi's violent suppression of protests and the incipient uprising and advocated a transfer of power in accord with Libyan citizens' wishes, Erdogan sought to facilitate a peaceful transfer of power through consultation with Qadhafi and Libyan opposition forces. After the passage of Resolution 1973 and the initial U.S.-led intervention, however, Turkey decided to help implement the re-solution as part of a NATO-led coalition, after playing a major role in deliberations with the United States and other key allies.

Rather than a ratification of its allies' prior actions outside of NATO, Turkish leaders' support for and active participation in NATO's involvement in Libya appears to be a calculated decision both (1) to keep the scope of Western military involvement limited by actively steering NATO's political and operational decision-making processes, based on Turkey's interpretation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1973; and (2) to avoid exclusion from a prominent role in brokering a resolution to the crisis.[28] On March 23, Turkish President Abdullah Gul said the following about pre-NATO actions in Libya:

> [T]he aim (of coalition forces) is not the liberation of the Libyan people. There are hidden agendas and differing interests. I worry that the things that happened in Iraq may be repeated in Libya....
>
> Everything should have been planned beforehand. What will be done against Gaddafi? How will the Libyan opposition be involved? Will there be a ground operation? All these should have been decided in NATO. But some decided to act with opportunist intentions and start a fire instead.[29]

Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan and Foreign Minister Davutoglu have indicated that Turkish forces will not undertake a combat role and that, as military operations continue, Turkey wants continual political consultation both among members of the NATO-led coalition and among the coalition, United Nations, Arab League, and African Union. Turkish officials have publicly stated their desire for a cease-fire as soon as possible that will allow the Libyan people to determine their own political future. Other NATO member states have also expressed concerns and set conditions for their involvement.

The parameters Turkey and other NATO allies have set for maintaining the NATO-led coalition, based on their respective interpretations of the international legitimacy of NATO's intervention under Resolution 1973, could compromise the room for strategic maneuver of the United States and certain other allies if events lead them to believe that more offensive action against Qadhafi's forces or the regime itself is advisable in order to avoid a protracted civil war. In that case, the United States and like-minded coalition members could ultimately be compelled to choose between their desired objectives and the possible alienation or even defection of Turkey and other actors from the coalition.[30]

The Turkish Parliament voted on March 24—less than three months before national elections planned for June—to permit the use of Turkish ground, air, and naval forces in Libya for up to a year pursuant to the terms of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1973 and its precursor, Resolution 1970. Erdogan announced on March 27 that Turkey would take direct responsibility for three humanitarian-assistance-related tasks within the NATO-led coalition: "the takeover of Benghazi airport for the delivery of humanitarian aid, the task about control of the air corridor and the involvement of Turkish naval forces in the corridor between Benghazi and Crete."[31]

Reportedly, Turkey is contributing at least six ships to NATO's naval fleet to enforce the Libya arms embargo—four frigates, a submarine, and an auxiliary warship. In addition, the aerial mission is being commanded from Turkey at NATO's Allied Air Component Command in Izmir (see Figure 1), and Turkey has contributed at least 10 aircraft to support the arms embargo and humanitarian assistance efforts.[32]

Defense News has speculated that designating the Izmir command center for use in Operation Unified Protector could influence whether it survives a reform process debated by many NATO member states that is aimed at streamlining the alliance's command structure:

> Turkey and NATO, only a few weeks ago, disputed a NATO plan to close down its air command center in Izmir, despite strong Turkish objections.
>
> Turkish Defense Minister Vecdi Gonul in early March said that "Turkey would struggle hard against such a plan."
>
> Some analysts think assigning Izmir as a sub-command structure for the Libyan mission may strengthen the Turkish case. A final decision on the future of the Izmir [command center] will be made at a NATO summit in June.[33]

It is not known whether the fate of NATO's Izmir command center was explicitly discussed or negotiated during the deliberations that led to Turkey's approval of and participation in Operation Unified Protector, but according to the Atlantic Council's "NATO Source" blog, efforts by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen to convince Turkey to agree to the command center's closure during an early April trip to Ankara were unsuccessful.[34]

Military's Changing Role in Turkish Society

Since the formative days of the Turkish republic under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in the 1920s and 1930s, the Turkish military has played a predominant role not only in Turkey's external defense,[35] but also in forging unity (often, in the early republican years, by helping implement Ataturk's reforms throughout the country) and keeping internal order. As the guarantor of stability, Turkey's military intervened in 1960, 1971, and 1980 to replace governments that it deemed had lost control of the country or had steered it away from the foundational secular republican principles established by Ataturk in the 1920s.[36]

The military's preeminence within the Turkish government and society at large gave it primacy over its civilian counterparts in bilateral and NATO defense cooperation matters with the United States. As longtime Turkey analyst Gareth Jenkins has explained,

> In theory, the [Turkish military hierarchy, known as the Turkish General Staff or TGS] is subordinate to the Prime Ministry. In practice, it is autonomous.
>
> The Ministry of National Defense (MND) has no authority over the TGS, and its responsibilities are confined to conscription, defence procurement and relations with other ministries.
>
> In Turkish protocol the chief of staff ranks ahead of the Minister of National Defence and second only to the prime minister.[37]

In the years since the 1980 military coup reestablished Turkish internal stability, the following interrelated factors have contributed to the relative weakening of the military's position within Turkish government and society:

- The subsequent liberalization of the Turkish economy contributed to the economic and political empowerment of a middle class drawn from traditional Turkish communities and largely sympathetic to Islamic values.
  A consequent increase in populist sentiment has posed political challenges to the military and to other so-called guardians of Turkey's secular elite (including academia and the judiciary).
- The Islamic-leaning Justice and Development Party (AKP) won a parliamentary majority in 2002 and subsequently enacted reforms strengthening civilian democratic institutions, sometimes at the military's expense, in line with EU accession requirements.[38]
  In 2007 national elections, the AKP garnered 12% more of the vote than it received in 2002.[39]
- The failed attempts or purported attempts by elements within the military, the judiciary, the opposition Republican People's Party (CHP), and others within the so-called Turkish secular elite to thwart the AKP on key issues. Events include

  - the 2007 election by Parliament of AKP member and former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul as Turkey's President;
  - the alleged Ergenekon/Sledgehammer plots to undermine or overthrow the government;
  - the 2008 Constitutional Court case attempting to ban and dissolve the AKP; and

- the September 2010 passage of amendments to the 1982 military-backed constitution in a nationwide referendum, increasing military and judicial accountability to civilian and democratic institutions.[40]

Sources: TSK website at http://www.tsk.tr/eng/index.htm; *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment - Eastern Mediterranean*, December 16, 2010; October 2010 American-Turkish Council annual conference at http://www.the-atc.org/events /c10 /presentations/Wednesday-Bfast-Lutfi-Varoglu.pdf; *Today's Zaman*; *Hurriyet Daily News & Economic Review*; *Eurasia Daily Monitor*.

[a] For a biography of General Kosaner, see NATO's website at http://www.nato.int /cps/en/SID-40C23228-9940A075/natolive/who_is_who_65978.htm.

[b] The SSM was established in 1985 pursuant to Turkish Law No. 3238. According to its website, it has a separate legal entity, and has broad authority (1) to carry out the SSIK's decisions and (2) to organize and coordinate research and development, planning, production, and export and offset strategy for the Turkish defense industry. The SSM also has complete control over the Defense Industry Support Fund, which is separate from the annual defense budget. The Fund receives direct "allotments from corporate taxes, fees and levies imposed on alcoholic and tobacco products, and all forms of lottery, betting and games of chance etc." See http://www.ssm.gov.tr/home /institutional/Sayfalar/law3238.aspx.

[c] June 2009 *Defense News* profile of Bayar is available at chttp://www.defensenews. com /story.php?i=4160708.

Figure 2.Turkey's Military and Defense Establishment – Facts and Figures.

Preparations for the first external audit of Turkish defense spending in 2011, reported by *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment*, further demonstrate the gradual subjection of military autonomy to civilian oversight.[41] Some Turkish analysts assert that curbs on the military's control over spending, involvement in the defense industry, and power as an economic actor through its large pension fund (known by its Turkish acronym OYAK) would need to go even further to make the military sufficiently democratically accountable.[42]

MAJOR AREAS OF DEFENSE COOPERATION

U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation continues apace with respect to promoting stability and countering terrorism in Iraq and Afghanistan. A U.S. defense presence in Turkey also continues— both through NATO and under the terms of a 1980 Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA)[43]—as do joint defense consultations, training, and military exercises. Finally, Turkey continues to seek advanced military equipment from the U.S. government and private sector (i.e., fighter aircraft, drone aircraft, helicopters, and missile defense systems), and its defense industry participates in joint ventures with the United States (e.g., on the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter). However, Turkey's growing defense industry and its increased willingness to engage in arms import-export transactions or joint military exercises with non-NATO countries, such as China, Russia, Syria, Pakistan, and South Korea, indicate Turkey's interest in diversifying its defense relationships and de-creasing its dependence on the United States, consistent with the more independent foreign policy the AKP government is pursuing. These and additional areas of cooperation are discussed below.

NATO

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Turkey's Future Role

With the second-largest military in NATO (the United States has the largest), its geographic location at the southeastern flank of the alliance, and its status as a Muslim-majority country, Turkey plays a strategically important role in NATO. Having been in the alliance since 1952, the structure, personnel, and interoperability of its armed forces have been influenced over generations by its North American and European NATO partners. Turkey generally participates in NATO's expeditionary missions, including those in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and now Libya. As Turkey's defense spending remains robust while several European NATO member states reduce theirs, its relative weight within the alliance could grow over time. However, Turkey's current ability to devote its military manpower to NATO missions is somewhat compromised by ongoing commitments near its southeast border with Iraq, in the Aegean Sea region, and in northern Cyprus to protect the de facto republic for ethnic Turks there.

From Turkey's standpoint, its growing regional influence justifies greater Turkish involvement in setting and steering NATO's objectives and rules in a changing international environment.[44]

Turkey has shown assertiveness on many issues within the alliance in recent years, and this trend continued—if not intensified—during the March 2011 NATO deliberations over intervention in Libya.

In some aspects, Turkey perceives itself and is perceived as an anomaly within NATO, even if it remains firmly anchored in the alliance.[45] First, decades-long Turkish-Greek disputes over Cyprus (described above) and the Aegean Sea[46] have limited NATO's interoperability in the eastern Mediterranean and with the European Union (EU; of which Cyprus became a member in 2004). Additionally, the perception of Turkey as an outsider within NATO has been reinforced by the reluctance of at least some European countries to consider enforcing Turkey's Article 5 defense guarantees[47] during the run-up to the U.S.-led wars in Iraq in 1991 and 2003, and—perhaps even more fundamentally—to support Turkey's accession into the EU. In June 2010, U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates said,

> I personally think that if there is anything to the notion that Turkey is, if you will, moving eastward, it is, in my view, in no small part because it was pushed, and pushed by some in Europe refusing to give Turkey the kind of organic link to the West that Turkey sought.
>
> I think we have to think long and hard about why these developments in Turkey [occurred] and what we might be able to do to counter them.[48]

When differences over NATO priorities arise between Turkey and its allies, they generally exacerbate the tensions within the alliance that are linked with long-running perceptions about Turkey. With regard to Libya, Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu voiced concern about the precedent that individual NATO member states acting without greater international consultation might set for future cases, even though the decision to intervene in Libya came after the passage of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1973 and Arab League approval-in-principle of a no-fly zone:

> If a coalition will be formed, it must be coordinated by the UN. The UN Secretary General must convene a meeting. This is why the way the Paris meeting [between the United States, United Kingdom, and France] was held was contrary to international norms and customary practices. A group of countries cannot simply interpret a UN resolution in their own way and organize a military intervention in any country. If states that have formed a coalition among themselves are allowed to intervene against countries they target, that may lead to troubling situations in, say, the Middle East.[49]

Differences between Turkey and other NATO allies on intervention in Libya prompted one Western diplomat to say, "With its constant favoritism of fellow Muslim regimes in the Middle East, Turkey looks like a non-member NATO member—officially in but practically outside the alliance."[50] Such observations could reflect the difficulty some NATO countries might have in discerning to what extent Turkish policies are driven by possible cultural or ideological affinities, and to what extent they are driven by Turkey's desire to minimize the problems it faces given its geographical closeness—unique within NATO—to many ongoing areas of instability and conflict. Addition-ally, given the multiplicity of long-running disagreements within NATO that recur along regional, cultural, and other lines, it is possible that characterizations of Turkey as a NATO outlier or outsider might be overstated.

Missile Defense

As discussed above, Turkey and its NATO allies approved ballistic missile defense (BMD) for territories and populations as an alliance-wide mission at the November 2010 Lisbon summit. In exchange for its approval, Turkey reportedly insisted on the following two conditions:

1) No country (such as Iran or Syria) be named as a threat or a target for the ballistic missile defense system.
2) Turkey's territory would be entirely protected by the system.[51]

Discussions are apparently continuing between the United States and Turkey on the possibility of Turkey hosting a transportable U.S. radar,[52] as part of the European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA) that is planned to be part of a NATO BMD system and has been welcomed by NATO member states. Ian Lesser of the German Marshall Fund of the United States wrote, shortly after the Lisbon summit, that EPAA Standard Missile-3 interceptors (also known as the "Aegis" system) supported by a radar based in Turkey "would be based at sea, and eventually in Romania and Poland. All of this will be accompanied by new national air defense investments, including systems Turkey already plans to acquire."[53] For additional information on Turkey's possible acquisition of missile defense systems, see "Missile Defense Systems" below.

Turkey might decide that hosting a U.S. radar as part of an EPAA BMD system under the NATO umbrella would not be unduly provocative to countries such as Iran because the system is not designed for first-strike use and because Turkey has been considering missile defense options on its own and with the United States since at least 2001.[54] Hosting the radar could be justified domestically as cost effective and NATO-interoperable, particularly if Turkey can argue to its citizens that doing so will deliver tangible security benefits to them. On the other hand, Turkey, though it opposes the idea of Iranian nuclear weapons, has thus far publicly presumed that Iran's nuclear program is intended for purely peaceful, civilian means. If it believes that agreeing to host a U.S. radar as part of a NATO BMD system would lead Iran to perceive that Turkey's presumption about its nuclear program has changed, Turkey may be reluctant to risk a possible provocation. Turkey's active diplomatic role on the Iranian nuclear issue could have implications for the various actors' threat perceptions as well. It is unclear what connection Turkey sees between the arsenal of Turkey-based U.S. tactical nuclear weapons established under the NATO umbrella, if reports about the arsenal's existence are accurate (see "Bases and Transport Corridors" below),[55] and the political, strategic, or operational value of possible BMD elements in Turkey.[56] In the event Turkey does not host the proposed radar, the *Washington Post* has reported that Bulgaria might be asked to host it.[57]

Assuming Turkey accepts deployment of the radar on its territory in principle, it may still need to negotiate and implement the details of the arrangement with the United States. Assuming also that the EPAA is eventually implemented as part of a NATO BMD system, contingency planning for defense against missile attacks under various scenarios may generate differences of opinion between Turkey, the United States, and other allies about the proper NATO response.[58]

Afghanistan

Turkey has twice commanded the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan and has had troops participating in ISAF since shortly after its inception in December 2001. Turkey's approximately 2,000 troops concentrate on training Afghan military and security forces and providing security in Kabul, where Turkey commands ISAF's Regional Command-Capital, as well as in Wardak (just west of Kabul) and Jawzjan (in northern Afghanistan) provinces. According to the Turkish government,

- Turkey has made available its Konya Air Base and other airports for the deployment of [Airborne Warning & Control System (AWACS)] aircraft and allies' cargo aircraft in support of ISAF operations;
- Turkey has deployed five Operational Mentoring and Liaison Teams (OMLT) and has also conducted in-place training of 8,000 Afghan National Army (ANA) members and training in Turkey for an additional 1,000 ANA members; and
- Turkey established two civilian-led Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Wardak and Jawzjan, and opened a branch of the Turkish International Cooperation Agency in Kabul, from which it runs a number of humanitarian assistance and economic development projects.[59]

As with several other NATO and non-NATO contributors to ISAF, Turkey's troops are not involved in combat. Turkey's history of good relations with both Afghanistan and Pakistan and its status as the Muslim-majority country with the greatest level of involvement in ISAF is thought by some analysts to help legitimize ISAF's presence. It is unclear how Turkey's participation in the expeditionary mission to Afghanistan might translate into possible benefits for the United States and its other NATO allies in leveraging Turkey's possible cultural or ideological affinities for other potential defense cooperation contexts involving Muslim-majority countries located closer to Turkey's borders.[60]

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Iraq

Pursuing Stability and Countering Iranian Influence

U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation in Iraq takes place within a larger context of questions about Iraq's future stability, political makeup, and regional profile. The United States plans to withdraw its troops by the end of 2011 and transition its military mission to Iraq under DOD auspices to a training and security assistance mission under State Department auspices. As it has begun to do so, Turkey has become more engaged politically and economically throughout the country, not only its traditional sphere of interest in the north.[61] It has contributed a modest contingent of personnel to the NATO Training Mission-Iraq since 2005 and has sponsored specialized training for hundreds of Iraqi security personnel at its NATO Partnership for Peace Training Center in Ankara.[62] Many analysts wonder whether the U.S. draw-down will compel Turkey to adopt a more vigorous approach backed by military strength with regard to countering Iranian influence and promoting stability.

Neutralizing the PKK?

Background

As mentioned above, Turkey—whose population is approximately 20% Kurdish—has struggled for nearly three decades with the PKK, a Kurdish separatist militant group and U.S.-designated Foreign Terrorist Organization that has implemented several attacks within Turkey since the mid-1980s. PKK attacks mushroomed and Kurdish secessionist sentiment within Turkey caused concerns in the 1990s following the establishment of an autonomous Kurdish zone in northern Iraq at the end of the 1991 Gulf War. Reported U.S. collaboration with Turkey helped it capture PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan in 1999, and the PKK declared a cease-fire shortly afterwards. After the 2003 Iraq war further strengthened Kurdish autonomy in Iraq, however, the PKK resumed operations against Turkish targets, using safe havens in northern Iraq. PKK leadership has spoken of changing the organization's ultimate goal to "autonomy" rather than outright secession. Turkish perceptions of U.S. culpability for the PKK threat were reinforced by U.S. and Iraqi efforts preventing Turkey from stationing troops in northern Iraq (after the United States originally suggested the stationing of Turkish troops, then reversed course following Iraqi protestations) during and after the 2003 war to monitor developments, control refugee flows, and protect Turkoman minorities (especially in Mosul and Kirkuk).

According to the State Department's Country Reports on Terrorism for 2009, the PKK maintains a regular fighting force of approximately 4,000-5,000 militants. Of those, 3,000-3,500, including the organization's military leadership, are thought to be concentrated in the Qandil mountains of northern Iraq. The PKK has a branch dedicated to attacks on military targets in southeastern Turkey, and a branch dedicated to attacks (primarily bombings) in urban, primarily tourist areas in western Turkey.[63] Estimates of casualties from Turkey-PKK violence since 1984 range from 32,000 to 45,000 (including armed combatants and civilians on both sides),[64] the majority of whom were killed during the 1990s. Hundreds of thousands of Kurdish villagers in southeastern Turkey have been displaced as a result of the violence, and Kurdish human rights grievances persist.[65]

Turkey once viewed the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in northern Iraq as a primary PKK enabler. Increasingly, however, KRG officials welcome the stability they view Turkish investment as bringing to the region and have become tolerant of Turkish efforts to counter the PKK, though they claim that they are militarily incapable and politically constrained from actively halting or disrupting PKK operations themselves. Syria, which used to provide safe haven to the PKK, stopped doing so in 1999 after its expulsion of Abdullah Ocalan. Iran occasionally cooperates with Turkey against the PKK because of problems with its own Kurdish minority.[66]

U.S. Support of Turkish Efforts

After two major PKK cross-border ambushes in southeastern Turkey killed 25, injured 20, and captured 8 Turkish soldiers in October 2007, Turkey amassed approximately 100,000 troops on its border with Iraq.[67] To persuade the Turks not to undertake a full-scale cross-border invasion, which could have imperiled U.S. supply lines to Iraq from Turkey and overall regional stability, the Bush Administration reportedly agreed to close counterterrorism cooperation involving real-time intelligence sharing on the location and movement of PKK operatives. As reported by the *Washington Post* in December 2007,

> U.S. military personnel have set up a center for sharing intelligence in Ankara, the Turkish capital, providing imagery and other immediate information gathered from U.S. aircraft and unmanned drones flying over the separatists' mountain redoubts, the officials said. A senior administration official said the goal of the U.S. program is to identify the movements and activities of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK), which is fighting to create an autonomous enclave in Turkey.
>
> The United States is "essentially handing them their targets," one U.S. military official said. The Turkish military then decides whether to act on the information and notifies the United States, the official said.[68]

Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment reported that, starting in December 2007, "The US assisted with the co-ordination of the air strikes by allowing the aircraft into Iraqi airspace. The air strikes were supported by ground-based artillery fired from within Turkey." Other than a brief incursion in February 2008 and other minor raids, regular Turkish ground forces have not crossed the border. Jane's said that Turkish officials told it that the air strikes are insufficient to stop the PKK's operations, but do help "in intimidating the PKK and discouraging infiltration into Turkey."[69] Thus, future Turkish ground operations remain a possibility, depending on factors such as

- Iraqi national government and KRG approval and support, and
- the effectiveness of non-military (i.e., political and socioeconomic) approaches to ameliorating tensions involving Turkey's Kurds.

The United States has encouraged Turkey-Iraq-KRG coordination on these matters. This coordination is likely to become a more significant factor as the United States draws down its own presence. U.S. officials, both civilian and military, also routinely emphasize the ultimate importance of non-military means, which the AKP government has tried to a limited extent in considering a variety of measures for Kurds, such as greater local governance, linguistic rights, and cultural rights.

Incirlik Air Base

Incirlik (pronounced in-JUR-lick) air base is an enduring symbol of U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation. Constructed in the 1950s by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in southern Turkey outside the major city of Adana (now Turkey's fifth-largest city, with a population of 1.6 million), Incirlik's two runways eventually became a key hub for U.S. and NATO training and reconnaissance missions during the Cold War. The Turkish air force took possession of Incirlik at the outset of the 1975- 1978 U.S. arms embargo, but NATO operations continued. U.S. operations resumed after the embargo, with the base under overall Turkish control. Since the end of the Cold War, Incirlik has been used most notably by the U.S. Air Force and other NATO allies for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Although bases in the Persian Gulf and Central Asia have lightened Incirlik's U.S. traffic, supply and refueling operations continue, and, as discussed in the report, Incirlik is the reported location of the U.S. tactical nuclear weapons arsenal in Turkey under NATO auspices.

As the U.S. military presence in Turkey has decreased from its peak of some 25,000 personnel in the late 1960s, and has been completely vacated from several installations, many veterans and U.S. officials familiar with the legacy of U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation view Incirlik as the legacy's continuing bellwether.

The so-called "Kurdish opening" or "democratic initiative" stalled in 2009 in the face of criticism from opposition parties as well as the closure (or dissolution) of the predominantly Kurdish Democratic Society Party (DTP) by Turkey's Constitutional Court. The DTP's place in Turkish politics has since been taken by the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP).

Renewed PKK attacks in the spring and summer of 2010 killed approximately 100 Turkish security force and military personnel, drawing frequent cross-border retaliatory air and artillery strikes from U.S.-aided Turkish forces. Although it remains unclear, one of the PKK's offshoots may have been culpable in an October 2010 suicide bombing in Istanbul's main Taksim Square that injured 32 people.

Because this is the high-profile national security issue with which the Turkish military is most operationally involved, many analysts view the prestige of the Turkish military as increasingly bound up with ending PKK attacks.

The centrality of the issue, along with the Turkish perception of the United States as responsible for the problem and uniquely positioned to help counter it, makes it the focus of Turkey's most urgent defense cooperation requests.

The shrinking timeline for U.S. military operations in Iraq has possibly heightened this sense of urgency among Turks who believe that U.S.-Turkey counterterrorism cooperation may be affected by the reduced U.S. footprint and thus seek an effective alternative.

Bases and Transport Corridors

Under the U.S.-Turkey Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement, the United States maintains access to a few Turkish installations for its military use. It stations over 1,700 U.S. military personnel in Turkey, and employs approximately 5,500 total personnel, counting local workers. The largest U.S. presence is at Incirlik air base in southern Turkey near the city of Adana, with approximately 1,500 U.S. personnel (5,000 total, including Turkish contractors). According to *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Incirlik also is the reported home of vaults holding approximately 60-70 U.S. tactical, aircraft-deliverable B61 nuclear gravity bombs under NATO auspices.[70] Since the end of the Cold War, Incirlik has been used to support U.S. and NATO operations in Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Afghanistan. The Air Force (39th Air Base Wing) uses Incirlik to provide non-lethal cargo to U.S. military missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. According to information provided by ODC-Ankara in October 2010, the United States sends 68% of air logistical support for Iraq and Afghanistan through Incirlik, with C-17 aircraft flying an average of 2,000 sorties per year and KC-135 refueling aircraft an average of 1,460. U.S. European Command estimates that its use of Incirlik and its overflight of Turkish airspace saves approximately $210 million per year in alternate route costs. However, Turkey maintains the right to cancel U.S. access to Incirlik with three days' notice.

The United States has relied heavily on the Habur Gate, the only available land border crossing into northern Iraq, for the transport of fuel, subsistence, and construction materials to support U.S. military operations, but future needs are less clear with those operations drawing down. According to ODC-Ankara, the Mediterranean port of Mersin in southern Turkey is becoming an increasingly important point for the military to transport containerized cargo along the Northern Distribution Network (NDN) route from Turkey to Georgia and through the Caucasus and Central Asia to Afghanistan. As the United States draws down in Iraq, it

uses the Habur Gate to "retrograde" non-lethal cargo and further transport it to Afghanistan along the NDN. The other U.S. military transportation corridor from Iraq to Afghanistan uses Kuwait, the Persian Gulf, and Pakistan to bypass Iran.

The U.S. Office of Defense Cooperation (ODC-Ankara), with approximately 30 U.S. personnel (100 total), is located in Ankara. Ankara is also home to two NATO training centers: the Partnership for Peace Training Center[71] and the Center of Excellence-Defense Against Terrorism.[72] Approximately 170 U.S. personnel (290 total) are located in the western Turkish city of Izmir to support NATO's Allied Air Component Command, the designated command center for the aerial mission in Libya for Operation Unified Protector (see "On Libya and NATO's Role" above). A contingent of approximately 17 U.S. personnel mans two air postal squadrons and a tactical management office in Istanbul. One of six NATO Rapid Deployable Corps is headquartered near Istanbul; the others are located in France, Germany (two), Italy, and Spain.

For locations of the U.S. and NATO presence in Turkey, see Figure 1 above.

POSSIBLE U.S. POLICY APPROACHES

Congress and other U.S. policymakers may choose from a range of possible approaches to action on and oversight of U.S. defense cooperation with Turkey. In considering options, Members of Congress could engage in formal and informal oversight and information-gathering through committee hearings and consultations with key actors within the executive branch, the Turkish government and defense establishment, and non-governmental and international organizations, including the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Four possible approaches are described below, in no particular order of priority.

***Status Quo Approach*:** *Would not focus significantly on recent developments, but rather emphasize and express confidence that existing NATO and bilateral relationships—with their long legacies—can address mutual security challenges, even in an evolving regional and global context.*

Those favoring this approach might argue that recent changes within and outside of Turkey should not change the overall parameters of the alliance. These advocates might present a historical view arguing that U.S.-Turkey defense relations, even during the Cold War, have experienced ups and downs, but that each side ultimately concludes that it needs the other and therefore a permanent rupture is unlikely in the future.

This approach would not advocate conditioning U.S. cooperation with Turkey on specific actions or relations with third-party countries. It would not acknowledge either a need to revisit institutional structures or decision-making processes, or the possibility that Turkish foreign policy stances in opposition to the United States could lead to a more mature and productive bilateral relationship in the long run.

Critics of a status quo approach, however, could argue that recent challenges to the U.S.-Turkey alliance are fundamentally different than past ones, and that a static view of the bilateral and NATO alliances in light of regional and global changes risks ceding initiative to other actors and leaving the United States unprepared for the potential consequences. Omer Taspinar, longtime analyst of U.S.-Turkey relations at the Brookings Institution, wrote in

early 2011 of the possible risks if U.S. officials and analysts pay insufficient attention to changes in the alliance's dynamics:

> As France did under Charles de Gaulle in the 1960s, Turkey may opt for its own ... "Realpolitik" with countries such as China, India, and Russia. It could even contemplate leaving, as France under de Gaulle did, the military structure of NATO, while maintaining its political member-ship in the organization.[73]

Accommodative Approach: Accord high priority to the U.S.-Turkey alliance and revise expectations for it by accommodating Turkey's expressions of its national interests—and U.S. perceptions of these interests—given recent developments within Turkey, the region, and globally.[74]

By maintaining that the alliance is based broadly on shared values and interests such as long-term regional stability, rather than on any particular issue, Congress might acknowledge its dedication to cooperation even in the event Turkey opposes U.S. policies in certain cases.[75] Responsiveness to Turkish requests for arms to counter the PKK, Turkish conditions on hosting missile defense system elements, and Turkish desires to have a greater role in multilateral institutional structures and decision-making processes that address regional order would be possible despite ongoing Turkish disputes with Israel and Armenia, and despite Turkish relations with actors such as Iran, China, Syria, and Hamas. Under this approach Congress could still voice criticism of Turkey on issues affecting U.S. interests, but might generally avoid characterizing any such issue as a litmus test for the alliance.

Those supporting this approach might argue that Turkey is more likely to serve U.S. and NATO interests as an "independent" and "credible" regional actor than as an actor perceived as following Western dictates. Some analysts have argued that strong U.S. relations with democratically elected Turkish leaders is the best (or least-worst) option for forwarding regional U.S. interests and countering Iranian influence in places such as Iraq, regardless of U.S.-Turkey divergences on some issues.[76] A counterargument is that this approach would establish a bad precedent by ceding judgment to Turkey to determine whether an action or policy that appears to run contrary to U.S. interests (such as on Iran or Israel) is justified, and that it also constitutes tacit U.S. acceptance and even de facto sponsorship of Turkey's efforts to diversify its military contacts and import-export relationships with other countries, including China. In the absence of specifically prescribed limits to toleration of Turkish divergence from U.S. stances on key issues, this approach could be seen as an imprudent overcorrection.

Linkage Approach: Link cooperation to some extent to Turkey's relations with certain third-party countries or non-state actors—including Iran, Israel, Hamas, Armenia, and China—or to Turkish actions on issues of U.S. national security interest.[77]

Clear parameters for cooperation will arguably allow Turkey to demonstrate the importance it attaches to cooperation with the United States, depending on how closely it aligns its actions with U.S. interests. Recent U.S. differences with Turkey on the Iranian nuclear issue and other issues may have been caused or exacerbated by mutual misperceptions.[78] However, avoiding miscommunication might be difficult in any event given multiple congressional views that potentially conflict with each other and with Administration views on what parameters to set and how to set them.

On the other hand, this approach might lead Turkey to adopt the view that third-party countries or priority issues are more important to the United States than its alliance with

Turkey. Firm congressional redlines or ultimatums could risk the relationship's future, particularly if Turkey chooses to challenge them, while giving ground on them could endanger U.S. credibility.

Case-by-Case Approach: Use or combine any of the other three approaches on a case-by-case basis.

Approach(es) to U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation matters could hinge on a number of factors, including the following:

- U.S.-Turkish agreement on how to address regional security challenges;
- Turkey's relations with key third-party countries and non-state actors, including Iran, Israel, Hamas, Armenia, China, Cyprus, and Greece;
- Turkey's perceived importance to U.S. interests given regional and global developments and trends, as well as possible alternate locations for military basing and transport corridors;
- the level of U.S. trust in Turkish leaders (civilian and military) and in internal Turkish stability; and
- the likelihood of influencing Turkey to act in U.S. interests and of strengthening the overall bilateral and NATO relationships.

Using a case-by-case approach, however, risks that Turkey and outside observers will characterize congressional action and oversight as inconsistent and unpredictable. It may have the advantage, however, of being responsive to changing developments in a region of the world that is of critical importance to U.S. national security.

SPECIFIC ISSUES AND POSSIBLE OPTIONS FOR CONGRESS

Access to Turkish Bases and Transport Corridors

The prospect of temporary or permanent denial of U.S. military access to Turkish bases and transport corridors concerns Congress and other policy-makers. A loss of U.S. access to Incirlik air base and the closure of the Habur Gate and Mersin port could cause delays and increase costs for the transport of cargo to Afghanistan through alternate routes (see "Bases and Transport Corridors" above). Short-term costs and delays may be of less concern than the longer-term question of how a potential lack of access to Incirlik, other bases, and Turkish transport corridors could affect options for future U.S./NATO military action in the region, particularly if regional and global developments prevent or limit the United States from using alternate sites in the Persian Gulf, the Caucasus, Central Asia, or South Asia to stage operations or establish supply lines. Members of Congress might inquire whether additional alternatives to Turkish bases or transport corridors—within other NATO countries or elsewhere—might exist or be developed for use in the surrounding region.

Reaction to Downturn in Turkey-Israel Relations

A drop-off in Turkish military cooperation with Israel has taken place in parallel with a general deterioration of Turkey-Israel relations since 2009. This downturn can be attributed to a number of factors, including the May 2010 *Mavi Marmara* flotilla incident (mentioned above) and Turkish-Israeli differences over Israel's invasion of Hamas-controlled Gaza in December 2008. It also parallels the military's declining role in Turkish society, and the greater empowerment of Prime Minister Erdogan and other AKP and national leaders who seem increasingly to believe that criticizing many of Israel's policies is both merited and domestically popular.

The souring of Turkey-Israel relations has the potential to affect U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation given that the United States maintains close alliances with both Turkey and Israel (which is not a member of NATO), and has counted on previously close Turkey-Israel military relations to cultivate U.S.-Turkey-Israel military cooperation. Although Israel did complete the delivery to Turkey of already-purchased Heron drone aircraft after the flotilla incident, Turkey has ceased its participation in joint exercises with Israel, and new arms sales and defense industrial cooperation are on hold indefinitely pending the resolution of post-flotilla grievances. So far, neither country has pursued a resolution to the other's satisfaction. The air exercise Anatolian Eagle and the naval exercise Reliant Mermaid, both of which had featured U.S.-Turkey-Israel cooperation in previous years, did not feature either the United States or Israel in late 2010. Anatolian Eagle took place with different participants, and Reliant Mermaid was canceled.

It also is unclear to what extent divergent Turkish and Israeli positions on regional issues involving Iran, the Palestinians, and other actors could lead to a further breach between the two and, by reason of U.S.-Israeli closeness, to further strains on U.S.-Turkey defense relations. For example, Turkey has reportedly set as one condition for its willingness to host a U.S. radar sensors as part of a ballistic missile defense system that information from the radar not be shared with Israel (which hosts a separate U.S. missile defense radar system).

Following the May 2010 flotilla incident, the Senate passed S.Res. 548 by voice vote on June 24, 2010. The resolution condemned the attack by the "extremists aboard the Mavi Marmara," invoked Israel's right to self-defense, and encouraged "the Government of Turkey to recognize the importance of continued strong relations with Israel and the necessity of closely scrutinizing organizations with potential ties to terrorist groups."[79] A January 2011 *New York Times Magazine* article quotes Selim Yenel, a Turkish Foreign Ministry deputy undersecretary responsible for U.S. relations, as saying, "We're getting a lot of flak from the Hill. We used to get hit by the Greek lobby and the Armenian lobby, but we were protected by the Jewish lobby. Now the Jewish lobby is coming after us as well."[80]

In the near term, an improvement in relations between the AKP government and the Israeli government of Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu does not appear likely. It is debatable whether an active U.S. brokering role will improve or worsen prospects for Turkey-Israel rapprochement and for future U.S. defense relations with both countries. Developments on this issue could have implications for how much future influence the United States has on regional security.

Missile Defense Radar and NATO

Construction and deployment of the various elements of the U.S. European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA) to ballistic missile defense in Europe, including a possible radar in Turkey, is subject to congressional appropriations and oversight.[81] The Joint Explanatory Statement of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees (the practical equivalent of a conference report) on the FY2011 Ike Skelton National Defense Authorization Act (P.L. 111-383) enacted on January 7, 2011,[82] contains the following:

- A provision conditioning the use of funds for construction and deployment of land-based interceptors of the EPAA on prior approval by the host nation(s) of the required basing and deployment agreements. This condition, however, is subject to waiver by the Secretary of Defense for national security reasons. Furthermore, the provision states that it is not intended to impede or delay the successful implementation of the EPAA, nor is it intended to limit the production of missile defense interceptors for ground- and flight-testing, or production validation.
- A provision that limits funds for construction and deployment of the land-based portion of the EPAA until after Congress receives an independent assessment of the operational and cost effectiveness of the EPAA as required by the FY2010 National Defense Authorization Act (P.L. 111-84).

In addition to being responsible for the costs of land- and sea-based EPAA deployment, which NATO welcomed at its November 2010 Lisbon Summit as a U.S. contribution to its territorial BMD system while awaiting operational integration, the United States is to be equally responsible with the other 27 NATO member states—through the common NATO budget—for the general costs of the BMD system. NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen has estimated these costs to be €200 million (about $260 million) over 10 years.[83]

The Administration's initial timeline for the EPAA calls for the radar to be deployed by the end of 2011. Congress, NATO allies, and other international actors could determine that it is important to ensure that the Administration meets its stated objective. The extent to which this will translate into time pressure on Turkey to decide on hosting the radar and conclude the necessary basing and deployment agreements with the United States is unclear. In addition to Turkish leaders' concerns about the EPAA's practical capabilities in defending their territory and people, other reservations reportedly "center on being included in the decision process for the system and sharing in its technological expertise."[84]

Arms Sales and Industrial Cooperation

Turkey no longer receives annual Foreign Military Financing aid for purchasing U.S.-produced equipment. Yet, partly due to the historical legacy established by its past reliance on U.S. assistance, and partly due to continued U.S. preeminence in advanced military technology, Turkey still considers the United States to be a preferred supplier of aircraft, helicopters, electronic warfare systems, and advanced missile systems through foreign military sales (FMS) or from U.S. defense contractors through direct commercial sales (DCS). However, Turkey's desire to limit its dependence on any one nation or group of

nations has led to procurement and industrial cooperation policies that have come into tension with U.S. practices regarding co-production and technology sharing. As a result, Turkey increasingly solicits competitive offers from multiple countries for its defense acquisitions. It seriously considers offers from non-U.S. suppliers that may not be as technologically advanced or reliable, but that Turkey perceives as being more flexible in negotiations and in sharing expertise, and therefore more helpful in contributing to Turkey's long-term goal of industrial self-reliance. Other countries that Turkey con-siders as possible sources of procurement and/or partners in co-development include NATO countries such as Germany and Italy, plus others such as South Korea, Russia, China, Pakistan, Indonesia, Singapore, and South Africa.

See Appendix B for more detailed information on Turkey's procurement and defense industry policies.

Congressional Notification Process

For both FMS and DCS, the Arms Export Control Act (AECA) generally requires the executive branch to provide 15 days' formal notice to Congress before proceeding with the sale (for FMS) or issuing an export license (for DCS) for deals involving the sale of defense equipment valued at or above $25 million to NATO allies such as Turkey.[85] The executive branch may provide informal notification and briefings to Congress before giving formal notice. Subject to presidential veto, Congress may block FMS or DCS under expedited procedures permitted by the AECA at any time before the formal notice period elapses, or through separate legislation at any time before deli-very of the defense article(s) in question.

In determining the advisability of potential arms sales to Turkey, Congress could take into account the

- capabilities and postures of other actors in the surrounding region; and
- historical and prospective utility of arms sales in serving U.S. interests compared with other means of influence (i.e., diplomacy, trade, cultural/educational ties, economic and humanitarian assistance).

Turkish officials are likely to expect congressional attitudes that are similarly favorable—if not more so—toward potential U.S. arms sales to Turkey as they are toward potential sales to other NATO and non-NATO allies. This may be the case even though Turkish officials may simultaneously expect the United States to have exceptional tolerance for Turkish policies that diverge from U.S. stances on key issues because of Turkey's unique geo-political position and demographics among U.S. allies.

Drones to Counter the PKK in Northern Iraq?

Turkey reportedly has sought since 2008 to purchase drone aircraft (also known as unmanned aerial systems (UASs) or vehicles (UAVs)) from the United States to assist in its counterterrorism efforts against the PKK.[86] In 2010, Turkey reportedly deployed up to 10 medium-altitude, long-endurance (MALE) Heron drones acquired from Israel in this effort, after production and delivery delays owing to Turkey-Israel tensions and technical problems with integrating Turkish-produced electro-optical equipment. According to *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment*, in December 2008, Turkey requested an FMS purchase of 10 U.S.-produced MALE drones for use against the PKK: four General Atomics MQ-1 Predators and six MQ-9 Reapers, some of which would have armed capability.[87]

Table 2. Significant U.S.-Origin Arms Transfers or Expected Arms Transfers to Turkey (congressional notifications since 2006)

Amount/Description	FMS or DCS	Cong.Notice	Year Contract	Delivery	Primary Contractor(s)	Estimated Cost
100 F-35A Joint Strike	DCS	2006		2014-2023	Lockheed	$11-$15
Fighter aircraft (possibly 16 more discussed following congressional notice)				(Expected if contract signed)	Martin	billion
30 F-16C Block 50	FMS	2006	2009	By 2013	Consortium	$1.8 billion
Fighter aircraft and associated equipment				(Expected)	(Lockheed Martin, Raytheon, and others)	
48 AGM-84H SLAM-ER Air-surface missiles	FMS	2006	2006	Complete	Boeing	$162 million
105 AIM-9X	FMS	2007			Raytheon	$71 million
SIDEWINDER Air-air missiles (SRAAM)						
51 Block II Tactical	FMS	2007	2008 (for		McDonnell	$159
HARPOON Anti-ship missiles			at least 4)		Douglas (Boeing)	million
100 MK-54 MAKO Torpedoes	FMS	2007	2009	By 2012 (Expected)	Raytheon	$105 million
30 AAQ-33 SNIPER and AN/AAQ-13 LANTIRN	FMS	2008	2009		Lockheed Martin	$200 million
Aircraft electro-optical systems (targeting and navigation pods)						
6 MK 41 Vertical Launch	FMS	2008	Signed	3 already	Lockheed	$227
Systems for Ship-air missiles				3 by 2012 (Expected)	Martin	million
107 AIM-120C-7 Air-air missiles (AMRAAM)	FMS	2008	Signed	By 2012 (Expected)	Raytheon	$157 million
400 RIM-162 Ship-air missiles (ESSM)	DCS	2009			Raytheon	$300 million
72 PATRIOT Advanced	FMS	2009			Raytheon and	$4 billion
Capability Missiles (PAC-					Lockheed	
3), 197 PATRIOT					Martin	
Guidance Enhanced						
Missiles, and associated equipment						
14 CH-47F CHINOOK	FMS	2009			Boeing	$1.2 billion
Helicopters						

Source: Defense Security Cooperation Agency, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Arms Transfer Database, *Defense News*, Global Security.
Notes: All figures and dates are approximate; blank entries indicate that data is unknown or not applicable.

President Obama reportedly told Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan in June 2010 that Turkey's diplomacy with respect to the Iranian nuclear issue would make congressional approval for U.S. sales of drone aircraft to Turkey more difficult to obtain. With U.S. military operations in Iraq set to transition to a State Department-led security assistance effort by the end of 2011, it is unclear to what extent reported U.S. drone surveillance of PKK "mountain redoubts" in northern Iraq, such as those described by the *Washington Post* in December 2007 (see "Neutralizing the PKK?" above), will continue.

Questions about how to maintain stability around the Turkey-Iraq border and in the overall region could lead to greater public debate over how directly involved the United States should be and the potential costs and benefits of providing Turkey with more advanced military capabilities and technologies. Concerns include possible precedents for future arms sales or industrial cooperation involving Turkey or other allies and possible PKK retaliatory targeting of U.S. personnel and equipment in the region.

In light of the sensitive proprietary technology involved and potential concerns about end use, negotiating the sale of U.S. drone aircraft to Turkey could be an extremely complicated process. Yet, given U.S. responsibility for the PKK threat in the eyes of many Turks, and the importance they attach to countering the threat, delays or collapses of the process—however justifiable—are likely to result in perceptions of insufficient U.S. cooperation. The persistence of these perceptions could lead to even greater Turkish reliance on non-U.S. defense suppliers.

Fighter Aircraft

Turkey's air force is critical to its overall defense posture. Fighter aircraft purchased from the United States have long formed the core of the fleet. Most of Turkey's 240 Lockheed Martin F-16s were co-produced in Turkey by a predecessor firm of Turkish Aerospace Industries (TAI). In addition, after nearly two years of negotiations, the United States and Turkey signed an FMS contract in 2009 for 30 F-16 Block 50s to be co-produced by TAI. Delivery is expected by 2013. *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment* estimated the cost of the deal (including engines, avionics, and associated weapons systems) to be $1.78 billion, although the September 2006 congressional notification from the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) indicated that the cost, if all options were exercised, could be as high as $2.9 billion. *Jane's* also stated that a planned $200 million sale of 30 AN/AAQ-33 Sniper targeting pods and 30 AN/AAQ-13 LANTIRN extended range navigation pods is probably associated with the F-16 deal.[88]

Turkey is one of eight countries—along with the United Kingdom, Canada, Netherlands, Italy, Denmark, Norway, and Australia—partnering with the United States on the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) program.[89] Turkey plans to purchase up to 116 F-35s,[90] for delivery over an estimated 10-year period (2014-2023), that are jointly assembled and/or developed by firms from the various JSF partners. The cost will be at least $11 billion and could exceed $15 billion, given continued cost inflation on the program. A final purchasing decision could be made in 2011. Turkish companies have received contracts to do substantial work that *Jane's* estimates could result in revenue between $5 billion-$6 billion over 20 years,[91] including a TAI contract with Northrop Grumman to be a second-source production center for up to 400 center fuselages, and a joint venture between U.S. firm Pratt and Whitney and Turkey's Kale Group to manufacture parts for JSF F135 engines.

Turkish officials have complained in the media about the difficulty of modernizing Turkey's F-16 fleet—particularly without Israel as an available supplier due to political tensions (see "Reaction to Downturn in Turkey-Israel Relations" above)—and of taking part in the JSF program due to disagreements with the United States over technology sharing and costs. It is unclear, however, whether Turkish expressions of dissatisfaction are likely to affect its industrial cooperation with the United States in the near term given (1) Turkish operational needs, (2) the boost the JSF program is likely to give the Turkish defense industry, and (3) the lack of alternatives. In December 2010, Turkey announced long-term plans to produce its own fighter aircraft after 2020, either by itself or with other countries on terms it deems more favorable.[92] It has discussed possible cooperation with South Korea and Indonesia, but Turkish daily *Today's Zaman* reported in January 2011 that Turkey may seek to create a fighter production consortium with Gulf countries.[93]

Missile Defense Systems

According to *Today's Zaman*, Turkey is seeking to purchase batteries for a Turkish Long Range Air and Missile Defense System, estimated to cost $4 billion, through a bidding process open to foreign companies.[94] The Turkish Defense Industry Executive Committee[95] will supposedly entertain bids from foreign companies in early 2011. U.S. defense contractor Raytheon is expected to offer its Patriot PAC-3 system:

> In this system, a 73-kilogram cluster and explosive warhead hits and destroys the targeted missile. Turkey is attracted by the fact that this system can be integrated with the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft. However, the US administration is not keen on the idea of technology transfer with Patriots, and this certainly makes it difficult for Turkey to make a decision.[96]

Probable offers from Russian and Chinese companies, as well as the European consortium Eurosam, are also mentioned.[97] Whether Turkey will consider the tender offers in coordination with its decision on hosting a U.S. missile defense radar under NATO auspices (see "Missile Defense" above) is unclear. Both the Raytheon and Eurosam offers are expected to tout their NATO interoperability.

Military and Security Assistance

The United States does provide some annual military and security assistance to Turkey. In FY2010, Turkey received $5 million in International Military Education Training (IMET) aid and nearly $3 million in Non-proliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining and Related Programs (NADR) aid. The Obama Administration's FY2011 and FY2012 requests for funding these accounts for Turkey, along with the International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLE) account, contemplates aiding a wide range of Turkish law enforcement, customs, and security agencies as well as the military (see Table 1 above).

In addition, Turkey has prior-year U.S. Foreign Military Financing (FMF) funds in the amount of approximately $75 million available to it from an account under U.S. government control. When Turkey might spend these un-obligated funds remains unclear. DOD informed

the Congressional Research Service in March 2011 that the most recent Turkish spending plan for these funds include these approximate allocations:

- Communications, $33.3 million;
- General equipment sustainment, $19 million;
- Oliver Hazard Perry-class frigate upgrades, $15 million; and
- Other equipment and systems, $7.7 million.

Monitoring Turkey's Joint Military Activities

Involving the United States and NATO

Turkey's joint exercises, operations, and use of bases with the United States could be a subject of congressional oversight. As discussed above, the United States maintains a regular presence at Turkey's Incirlik air base. Through NATO's auspices, it also maintains a presence at the Allied Air Component Command in Izmir, which was designated as the aerial command center for Operation Unified Protector in Libya. In addition, the United States and NATO maintain bases throughout Europe and North America where Turkey's military occasionally detaches troops and officers for joint use, consultation, and training. These activities can support NATO operations both present (including those in Libya, Afghanistan, and Kosovo) and future. For example, Turkey routinely hosts the United States and other NATO militaries for Anatolian Falcon and (before its relationship worsened with Israel) Anatolian Eagle exercises held at its Konya air base in central Turkey. Other operations in which Turkey participates include, but are not limited to

- NATO's Operation Active Endeavor (a counterterrorism patrol in the Mediterranean Sea),
- a Standing NATO Maritime Group and a Standing NATO Response Force Mine Countermeasures Group,
- NATO's Baltic air policing mission, and
- the anti-piracy Combined Task Force 151 in the Gulf of Aden and off the coast of Somalia that involves several NATO member states.[98]

One measure of the utility of this U.S.-Turkey cooperation could be the level of joint participation and interoperability Turkey maintains with NATO in comparison with the levels maintained by other NATO allies. Another measure of the value of this cooperation could be the participation of Turkish armed forces in and the availability of Turkish bases for non-NATO training, exercises, and missions involving the United States or other NATO allies. Under the terms of the U.S. - Turkey DECA, Turkish governmental approval is required for the non-NATO U.S. use of Incirlik; other Turkish military installations; or Turkish territory, waters, and airspace for non-general training purposes. These purposes could include using joint-use bases or Turkish territory, waters, or airspace as staging grounds for military operations in the region—for which parliamentary approval is generally required.

Involving Non-NATO Militaries

As part of its efforts to diversify its relationships, Turkey has increasingly looked to countries outside of NATO for cooperation on military matters—from joint exercises and

consultations to defense agreements. This includes Turkish cooperation with China,[99] Russia[100] (Turkey's primary energy import source), and countries in its surrounding region.[101] A sign that some analysts viewed as betokening further Turkish diversification from its Western relation-ships was Chinese participation in an air exercise with Turkey at Konya air base in September-October 2010 and in ground force exercises held in Turkey in November 2010.[102] Reportedly, Turkey used older F-4 fighter aircraft in the air exercise instead of more advanced F-16s to allay U.S. concerns about the possible transfer of technology to China.

CONCLUSION

The decades-long U.S.-Turkey defense relationship has passed through different phases during and after the Cold War. A confluence of developments over the past decade that include (1) the 2003 Iraq war and its consequences for U.S. influence in the region and the world, (2) greater Turkish engagement regionally and globally due to leadership from the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) and sustained economic growth, and (3) political change within Turkey that has reduced the military's influence and changed the tenor of public debate has contributed to a strategic environment in which divergences between U.S. and Turkish defense priorities and threat perceptions appear to many to carry greater implications than past divergences.

U.S. efforts to benefit from Turkey's location between the West and Middle East, both geographically and culturally/symbolically, may influence both U.S. and Turkish perceptions of the mutual benefits and leverage of the relationship. Some officials and analysts believe that in at least some respects the United States needs Turkey more than Turkey needs the United States, given (1) increased Turkish economic and military self-sufficiency, and (2) what they view as a relative decline of U.S. influence in the region and globally as other actors emerge—particularly those that have greater intimate knowledge of the region and more of an existential stake in its security.

Others counter that claims of Turkish leverage over the United States are exaggerated because

- Turkey's influence with the United States ultimately depends on its ability to help deliver regional outcomes that serve U.S. interests;
- the United States arguably can depend on other allies to deliver out-comes it desires; and
- it is unclear whether any potential non-NATO alliance could provide Turkey with superior, equal, or comparable (1) security guarantees, (2) regional influence and geopolitical prestige, or (3) collaborative benefits on military matters such as procurement, interoperability, or training.

Turkey may seek to use any leverage it has to take a more proactive role with its allies in shaping processes, outcomes, and institutional structures in response to changes it perceives in regional and international order.[103] These opportunities could increase in the wake of the political changes beginning in January 2011 that have affected the region, particularly Arab countries traditionally allied to the United States such as Egypt.

Current U.S.-Turkish defense cooperation, both bilaterally and within NATO, reflects shared interests in maintaining regional stability, manifested clearly through counterterrorism cooperation against the PKK in northern Iraq and Turkish participation in the ISAF mission in Afghanistan. Concerns about stability also motivate Turkey's agreement in principle to a NATO ballistic missile defense (BMD) system that anticipates potential threats from Iran. However, Turkey may not have yet decided whether it perceives hosting a proposed U.S. BMD radar under NATO auspices as, on balance, more likely to cultivate stability, or as unduly provocative to neighboring countries. Turkish estimations of the U.S. EPAA missile defense system's theoretical and practical capability to protect Turkish territory and populations would likely factor into a decision.

Mutual perceptions of the overall bilateral relationship—influenced by statements on Turkey's policies and rhetoric vis-à-vis Israel and Iran and possible action related to a potential Armenian genocide resolution by Members of Congress—may determine the extent of future U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation. The availability of Turkish bases and territory for U.S./NATO deployments, operations, and supply lines is valuable and remains a possible point of contention and leverage, but the extent of its importance and of alternatives may be subject to further analysis. The decline of the Turkish military's societal influence could affect the conduct of relations that have traditionally been largely managed between DOD and the Turkish General Staff. It also could affect the identity of key interlocutors on both sides, with possible consequences for the predictability to each side of the other's messaging, negotiating, and decision-making patterns.

Turkey's increasing diversification of defense contacts and potential procurement and industrial cooperation with non-NATO countries buttresses some analysts' assertions that it seeks greater autonomy and may be trending toward the more neutral international stance it adopted during the years between the founding of its republic in the 1920s and the beginning of the Cold War.[104] Although issues in the past year involving Turkey's stances on Israel and Iran have heightened the attention Westerners are paying to Turkey's strategic orientation, analysts such as Edward Erickson were discussing the issue as early as 2005:

> It is evident that the Turks do not want to be sidelined by the US or the West when it comes to their own national security concerns. Neither do they want to be hamstrung by easily severed logistics. Clearly they want to be, and have been thinking about becoming, important players in regional politics, and their public national security policy says as much. They have become involved at every opportunity in multi-national military interventions. They have shown a willingness to defy the US. They have industrial and procurement plans aimed at strategic autonomy.[105]

Yet, even given a more diversified and autonomous Turkish military production and procurement system, Turkey apparently covets various advanced military technologies—including fighter and drone aircraft, helicopters, and missile defense systems—for which the United States remains one of the only global suppliers. For the foreseeable future, the United States may be uniquely qualified to supply a wide range of arms to Turkey in light of Turkish objectives for military capability and interoperability.

Thus, despite changes to the U.S.-Turkey defense relationship, and the current lack of annual Foreign Military Financing funding, several factors indicate the importance for both countries of cooperating on a wide range issues that affect regional and global security. Without compromising its positions on core national security interests, Congress might take

one or more general approaches on U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation (see "Possible U.S. Policy Approaches" above) both to minimize the frequency and scope of disagreement on security and procurement issues, and prevent the occasional differences on issues that do occur from disrupting common efforts on others or from harming the overall bilateral relationship or the NATO alliance.

APPENDIX A. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Chronology of Turkey-U.S. Defense Cooperation

1945	Turkey declares war on Germany and Japan in February; becomes founding member of the United Nations
1946	U.S.S. Missouri arrives in Istanbul Harbor in April
1947	President Harry Truman pledges economic (Marshall Plan) and military assistance to Turkey and Greece to counter Soviet influence
1950	Turkish forces join the United Nations contingent in the Korean War
1952	Turkey becomes a member of NATO
1954	United States and Turkey sign first status of forces agreement; U.S./NATO Cold War-era military presence established in Turkey
1960	Turkish military officers carry out first coup d'etat
1961	Deposed Prime Minister Adnan Menderes executed; new civilian government takes office following October elections
1962	Resolution of Cuban Missile Crisis includes U.S. agreement to remove Jupiter missiles with nuclear warheads from Turkey
1964	Letter from President Lyndon Johnson to Turkish Prime Minister Ismet Inonu (known as the "Johnson Letter") communicates U.S. opposition to Turkish intervention in Cyprus after Greek-Turkish power sharing had broken down
1971	Second coup d'etat by Turkish military in response to social and political turmoil
1973	Elective government reestablished
1974	Turkey sends troops using U.S.-supplied equipment to Cyprus on behalf of Turkish Cypriot minority
1975	Congress imposes arms embargo on Turkey for its actions in Cyprus
	Turkey abrogates U.S. status of forces agreement; takes control of U.S. installations; U.S. forces performing NATO functions remain
1978	U.S. arms embargo on Turkey ends
1980	U.S.-Turkey Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement signed—U.S. military presence on Turkish installations is under NATO auspices
	Third coup d'etat by Turkish military in response to social and political turmoil
	Turgut Ozal, Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs, accelerates economic liberalization and reform under military rule
1982	New Turkish constitution ratified
1983	Turgut Ozal becomes prime minister of new civilian government; economic liberalization and reform continue
1984	PKK armed insurgency begins in southeastern Turkey
1990-1991	Turkey joins coalition effort against Iraq in Gulf War; allows U.S. use of bases for air strikes; closes Iraq-Turkey oil pipeline and amasses troops on border with Iraq
	U.S.-British air forces continue to use Turkish bases to patrol northern Iraq following Gulf War

1992	Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty) enters into force as Cold War ends
	Major U.S. military grant aid to Turkey discontinued in post-Cold War environment
1997	Turkish coalition government led by Islamist Welfare (Refah) Party resigns under pressure from Turkish military
1999	Turkey captures PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan; PKK declares cease-fire
2001	Al Qaeda stages multiple attacks in United States on September 11
	Turkey enacts International Monetary Fund-mandated anti-inflation reforms
2002	Justice and Development Party (AKP, a Welfare Party offshoot) wins majority in Turkish Grand National Assembly (Parliament)
2003	Recep Tayyip Erdogan becomes prime minister
	Turkish Parliament refuses to allow U.S. invasion of Iraq from Turkey; allows U.S. use of Turkish bases for overflight of Iraq after U.S.-led occupation of Iraq
	"Hood incident" involving U.S. military detainment of Turkish special forces troops occurs in Suleimaniyah, Iraq, negatively affecting Turkish public opinion toward the United States
2004	PKK cease-fire ends; PKK resumes insurgency and terrorist attacks against Turkey from safe havens in northern Iraq
2007	AKP parliamentary majority reelected; AKP's Abdullah Gul (former prime minister and foreign minister) elected president of Turkey
	U.S. begins close military and intelligence cooperation with Turkey against PKK in northern Iraq
2009	Ahmet Davutoglu becomes foreign minister
2010	Mavi Marmara flotilla incident severely damages already-worsening Turkey-Israel relations
	Turkey and Brazil joint declaration on possible nuclear fuel swaps with Iran; shortly thereafter, both countries cast the only "no" votes on U.N. Security Council Resolution 1929, which establishes enhanced sanctions against Iran
	Constitutional amendments approved in nationwide referendum, increasing civilian control over the military and judiciary
	United States, Turkey, and their NATO allies agree to territorial and population missile defense as an alliance-wide mission
2011	United States, Turkey, and their NATO allies agree to take over military operations in Libya aimed at implementing U.N. Security Council Resolution 1973 ("Operation Unified Protector"), with aerial mission commanded from Allied Air Component Command in Izmir

Cold War Era

U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation began near the end of World War II when Turkey, having been neutral until February 1945, declared war on Germany and Japan to become a founding member of the United Nations. When it became clear after the war that Stalin's Soviet Union had designs on territory in eastern Turkey and on privileged naval access through Turkey's Bosporus and Dardanelles Straits to the Mediterranean, Turkey welcomed the April 1946 arrival of the U.S. battleship *U.S.S. Missouri* in Istanbul harbor. President Harry Truman's subsequent pledge in March 1947 of economic (Marshall Plan) and military assistance to both Turkey and Greece solidified Turkey's role as a Western ally and geographic buffer against Soviet influence. After Turkey's participation in United Nations forces during the Korean War gained it the reputation of a reliable and capable ally, Turkey joined NATO in 1952.

In subsequent years, the United States and Turkey signed military facilities and status of forces agreements, and the United States established more than 30 defense-related installations in Turkey with approximately 5,000 U.S. personnel, increasing to approximately 25,000 at the high point in the 1960s. In 1959, the United States stationed 15 Jupiter ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads in Turkey. These were removed as part of the U.S.-Soviet deal that ended the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, but were later replaced by tactical nuclear weapons, some of which reportedly remain in Turkey (see "Bases and Transport Corridors"). In addition, the United States provided Turkey with more than $4.5 billion in military assistance from 1948 to 1975—an average of approximately $160 million per year—to help it man, equip, train, and modernize its armed forces.

The U.S.-Turkey defense relationship endured complications during the Cold War. Cyprus was a major source of those troubles, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s. A strongly-worded letter from President Lyndon Johnson to Turkish Prime Minister Ismet Inonu may have helped prevent Turkish intervention on the island in 1964 following the breakdown of Greek-Turkish power sharing, but it raised questions about how well the U.S. alliance served Turkey's interests that intensified greatly when Turkey sent troops using U.S.-supplied arms to intervene on behalf of the Turkish Cypriot minority in 1974 and Congress responded with the 1975-1978 embargo on U.S. military grants and arms sales to Turkey described in the main body of the report (see "Background").

Although the alliance revived in 1980 with a new Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Iranian Revolution, Turkey emphasized that the U.S. military presence on Turkish installations was under NATO auspices. U.S. military assistance was restored as well, reaching unprecedented levels in historical terms with an approximate annual average of $425 million in grants and $110 million in loans from 1987 to 1992. This facilitated a general upgrade of Turkey's weapons systems. Post-1980 U.S. military assistance to Greece and Turkey was provided at a 7-to-10 ratio. Although Turkey received the greater amount, it routinely complained that its size, share of NATO's military burden, and relative importance to Western interests justified an even greater proportional advantage over Greece.

As the Cold War was ending, Turkey joined its NATO allies and the Warsaw Pact countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union, in entering into the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty). The CFE Treaty sought to maintain peace and stability among former Cold War adversaries by limiting types and levels of conventional forces, both Europe-wide and in certain key regions (which included Turkey), and subjecting the parties to joint monitoring. The treaty was signed in 1990 and entered into force in 1992. Russia, however, unilaterally suspended its compliance in 2007, partly due to lingering disagreements with other parties over its force posture in sensitive "flank zones"—including areas opposite the northeastern Turkish border in Georgia and in Russia's North Caucasian periphery.[106]

Post-Cold War Era: Two Iraq Wars

For the 1991 Gulf War, Turkey allowed the U.S.-led coalition to use its bases for air strikes on Iraqi territory after closing a pipeline through which Iraq had exported oil through Turkish territory. Also, the amassing of troops by Turkey on Iraq's northern border helped the

coalition's efforts by drawing significant Iraqi troop strength away from the southern front in the Gulf from which the invasion came. Nevertheless, the run-up to the war presaged future subjections of the military to strong civilian leadership when then-Chief of the Turkish General Staff, General Necip Torumtay, resigned out of disagreement with then-President Turgut Ozal's decision to involve Turkey in the war.[107] In the war's aftermath, U.S. and British military aircraft based at Turkey's Incirlik air base patrolled the no-fly zone established at the end of hostilities in the heavily Kurdish-populated areas of northern Iraq. Although the Gulf War had reinforced Turkey's geostrategic importance to the United States and NATO, the end of the Cold War appeared to Congress to have removed the rationale for providing large amounts of grant aid to arm the Turkish military. Foreign Military Financing (FMF) grants were phased into loan-only assistance in 1993, and the loans were phased out after 1997.

In the aftermath of the Al Qaeda terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, on U.S. territory, Turkey gained new importance as a possible staging ground for U.S.-led military action in the region. Given that Turkey had allowed the United States use of its air bases for limited military action in Iraq since 1991, and had subsequently participated with the United States in missions in Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Afghanistan, George W. Bush Administration officials believed they could obtain permission to station U.S. ground troops at Turkey's border with Iraq to open a second front in the 2003 Iraq war. After the newly elected government led by the Islamic-leaning Justice and Development Party (AKP) secured promises of approximately $24 billion in U.S. aid and loan guarantees (including $15 billion in immediate aid), it overcame its initial reservations to agree, albeit somewhat lukewarmly, to the U.S. plan. However, the Turkish Parliament failed to muster the absolute majority (based on the total amount of parliamentary votes possible) required to approve the U.S. request in March 2003 (even though "yes" votes outnumbered "no" votes 264-251) when nearly 100 AKP members voted against the measure or abstained, possibly due to an unwillingness to endorse invading a fellow Muslim country. This surprise, which forced the Bush Administration into last-minute adjustments for a single front, led to serious U.S. displeasure with its Turkish ally.

Analysts have advanced several possible explanations for the Turkish Parliament's 2003 decision on Iraq. One is that the United States, in its request to stage a ground invasion from Turkey, asked for *more* in 2003 than it did in 1991, even though many believed that the U.S. argument for going to war against Iraq was *less* merited, and the threat Saddam Hussein posed to Turkey *less* severe.

Another is that the benefits Turkey received for its cooperation in the 1991 war were significantly fewer than expected, leading Turkish lawmakers to reduce expectations in their cost-benefit analysis for 2003. Many were skeptical that U.S. and other international aid (particularly from Gulf states) Turkey received for its support in 1991—though substantial (approximately $17 billion in arms and military and economic aid)[108]—had been worth the costs incurred in (1) reduced trade from the war and from international sanctions against Iraq (estimated at between $30 billion-$60 billion)[109], (2) regional destabilization and refugee influxes, and (3) the emboldening of Kurdish separatists (especially the PKK) to operate from greater safe haven in northern Iraq. Turkey's hopes in 1990-1991 that its cooperation might decisively cement its economic, political, and security integration with Europe had been frustrated by NATO's tepid response (reprised during the run-up to the 2003 war) in committing in advance of the war to the collective defense of Turkey under Article 5 in the

event of an Iraqi attack, as well as by continued uncertainty over Turkey's European Union (EU) membership prospects.

In addition, strides Turkey had made since the 1991 war to increase its economic and military self-sufficiency and to reduce threats on its borders contributed to perceptions that it was less dependent on U.S. assistance.[110] A 2007 *Turkish Studies* article said,

> In the end, it appears that the Turks' appraisal of the strength of their position *vis-à-vis* the United States was accurate. Despite Turkey's refusal to facilitate the invasion, the United States went to significant lengths to make sure Turkey's vital interests were looked after. Not only did the United States not change its position on Kurdish independence and continued to push for a democratic, centralized regime in Iraq, but the United States even ... reinstated Turkey as a recipient of regular financial aid. The reason for this American generosity is that in the end, while very disappointed about the way relations had soured, US officials realized that they did not want to cause Turkish decisionmakers to reconsider their fundamental alignment.[111]

Nevertheless, as mentioned in the main body of the report (see "Back-ground") the Turkish Parliament's 2003 decision on Iraq showed the United States that in its defense relationship with Turkey, it could no longer rely solely on past legacies of cooperation and its close ties with the Turkish military.

Ultimately, Turkey allowed U.S. overflights into Iraq, and after the United States coalition had occupied Iraq and begun stability, counterinsurgency, and reconstruction operations, Turkey permitted the United States use of Turkish bases and border crossings for troop rotations and transport of non-lethal cargo to and from Iraq. The resumption of PKK attacks in Turkey following the U.S.-led invasion in 2003, however, has made countering terrorism from the PKK's northern Iraqi safe havens a core Turkish security concern that has led to further U.S.-Turkey tensions. Since late 2007, Turkey has received direct U.S. cooperation in countering the PKK, and it reportedly seeks to acquire more advanced equipment to increase its own counterterrorism capabilities.

As mentioned above, the United States resumed FMF grant assistance to Turkey after September 11, 2001, averaging $27 million per year from 2002 to 2007. This assistance was completely phased out once more in FY2010, leaving International Military Education and Training (IMET), International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLE), and Nonproliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining, and Related Programs (NADR) funds as the primary sources of annual U.S. military and security assistance to Turkey. DOD holds approximately $75 million of unobligated FMF funds appropriated for Turkey in prior years in reserve for potential future use (see "Military and Security Assistance").

APPENDIX B. TURKISH PROCUREMENT AND DEFENSE INDUSTRY POLICY

Turkey and the United States have a history of defense industry cooperation. Traditionally, many U.S. aircraft Turkey has purchased have been assembled in Turkey by TUSAS Aerospace Industries, which was partially owned by U.S.-based companies Lockheed Martin and General Electric Inter-national. This helped Turkey develop an indigenous

defense industry that is becoming a major supplier in its surrounding region. For example, Turkey has since assembled 46 F-16s for Egypt and upgraded dozens more for Jordan.[112]

In 2005, state-owned Turkish Aircraft Industries bought out the remaining TUSAS shares and formed Turkish Aerospace Industries (TAI) through a merger, signifying an increasing emphasis by the state on boosting its indigenous defense production capacity.

Other major Turkish defense firms include (1) Aselsan, which specializes in electronics and software; (2) Roketsan, which specializes in missile technology; and (3) Otokar, which specializes in land-based vehicles. As noted in Figure 2, Turkey's procurement objectives called for 50% indigenous defense production by the end of 2010, and Foreign Trade Minister Zefer Caglayan claimed in August 2010 that indigenous production reached 46% in 2009. The strategic plan also calls for at least a 50% return in direct or indirect offsets on procurement agreements with a value of at least $10 million.

Emphasis on procurement from countries and firms that provide offsets, allow co-production, and issue export licenses at the bidding stage can be at odds with U.S. arms export laws and practices, particularly when sensitive technology is involved, and has made it more difficult for U.S. firms to obtain contracts.

Thus, as mentioned in "Arms Sales and Industrial Cooperation," Turkey looks to other suppliers that may not be as technologically advanced or re-liable, but that Turkey perceives as being more flexible in negotiations and in sharing expertise, and therefore more helpful in contributing to Turkey's long-term goal of industrial self-reliance. The following are some examples of recent or pending Turkish defense procurement tenders:[113]

- *Attack Helicopters*. In 2007, Turkey chose to purchase 50 "T129" variants of the A129 Mangusta attack and tactical reconnaissance (ATAK) helicopter (with an option for another 41) for $2.7 billion. Although Italy's AgustaWestland is the main technology source, TAI is designated as the primary contractor to cultivate the image of Turkish self-reliance. A prominent Turkish procurement official had voiced a preference for off-the-shelf U.S. Apache or Cobra helicopters, and U.S. officials claimed that the bidding process unfairly excluded U.S. firms. When the test aircraft crashed in 2010, likely pushing delivery beyond the planned 2013 date, Turkey sought to acquire U.S. Bell AH-1W SuperCobras as a stopgap measure. When the United States told Turkey it was unable to meet Turkey's timeline for the stopgap delivery, Turkey purchased nine Mangustas from AgustaWestland for $209 million, with delivery slated for 2012 after TAI assembles the exported kits. U.S. firms will provide the helicopter engines in any case.[114]
- *Utility Helicopters*. U.S. firm Sikorsky Aircraft is competing with AgustaWestland to sell Turkey 109 utility helicopters for approximately $4 billion, with the possibility of selling nearly 200 more in the future. As is the case regarding Turkey's attack helicopter deal with AgustaWestland, TAI would be listed as the prime contractor and would co-produce the utility helicopters, which would replace Turkey's aging fleet dominated by U.S.-exported Black Hawks and Hueys. Both Sikorsky (which is offering a Turkish version of its S-70 Black Hawk International) and AgustaWestland (offering a Turkish version of its A149) have offered several extras to make their offers more attractive, focusing on offsets and opportunities for Turkish export production. Turkey's Defense Industry Executive Committee may make a decision on the tender as early as March 2011.

- *Cargo Transport Aircraft*. Turkey joined a consortium with six European NATO allies in 2001 for the Airbus A400M transport plane, and plans to purchase 10. The program has been delayed and experienced cost overruns, but the consortium reportedly signed a final contract in April 2011.[115] In the meantime, Saudi Arabia has agreed to sell Turkey six older model U.S.-origin C-130s to meet Turkey's interim needs,[116] pending congressional notification.
- *Battle Tanks*. In July 2008, South Korea's Hyundai Rotem signed a $400 million contract with Turkish company Otokar to develop and produce up to 250 main battle tanks. Under the terms of the deal, Hyundai Rotem will supply more than 50% of the technology to develop the tanks and will work alongside Otokar on the design and development of four prototypes.
- *Anti-Tank Missile Systems*. Russia's Rosoboronexport agreed to deliver about 800 Kornet-E medium-range anti-tank missile systems to Turkey for $100 million as a stopgap measure while Turkish firm Roketsan continues to develop an indigenous medium-range anti-tank missile system.
- *Submarines*. Turkey will acquire six Type 214 submarines (to replace some of its 1970s-era Atilay-class Type 209 submarines) from Germany's Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft (HDW, Turkey's longtime submarine supplier) and its United Kingdom-based commercial partner MarineForce International (MFI) under a $3.96 billion contract signed in July 2009, with delivery expected between 2015 and 2020. Turkish Minister of National Defense Vecdi Gonul said in July 2008 that Turkish industrial participation is expected to reach about 80% of the contract, with approximately 20 systems and sub-systems produced and integrated locally.

Aspirations for indigenous Turkish defense industrial capabilities extend to large drone aircraft[117] (Turkey already produces small drones for deployment) and missile defense systems, but current Turkish plans indicate that in the near term, Turkey seeks to acquire this equipment and possibly share in its assembly in the hopes that it may receive technology and develop a know-ledge base and infrastructure that shortens the timeline for indigenous design and production.

As it begins to meet its own security demands and develops higher quantities of more advanced equipment, external demand for Turkish arms has led to increased exports. According to Jane's World Defence Industry,

> To date, Turkish industries have exported only eight platforms: among these are missiles, rocket launchers, radios, tracked and wheeled vehicles, electronic systems, pilot simulators and coastguard craft.
>
> The electronic systems and pilot simulators alone represent "big ticket" items that can generate the necessary income for Turkey's indigenous industries to develop not only the production base but also the Research and Development (R&D) institutions necessary for large-scale expansion.
>
> The SSM [Defense Procurement Undersecretariat] has highlighted the Netherlands, Pakistan, the United Arab Emirates, South Korea, Algeria and Bahrain as recent destinations for Turkish defence materiel.
>
> In addition, in June 2008, Turkey's Foreign Trade Minister, Kursad Tuzmen, highlighted the Asia Pacific region as a potential target region for defence sales.[118]

Nevertheless, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, in 2009 Turkey was the world's 10th largest arms importer and only its 26th largest exporter.

As noted in Figure 2, a promotional office affiliated with Turkey's procurement agency, the SSM, opened near Washington, DC, in 2010, and similar offices are planned to open soon in Europe (Belgium), the Persian Gulf (Qatar), and the Caucasus and Central Asia (either Azerbaijan or Turk-menistan).

End Notes

[1] Henri J. Barkey, "Turkey's New Global Role," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, November 17, 2010, available at http://carnegieendowment.org/publications /?fa=view &id=41952. The challenge for U.S. officials to manage cooperation with Turkey could be magnified by the way the U.S. government is structured to work with Turkey. Former U.S. ambassador to Turkey Mark Parris has said, "For reasons of self-definition and Cold War logic, Turkey is considered a European nation. It is therefore assigned, for purposes of policy development and implementation, to the subdivisions responsible for Europe: the European Bureau (EUR) at the State Department; the European Command (EUCOM) at the Pentagon; the Directorate for Europe at the [National Security Council (NSC)], etc. Since the end of the Cold War, however, and progressively since the 1990-91 Gulf War and 9/11, the most serious issues in U.S.-Turkish relations – and virtually all of the controversial ones – have arisen in areas outside "Europe." The majority, in fact, stem from developments in areas which in Washington are the responsibility of offices dealing with the Middle East: the Bureau for Near East Affairs (NEA) at State; Central Command (CENTCOM) at the Pentagon; the Near East and South Asia Directorate at NSC." Omer Taspinar, "The Rise of Turkish Gaullism: Getting Turkish-American Relations Right," *Insight Turkey*, vol. 13, no. 1, winter 2011, quoting an unpublished 2008 paper by Mark Parris.

[2] Morton Abramowitz, a former U.S. ambassador to Turkey, provided an analysis of the issue in a March 19, 2010 article for *nationalinterest.org* entitled "The Never-Ending Armenian Genocide Resolution."

[3] Andrew Mango, *The Turks Today* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2004), p. 62.

[4] See, e.g., Foreign Assistance Act (P.L. 93-559) for FY1975 enacted December 30, 1974. No similar measures were taken against Greece, even though its troops also used U.S. equipment in Cyprus.

[5] Aylin Guney, "An Anatomy of the Transformation of the US-Turkish Alliance: From 'Cold War' to 'War on Iraq,'" *Turkish Studies*, vol. 6, no. 3, September 2005.

[6] Barkey, op. cit.

[7] Sevil Kucukkosum, "Turks see U.S. as biggest external threat, poll results show," *Hurriyet Daily News & Economic Review*, January 5, 2011. The poll, taken by the MetroPOLL Strategic and Social Research Center, which is affiliated with Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), stated that 43% of respondents viewed the United States as Turkey's primary external threat, with Israel in second place with 24%. Iran was a distant third with 3%. Ibid.

[8] Although it received little enduring attention in the United States, the so-called "hood incident" connected with the 2003 Iraq war exacerbated popular Turkish opposition to the U.S. invasion. On July 4, 2003, U.S. soldiers captured approximately 11 Turkish special forces soldiers during a raid on a safehouse in the northern Iraqi city of Suleimaniyah. Those captured were under suspicion for involvement in a plot to assassinate the Kurdish governor of Kirkuk province. After their arrest, the Turkish soldiers had hoods put over their heads and were interrogated before Turkish military and diplomatic protestations led to their release 60 hours later. Since the 1990s, there had been reports of Turkish special forces units operating in northern Iraq and allying themselves with an Iraqi Turkomen militia to monitor and operate against the PKK. See "A partnership at risk?", *Economist*, July 10, 2003. Though neither side apologized for its part in the hood incident, both issued statements of regret. The resumption of PKK attacks on targets in Turkey following the Iraq invasion led to Turkish perceptions that the United States was insufficiently aware of or concerned about the difficulties these attacks present to Turkey.

[9] See Kucukkosum, op. cit.

[10] BBC World Service Poll, "Views of US Continue to Improve in 2011 BBC Country Rating Poll," March 7, 2011, available at http://www.worldpublicopinion.org /pipa/pdf /mar11 /BBCEvalsUS_Mar11_rpt.pdf. The poll, which was conducted from December 2010 to February 2011, claimed that 35% of Turks believe that U.S.

influence in the world is positive (up from 13% in 2010), and that 49% believe that U.S. influence is negative (down from 68% in 2010).

[11] The National Intelligence Council reported in 2008 that "Turkey's recent economic track record of increased growth, the vitality of Turkey's emerging middle class and its geostrategic locale raise the prospect of a growing regional role in the Middle East." U.S. National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World*, November 2008, available at http://www.dni.gov/nic/PDF_2025/2025_Global _Trends_Final_Report.pdf.

[12] For a discussion and maps of various existing and proposed pipelines and energy transit routes through and near Turkey, see Transatlantic Academy, *Getting to Zero: Turkey, Its Neighbors, and the West*, June 2010, available at http://www.transatlanticacademy.org /sites/default/files/publications/GettingtoZeroFINAL.pdf.

[13] See, e.g., "Great sacrifices, small rewards," *Economist*, December 29, 2010.

[14] See Gareth Jenkins, "On the edge – The AKP shifts Turkey's political compass," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, August 2, 2010.

[15] See CRS Report RL34642, *Turkey: Selected Foreign Policy Issues and U.S. Views*, by Jim Zanotti.

[16] Robert Tait and Ewen McCaskill, "Turkey threatens 'serious consequences' after US vote on Armenian genocide," *Guardian* (UK), March 5, 2010.

[17] See CRS Report R41275, *Israel's Blockade of Gaza, the Mavi Marmara Incident, and Its Aftermath*, by Carol Migdalovitz.

[18] "US official: Turkey must demonstrate commitment to West," *Today's Zaman*, June 28, 2010.

[19] Ercan Yavuz, "Israeli-caused instability makes its way to Turkey's security document," *Today's Zaman*, October 29, 2010.

[20] See CRS Report RL34642, *Turkey: Selected Foreign Policy Issues and U.S. Views*, by Jim Zanotti.

[21] Daniel Dombey, "US issues arms-deal ultimatum to Turkey," *Financial Times*, August 15, 2010.

[22] See, e.g., Ariel Cohen, "Congressmen Talk Turkey," Heritage Foundation, June 21, 2010, available at http://blog.heritage.org/?p=36681.

[23] The proposed elements of the EPAA and a deployment timeline are described in a September 17, 2009 White House press release available at http://www.whitehouse.gov /the_press_office/FACT-SHEET-US-Missile-Defense-Policy-APhased-Adaptive-Approach-for-Missile-Defense-in-Europe/. See also CRS Report R41549, *Missile Defense and NATO's Lisbon Summit*, by Steven A. Hildreth and Carl Ek.

[24] Marc Champion, "Turkey in Dilemma Over NATO Shield," *Wall Street Journal*, October 27, 2010.

[25] NATO Lisbon Summit Declaration, November 20, 2010, available at http://www.nato.int /cps/en/natolive/ official_texts_68828.htm?mode=pressrelease.

[26] Louis Charbonneau, "EXCLUSIVE-Turkey says seizes illegal Iran arms shipment," *Reuters*, March 31, 2011. According to this article, the cache included 60 Kalashnikov AK-47 assault rifles, 14 BKC/Bixi machine guns, nearly 8,000 rounds of BKC/AK-47 ammunition, 560 60-mm mortar shells, and 1,288 120-mm mortar shells. Ibid.

[27] In addition to authorizing the enforcement of a no-fly zone over Libya, Resolution 1973 authorized all U.N. countries, "acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements ... to take all necessary measures ... to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, including Benghazi, while excluding a foreign occupation force of any form on any part of Libyan territory".

[28] See Ipek Yezdani, "Turkey seeks ways to stay in NATO game," *Hurriyet Daily News & Economic Review*, March 24, 2011.

[29] "Wary of France, Turkey Wants NATO in Charge of Libya," *Today's Zaman*, March 25, 2011. Turkish officials objected vociferously to what they perceived as an overly aggressive stance from France. They were clearly displeased with being excluded from the U.S.-U.K.-France meetings in Paris that preceded the initial coalition air strikes. France explained that Turkey had been excluded because of Erdogan's previous statements of opposition to military intervention and to a NATO role in Libya. Many media reports have painted the subsequent NATO deliberations as largely a contest between France, which favored a coalition possibly outside NATO command and freer rein to take offensive action; and Turkey, which, like the United States, favored having NATO control the entire operation. France-Turkey tensions owe much to France's leading role in opposing full EU membership for Turkey.

[30] The principle of consensus or unanimity that governs NATO gives each ally virtual veto power over the alliance's political and military decisions.

[31] "Turkey to assume control of Benghazi airport in Libya," *Hurriyet Daily News & Economic Review*, March 28, 2011.

[32] For more information on the NATO-led operation, see CRS Report R41725, *Operation Odyssey Dawn (Libya): Background and Issues for Congress*, coordinated by Jeremiah Gertler.

[33] Burak Ege Bekdil and Umit Enginsoy, "Turkey to Have Triple Role in Libya Mission," *Defense News*, March 29, 2011.

[34] According to the blog, "Erdogan reportedly told Rasmussen that NATO's Izmir base could only be closed after Turkey becomes a European Union member, claiming that the base is the single component that maintains Turkey's links with trans-Atlantic space." Jorge Benitez, "Rasmussen fails to persuade Turkey to close Izmir base," *acus.org/natosource*, April 7, 2011.

[35] The Ataturk-led Turkish army was responsible for driving out invading European powers following the end of World War I to prevent the partition of the core Ottoman lands of Eastern Thrace and Anatolia.

[36] In 1997, the military did not directly overthrow the government, but in what has been called a "post-modern" coup, compelled the dissolution of the first-ever Islamist-led coalition government in the wake of manifestations of public Islamist sentiment. In the years following the collapse of the government, junior members of the former coalition-leading Islamist party (former Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan's Refah (Welfare) Party), including Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Abdullah Gul, formed the currently ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), which they have characterized since the AKP's inception as a center-right reformist party without an Islamist agenda.

[37] Gareth Jenkins, *Context and Circumstance: The Turkish Military and Politics*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Paper 337, Oxford University Press, New York, 2001.

[38] According to Steven Cook of the Council on Foreign Relations: "The most important changes were made to the National Security Council (known more commonly by its Turkish acronym, MGK), which had been the primary channel through which the officers influenced Turkish politics." Steven A. Cook, "The Weakening of Turkey's Military," Council on Foreign Relations Expert Brief, March 1, 2010, available at http://www.cfr.org/publication/ 21548/weakening_ofjurkeys_military.html.

[39] The AKP's popularity in 2007 elections could be seen as a combination of multiple factors, among which could be (1) the significant and sustained economic growth that most analysts believe was partly facilitated by International Monetary Fund-mandated anti-inflation reforms enacted in 2001 (the year before it came to power), (2) general support for the AKP's policy and reform agenda, and (3) the lack of a compelling or coherent opposition.

[40] "Balance of power," *Economist*, October 21, 2010.

[41] "Armed Forces, Turkey," op. cit.

[42] Ismet Akca, *Military-Economic Structure in Turkey: Present Situation, Problems, and Solutions*. Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) Publications, July 2010, available at http://www.tesev.org.tr/UD_OBJS/PDF/ DEMP/ENG/gsr-2-eng.pdf.

[43] 32 U.S.T. 3323; TIAS 9901.

[44] See Saban Kardas, "Davutoglu Outlines the Contours of the New Turkish Foreign Policy," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 8, No. 4, January 6, 2011, available at http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=37326.

[45] See, e.g., German Marshall Fund of the United States, *Transatlantic Trends: Key Findings 2009*, available at http://trends.gmfus.org/doc/2009_English_Key.pdf. This report summarized polling results that reflected differences in attitudes toward NATO and various security-related issues between Turks and citizens of other NATO countries. See also Umit Enginsoy, "Turkey still the outlier as world mulls no-fly zone over Libya," *Hurriyet Daily News & Economic Review*, March 1, 2011.

[46] The Turkish and Greek foreign ministries both provide information on the Aegean dispute, which centers on territorial issues over islands, waters, and airspace. See http://www.mfa.gov.tr/background-note-on-aegean-dispute.en.mfa; and http://www.mfa.gr /www.mfa.gr/en-US/Policy/Geographic+Regions/South-Eastern +Europe/ Turkey/.

[47] Article 5 of The North Atlantic Treaty (NATO's founding and governing charter) reads: "The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area."

[48] "US Defence Secretary Gates blames EU for Turkey 'drift,'" *BBC News*, June 9, 2010.

[49] Ardan Zenturk, "They Brought Disarray to Libya; We Are Tidying Up," *Star Online* (Istanbul) (translated from Turkish), March 24, 2011, Open Source Document GMP20110324016020.

[50] Umit Enginsoy and Burak Ege Bekdil, "Libya Crisis Widens Turk-West Differences," *Defense News*, March 21, 2011.

[51] Sevil Kucukkosum, "Missile diplomacy latest test for US-NATO-Turk ties," *Hurriyet Daily News & Economic Review*, October 21, 2010.

[52] Champion, op. cit.

[53] Ian O. Lesser, "Turkey, the NATO Summit, and After," German Marshall Fund of the United States "On Turkey" Analysis, November 23, 2010, available at http://www.gmfus.org /galleries/ct_publication_attachments/Lesser _NATO_Nov10.pdf;jsessionid=aux1Dml-YRNcrd6jJZ.

[54] See, e.g., U.S.-Turkey memorandum of understanding for a bilateral missile defense architecture analysis, June 6, 2001, available at http://turkey.usembassy.gov/treaty_pdf /ctia10089.pdf.

[55] See footnote 70.

[56] A March/April 2011 article in *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* stated that Turkey sees tactical nuclear weapons based on its territory as "playing an important security role, providing reassurance of American assistance in the event of an emergency and a 'hook' tethering Turkey to the European mainland. The nuclear weapons also appear to perform a nonproliferation function: As long as Turkey has access to US nuclear weapons it can turn to in extremis, there is no need for Ankara to consider developing its own nuclear weapons option." Mark Fitzpatrick, "How Europeans view tactical nuclear weapons on their continent," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 67, no. 2, March/April 2011. Nevertheless, in light of advocacy begun in 2010 by Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, (three of the four other states where U.S. tactical nuclear weapons are reportedly stationed under NATO auspices—Italy is the fourth), Norway, and Luxembourg for the removal of the approximately 150-200 U.S. tactical nuclear weapons from European territory, and in light of prospects within the next year for U.S.-Russia negotiations on curtailing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe (Russia reportedly has approximately 2,000), some analysts doubt that Turkey would contest the weapons' removal from its territory. Turkish analyst and former diplomat Sinan Ulgen has noted that "The question of denuclearization has not been politicized in Turkey." Rachel Oswald, "Polish, Turkish Experts Open to U.S. Withdrawing Nukes from Europe," *Global Security Newswire*, March 31, 2011.

[57] Craig Whitlock, "NATO near adoption of US missile shield," *Washington Post*, October 15, 2010.

[58] See Lesser, op cit.

[59] Information dated January 2011 provided to CRS by Turkish Embassy in Washington, DC.

[60] For further discussion of this question, see "Turkey's Importance to U.S. National Security" above.

[61] Anthony Shadid, "Resurgent Turkey Flexes Its Muscles Around Iraq," *New York Times*, January 4, 2011.

[62] Transcript of speech by U.S. Lt. Gen. Michael D. Barbero, Commander of NATO Training Mission-Iraq, Ankara, Turkey, October 2010, available at http://www.aco.nato. int/page12822541.aspx.

[63] U.S. State Department, *Country Reports on Terrorism 2009*, Chapter 6. Terrorist Organizations, August 2010, available at http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2009/140900.htm.

[64] Project Ploughshares, *Armed Conflicts Report 2010*, Turkey, available at http://www.ploughshares.ca/libraries/ACRText/ACR-Turkey2.htm. Between 2,300 and 2,500 are estimated to have been killed since 2003. A *Los Angeles Times* blog estimated that of the casualties since the beginning of the conflict, some 5,000 Turks and some 35,000 Kurds have died. Becky Lee Katz, "TURKEY: Kurdish teenager convicted as terrorist for attending demonstration," *latimes.com*, July 19, 2010.

[65] U.S. State Department, *2009 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, Turkey, March 11, 2010, available at http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/eur/136062.htm.

[66] *Country Reports on Terrorism 2009*, op. cit.

[67] This had followed previous situations in 2006 and 2007 in which Turkey made similar mobilizations in the border area and the Bush Administration appointed retired General Joseph Ralston, former Supreme Allied Commander Europe, as U.S. Special Envoy for Countering the PKK. Ralston served in this position until October 2007.

[68] Ann Scott Tyson and Robin Wright, "U.S. Helps Turkey Hit Rebel Kurds in Iraq," *Washington Post*, December 18, 2007.

[69] "Armed Forces, Turkey," op. cit.

[70] Robert S. Norris and Hans M. Kristensen, "US tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, 2011," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 67, no. 1, January/February 2011. Reportedly, the U.S. has approximately 150-200 B61 bombs in Turkey, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands left over from their deployment during the

Cold War. This amount is a very small fraction of the over 7,000 U.S. tactical nuclear weapons stationed in Europe during the 1970s. Ibid.

[71] The Partnership for Peace Training Center (http://www.bioem.tsk.tr/) offers defense and security-related education and training opportunities for representatives from countries that are members of NATO or NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP), Mediterranean Dialogue (MD), or Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI). Information on the PfP, MD, and ICI and participating countries can be found at http://www.nato.int/cps /en/natolive /topics_50349.htm and http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_59419.htm?.

[72] NATO's Center for Excellence-Defense Against Terrorism (http://www.coedat.nato.int/) offers a wide range of counterterrorism-related education and training opportunities. 27 NATO countries have participated, along with 77 other countries.

[73] Taspinar, op. cit.

[74] See, e.g., Scott A. Field and Dariush Zahedi, "The U.S. Security Strategy and the Role of Turkey in the New Middle East," *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 3, December 2010, available at http://www.turkishpolicy .com/dosyalar/ files/71-82.pdf.

[75] For an argument that appears to support this position, see Robert Wexler, "United States and Turkey: Allies at Odds?", *Insight Turkey*, vol. 13, no. 1, winter 2011. Wexler is a former Member of Congress.

[76] Field and Zahedi, op. cit.

[77] See, e.g., Ariel Cohen, "Washington Concerned as Turkey Leaving the West," *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 3, December 2010, available at http://www.turkishpolicy.com /dosyalar/files/25-35%281%29.pdf; Sally McNamara, Ariel Cohen, and James Phillips, "Countering Turkey's Strategic Drift," Heritage Foundation Backgrounder No. 2442, July 26, 2010, available at http://report.heritage.org/bg2442.

[78] See, e.g., Joshua Keating, "Turkey: Obama wanted us to make a deal with Iran," *foreignpolicy.com*, May 19, 2010.

[79] In the House, Representative Dina Titus sponsored H.Res. 1599, which was not passed but garnered 23 co-sponsors. H.Res. 1599 would have called upon the Secretary of State to investigate the "role of any foreign governments, including the Republic of Turkey, which may have aided and abetted the organizers of the recent Gaza Flotilla mission to breach Israeli coastal security and assault the naval defense forces of the State of Israel."

[80] James Traub, "Turkey's Rules," *New York Times Magazine*, January 20, 2011.

[81] For more information, see CRS Report R41549, *Missile Defense and NATO's Lisbon Summit*, by Steven A. Hildreth and Carl Ek.

[82] The joint explanatory statement is available at http://armed-services.senate.gov/Special %20Interest%20Item/ FINAL%20MASTER%20CONFERENCE%202010.pdf.

[83] Anders Fogh Rasmussen, "NATO Needs a Missile Defense," *New York Times*, October 12, 2010. However, in December 2010, a NATO-mandated industry advisory group reportedly concluded in an internal study that the cost could far exceed the early estimate. *Inside the Army* quoted the group's report as stating that "[w]hile NATO publicly envisages relatively benign cost for currently assumed territorial missile defence functionalities as add-on to the [existing theater-level missile defense] programme, it is obvious that a new, open [command-and-control] architecture approach will require a significant investment by NATO." "NATO Industry Report Says Missile Shield Cost Would Be 'Significant,'" *Inside the Army*, December 6, 2010.

[84] Kucukkosum, "Missile diplomacy latest test for US-NATO-Turk ties," op. cit.

[85] For a detailed discussion of AECA requirements respecting FMS and DCS, congressional options, and examples of congressional opposition to arms sales, see CRS Report RL31675, *Arms Sales: Congressional Review Process*, by Richard F. Grimmett. The congressional notice period is 30 days for FMS and DCS to non-NATO countries other than Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

[86] "Procurement, Turkey," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment - Eastern Mediterranean*, December 16, 2010. Previous potential sales of Reapers to NATO allies such as the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy were notified to Congress in 2008 and 2009 with the understanding that the drones would be used to support coalition operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

[87] Ibid. Turkey may still operate two General Atomics GNATs (low altitude, low endurance reconnaissance drones) from a larger purchase it made from the United States in the 1990s.

[88] Ibid.

[89] For more information, see CRS Report RL30563, *F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) Program: Background and Issues for Congress*, by Jeremiah Gertler.

[90] Umit Enginsoy and Burak Ege Bekdil, "Turkey May Buy Up to 116 F-35s: Defense Minister," *Defense News*, January 24, 2011.

[91] "Procurement, Turkey," op. cit.

[92] Umit Enginsoy and Burak Ege Bekdil, "Turkey: We'll Make Our Own Fighter Jet," *Defense News*, December 20, 2010.

[93] Ercan Yavuz, "Problems persist with the US on fighter planes," *Today's Zaman*, January 23, 2011.

[94] Ercan Yavuz, "Defense giants compete in Turkish tender for long-range missiles," *Today's Zaman*, January 2, 2011. According to this report, the tender would be for four missile defense batteries, with possibly two more to be jointly produced with Turkish partners. At least one battery would be stationed in Istanbul and one in Ankara. Ibid.

[95] As mentioned earlier in the report, this committee is made up of the Prime Minister, the Chief of the General Staff, the Minister of National Defense, and the head of the separate procurement agency known as the Undersecretariat for Defense Industries (SSM).

[96] Yavuz, "Defense giants compete in Turkish tender for long-range missiles," op. cit.

[97] Ibid. According to the article, Russia would reportedly offer its family of S-400 systems.

[98] "An Assessment on the Developments Affecting the Current State and Shaping the Future of Turkish Naval Forces," *Defence Turkey*, vol. 5, no. 24, 2010.

[99] Chris Zambelis, "Sino-Turkish Partnership: Implications of Anatolian Eagle 2010," *China Brief*, vol. 11, no. 1, January 2011, available at http://www.jamestown.org /single /?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=37369&tx_ttnews[backPid]=228&cHash=4b798b3435.

[100] Turkey and Russia entered into a number of defense cooperation agreements in 2005, including one focused on the Black Sea Naval Cooperation Task Group (BLACKSEAFOR) that involves all littoral Black Sea states (in addition to Turkey and Russia, this group includes Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia, and Ukraine). Russia, Turkey, and the other littoral states routinely participate in BLACKSEAFOR and Operation Black Sea Harmony exercises. "Armed forces, Turkey," op. cit. Turkey permits third-party-country naval access to the Black Sea through the Bosporus and Dardanelles Straits pursuant to the terms of the 1936 Montreux Convention, which can sometimes limit the size and volume of U.S. ships permitted to traverse the straits, as during the 2008 Russia-Georgia conflict.

[101] After Turkey signed a defense cooperation agreement with its former adversary Syria in 2002, the two countries held joint exercises in 2009 and 2010. Turkey's military also maintains close contacts and conducts joint exercises with Pakistan, as well as with smaller regional countries, such as Jordan, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

[102] Zambelis, op. cit.

[103] Kardas, "Davutoglu Outlines the Contours of the New Turkish Foreign Policy," op. cit.

[104] See, e.g., Guney, op. cit.

[105] Edward J. Erickson, "Turkey as Regional Hegemon—2014: Strategic Implications for the United States," *Turkish Studies*, vol. 5, no. 3, autumn 2004. Erickson is a retired Army Lieutenant Colonel who spent time stationed in Turkey and is now a professor at the U.S. Marine Corps University.

[106] The text of the CFE treaty is available at http://www.osce.org/library/14087. The text of an "Adapted CFE Treaty" that was signed by the parties to the original treaty (and, in some cases, their successors) at a 1999 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) summit but has not been ratified, along with the "Istanbul commitments" made by Russia and various other parties at the summit, is available at http://www.osce.org /mc/39569. Statements by Russia and NATO's North Atlantic Council relating to Russia's 2007 unilateral suspension of compliance with the treaty are available, respectively, at http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/text/docs/2007/07/137839.shtml and http://www.nato.int/cps /en /SID-C29803BD-11807257/natolive/official_texts_8439.htm.

[107] Michael Robert Hickok, "Hegemon Rising: The Gap Between Turkish Strategy and Military Modernization," *Parameters*, vol. 30, no. 2, Summer 2000. Hickok wrote that according to Torumtay's memoirs, he and other senior officers disagreed with the decision because they felt that Turkey "lacked the indigenous military capability to sustain an independent foreign policy that risked a prolonged confrontation with its neighbors." Ibid.

[108] Cameron S. Brown, "Turkey in the Gulf Wars of 1991 and 2003," *Turkish Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1, March 2007.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Umit Enginsoy, "Turkish defense exports to Mideast unaffected by revolts," *Hurriyet Daily News & Economic Review*, March 6, 2011.

[113] The primary source for all of the examples is "Procurement - Turkey," op. cit.

[114] For an analysis of this procurement case and of Turkey's sometimes-criticized attempts to combine foreign procurement efforts—in this case involving the United States, Italy, and Russia—with greater indigenization of production, see Saban Kardas, "Turkey Considers Procuring Russian or American Attack Helicopters," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, vol. 6, no. 116, June 17, 2009, available at http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1& tx_ttnews[tt_news]=35139.

[115] Jorge Benitez, "7 NATO members sign agreement for military transport aircraft," *acus.org/natosource,* April 7, 2011.

[116] Enginsoy, "Turkish defense exports to Mideast unaffected by revolts," op. cit.

[117] Burak Ege Bekdil and Umit Enginsoy, "Turkey's 1st MALE UAV Makes Test Flight," *Defense News*, January 3, 2011.

[118] "Turkey - Defence Industry," *Jane's World Defence Industry*, July 21, 2010. Other export destinations include Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Qatar. Enginsoy, "Turkish defense exports to Mideast unaffected by revolts," op. cit.

In: Encyclopedia of Turkey
Editor: Dennis Rivera
ISBN: 978-1-63482-757-7
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Chapter 2

TURKEY-KURDISH REGIONAL GOVERNMENT RELATIONS AFTER THE U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM IRAQ: PUTTING THE KURDS ON THE MAP?*

Bill Park

FOREWORD

When U.S. forces departed Iraq at the end of 2011, they left behind unresolved problems relating to that country's governance, notably concerning the relationship between the federal authority in Baghdad and the autonomous Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in the north. Today, disputes over the territorial delineation of the KRG remain a source of tension, while the discovery of significant reserves of oil and gas within and straddling the borders of the KRG has raised the stakes. Tensions have been heightened still further by the determination of the KRG authorities to pursue an energy policy independent of the central government. This has involved entering into lucrative energy exploration and exploitation agreements with a number of major energy companies, among them the U.S.-based ExxonMobil and Chevron, and moving ahead with an energy partnership with neighboring Turkey involving the construction of direct pipelines across their shared border. Baghdad regards these activities as illegal, and fears that they could be a precursor to Kurdish independence and a break-up of the country. Baghdad also resents Turkey's role in these developments, which has added to the tensions between these two countries that had already emerged as a result of the increasing authoritarianism and Shia sectarianism of the Iraqi government of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki.

This chapter, authored by Mr. Bill Park, seeks to explore the ramifications of these developments, both for the region and for U.S. policy and interests. Turkey is a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ally, Iraq is a legacy of U.S. policy, and Washington was, in many ways, the midwife for the KRG's initial emergence and subsequent growth. Furthermore, U.S. energy companies are now centrally involved in the evolution of the region

* This is an edited, reformatted and augmented version of a monograph, funded by the U.S. Army War College External Research Associates Program. It was originally issued by the Strategic Studies Institute, March 2014.

and its relationships. Thus, the United States cannot remain indifferent to the march of events in and around Iraq and, whether it likes it or not, will be held at least partly responsible for the outcome. While this chapter makes a contribution to the ongoing debate about the legacy of the past U.S. approach to Iraq, it also performs the valuable service of bringing up to date developments in the region subsequent to the U.S. military withdrawal. To that end, the chapter throws the recent Syrian uprising into the mix. This has intensified sectarian divisions in the Middle East, further pitted Ankara against Baghdad, and additionally raised the specter of the Kurdish question. It has also brought about the deployment of NATO Patriot anti-air batteries into Turkey's southeast, and thrown an additional spotlight on Washington's relationship with its NATO ally, Turkey.

Syria's Kurds are currently seeking to carve an autonomous zone out of that country's chaos, which has aroused the interest of Iraq's Kurds and is profoundly worrying the Turks. Ankara fears that a Syrian Kurdish zone could serve as a refuge and base for the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), weaken the opposition to Assad, complicate any post-Assad settlement in Syria, and altogether make it harder to keep a lid on its own Kurdish problem. Indeed, Ankara's latest effort to resolve its domestic Kurdish difficulties is surely linked to events in neighboring Syria and Iraq. Thus, Mr. Park's chapter is also a study of the geopolitical ramifications of a Kurdish bid for self-determination, and offers insight into the current struggle in Syria.

Mr. Park's timely chapter addresses a plethora of issues that are vital to a range of U.S. interests, and to the debate over the legacy and purposes of U.S. policy.

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SUMMARY

The withdrawal of U.S. combat forces from Iraq at the end of 2011 left behind a set of unresolved problems in the relationship between the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), and the Federal Government in Baghdad—notably relating to the disputed boundaries of the KRG, and the extent of its autonomy. Tensions have since been compounded by the discovery of significant quantities of oil and gas in the KRG area, and Erbil's pursuit of an energy policy independent of and in opposition to Baghdad. Turkey, uneasy with the increasingly sectarian and authoritarian flavor of the Shia-dominated government in Baghdad, has since moved closer to the KRG, not least with respect to energy issues. This has deepened Turkish-Iraqi tensions still further.

Added to the mix is the increasingly sectarian stand-off in the region as a whole, in large measure as a consequence of Syrian developments, which has further pitted Ankara against Baghdad and its ally, Iran; and the emergence of a bid for autonomy by Syria's Kurds, which has complicated the stance of both Ankara and Erbil towards Syria and towards each other. Washington is in danger of being left behind by the fast-paced events in the region, while the ethnic Kurds of the region may be approaching a decisive moment in their long struggle for self-determination.

INTRODUCTION

During a question-and-answer session with bureau chiefs in Ankara in early February 2013, the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey Francis J. Riccardione referred to "a lot of divergence" between Washington and Ankara with respect to policy towards Iraq.[1] In this, he was reflecting a growing and increasingly transparent U.S. unease with the close relationship that has evolved between the Turkish government on the one hand and the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) of northern Iraq on the other, coupled with and not unrelated to the ever-more fraught relationships that each has with Iraq's central government in Baghdad. Ambassador Riccardione expressed American fears that, "if Turkey and Iraq fail to optimize their economic relations. . . . There could be more violent conflict in Iraq and the forces of disintegration within Iraq could be emboldened." He declared that "a strong Iraqi-Turkish relationship" would be the "optimum outcome" not only for Iraq and Turkey, but for the United States and for the entire region. As a treaty ally of Turkey, friend of the KRG, and as "a partner and non-treaty ally with Iraq," a closer relationship between Turkey and the whole of Iraq is very much an American interest too, and Riccardione made it clear that Washington is endeavoring to persuade Ankara, Baghdad, and the KRG of the mutual benefits of such an outcome. Washington would not interfere or act as an intermediary, but it would "offer confidence and support." The ambassador concluded that, together, Ankara, Baghdad, and Erbil (the KRG's capital) "will profit very greatly. Separately, there are great risks and great dangers."[2]

Energy issues featured strongly in Riccardione's remarks, as they do in the three-way Ankara-Erbil-Baghdad relationship. As a necessary means to achieve what he insisted are the shared interests of all three, he asserted that it is vital that Iraq's feuding political factions agree on a federal hydrocarbons law that would set the terms for the development of Iraq's rich energy resources, and for the distribution of its proceeds. This would give impetus to Iraq's still-shaky economic reconstruction and political stability, and would enable Turkey to have access not just to the estimated 20 percent of Iraq's oil and gas that is located in the Kurdish region, but to the resources of the entire country. It would also enable Turkey to "become a strategic alternative, for all of Iraq, to the straits of Hormuz in getting Iraqi oil and gas out to world markets."[3] This in turn would require the construction of new pipelines that could carry energy from Iraq's fields directly into Turkey, and would reduce vulnerability to any disruption of the "strategic chokepoint" of Hormuz. Turkey and all Iraqis would be the beneficiaries. Indeed, Turkish businesses of all kinds would benefit from greater access to the entire Iraqi economy.

However, the ambassador's comments appear more wishful thinking than realistic analysis. Ankara-Baghdad relations have gone from bad to worse since the end of 2011 with the U.S. military withdrawal from Iraq. Riccardione's comments, which accurately reflect both the perspective and anguish that currently characterizes Washington's view of Iraq, were delivered against the background of yet another ill-tempered exchange of insults between Ankara and Baghdad, in which Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu accused Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki of "trying to cover up his failure" by again alleging that Turkey was interfering in Iraq's domestic affairs.[4] Erbil-Baghdad relations have also deteriorated since the end of 2011. Within days of the sensitive Ankara-Baghdad exchange, the Iraqi parliament failed to agree on a national budget as a consequence of differences with

Erbil over payments to the KRG for its oil production, a spat rooted in the absence of an agreed national framework for the development of Iraq's hydrocarbons sector.[5] In fact, and notwithstanding Washington's preferences, there is little prospect of a new Iraqi hydrocarbons law appearing over the horizon. Progress on this stalled over 6 years ago, due chiefly to disagreements between Baghdad and Erbil, and in 2007 the KRG pushed ahead with its own hydrocarbons legislation.[6] Within days of Riccardione's warning, Iran delivered a similar message—not to risk the break-up of Iraq by developing too close a relationship with Turkey—to a visiting delegation from the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which is the closest to Iran of the KRG's two ruling parties.[7] There appears to be a surprising degree of alignment between Washington and Tehran with respect to Iraq—a point made by Turkish Ambassador to the U.S. Namik Tan when he noted that "the rhetoric of the U.S. sometimes resembles that of Iran."[8] Washington thus finds itself more in tune with the perspective of an increasingly centralized, authoritarian, sectarian, and Iranian-aligned regime in Baghdad than with those of its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ally Turkey or of Erbil.

In fact, alongside or subsequent to the withdrawal of U.S. combat troops from Iraq at the end of 2011, there have been a number of developments which, taken together, are profoundly altering the three-way relationship between Turkey, the KRG, and the federal government in Baghdad. One of these developments is the remarkable transformation of the relationship between Turkey and the KRG. The shift from Ankara's earlier hostile approach to Erbil towards a close economic, political, and even strategic embrace of the KRG began to emerge in 2008-09, before the U.S. troop withdrawal, and has since gathered additional momentum. A second development has been the pronounced cooling of the relationship between Ankara and Baghdad's Shia-dominated government. This is largely a consequence of the increasing centralization of power in Maliki's hands specifically, and Ankara's belief that Maliki's actions are serving only to destabilize and divide Iraq further. Turkey is also uneasy at the extent of Iranian influence in Baghdad.

Perhaps more predictably, the relationship between Erbil and Baghdad has further deteriorated since 2011. Iraq's 2005 constitution, largely drawn up under the supervision of U.S. officials, left numerous loose ends in place. Most notably, both the degree and nature of Erbil's autonomy from Baghdad and the future of the so-called "disputed territories," including the oil-bearing city of Kirkuk but also tracing much of the entire border, or "green line," between Arab Iraq and the KRG, were left decidedly vague. Yet these territories are largely under Kurdish control, in part as an outcome of the relationship between U.S. forces and the Kurds in the immediate aftermath of the 2003 invasion. Iraqis have proven to be incapable of resolving these differences. Indeed, the differences have deepened. The KRG's energetic attempt to develop its energy resources has further inflamed the atmosphere. Erbil has entered exploration agreements with energy majors including U.S. based ExxonMobil and Chevron as well as Anglo-Turkish Genel Energy, French Total, and Russia's Gazprom Neft.[9] Baghdad regards these deals as illegal, as it does Erbil's export of limited amounts of crude oil by truck. Turkey has taken Erbil's side in this dispute. Indeed, Ankara and Erbil are cooperating on the construction of new energy pipelines which will transport the KRG's oil and gas directly to Turkey, potentially bypassing the existing Baghdad-controlled pipeline infrastructure. If implemented, these developments will surely enhance the KRG's scope for de facto economic and indeed political independence from Baghdad. Ankara's readiness to facilitate Erbil's dynamic energy policy has further contributed to the deterioration of its relationship with the federal government in Baghdad. The energy factor has become key to

Ankara-Erbil, Erbil-Baghdad, and Ankara-Baghdad relations, and serves to intertwine each of these relationships.

The final key development of note that has occurred since the U.S. military withdrawal from Iraq and that also threatens Ankara-Erbil-Baghdad relationships relates to the so-called Arab Awakening, and particularly its manifestation in Syria. Turkey reacted to the increasingly fierce crackdown against the opposition in Syria by lending its weight to calls for the overthrow of the Damascus, Syria, regime, a move that Damascus; Baghdad; and Tehran, Iran, have been inclined to interpret in sectarian terms. As the Syrian revolt intensified, Turkey's concerns focused increasingly on the Kurds of northern Syria. Largely under the guidance of the Democratic Union Party (*Partiya Yekitiya Demokrat*—PYD), which Turkey believes is aligned with its own separatist Kurdish Workers Party (*Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan*—PKK), Syria's Kurds have established a degree of self-rule in those areas in which they constitute the majority. Ankara fears this could offer an additional springboard for Kurdish terrorist attacks into Turkey, and that it might further complicate its relationship with its own Kurdish population. Furthermore, Syria's Kurds have kept their distance from the main Syrian Arab opposition due to its reluctance to agree to Kurdish autonomy in a post-Assad Syria. The Iraqi Kurdish leadership, at least in the form of its President Massoud Barzani, shares Ankara's mistrust of the PYD, although it favors Syrian Kurdish self-determination. In short, Syrian developments have underscored the sectarian dimension to Ankara-Baghdad relations, and have further highlighted the anomolous position of the region's Kurds.

These still evolving developments, and their interconnectedness, contain potentially serious implications for Washington's regional policies and interests. The United States generally enjoys close relationships with Ankara, Erbil, and Baghdad—the KRG has surely been the most pro-American entity in the region—and will be hard pressed to avoid entanglement in the complexities of their interactions. Some doubt that Baghdad and Erbil can resolve their differences without external mediation, which Washington is best placed to provide. KRG energy minister Ashti Hawrami has called on the United States to mediate the hydrocarbons row between Baghdad and Erbil.[10] Furthermore, considerable political and moral hazard is lurking in Washington's postures towards the two governments. Driven by its fears for Iraq's stability and territorial integrity, the U.S. tilt towards Baghdad is exasperating its Iraqi Kurdish friends and Turkey, and puts it in opposition to the commercial behavior of some of its own energy majors. Nor can Washington expect to evade some political and moral responsibility for the territorial tensions between Erbil and Baghdad. Operations PROVİDE COMFORT and NORTHERN WATCH, the U.S.-led no fly zones over northern Iraq that commenced in 1991, helped create the opportunity for the formation of the KRG, while the U.S.-led overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003 was highly instrumental in enabling Erbil to consolidate its autonomy and viability. Washington presided over the drawing up of Iraq's 2005 Constitution, and the subsequent course of the relationship between Iraq's Kurdish and Arab components suggest that it might not be easy for the United States to detach itself from the unresolved territorial and governance issues it left in place.

Furthermore, the legacy of U.S. material and sometimes moral support for Turkey's military campaign against the PKK, and its palpable unease with the possible course of Kurdish self-determination in Iraq, can also appear to pit Washington against minority rights in the region.[11] Any post-Assad Sunni regime that could emerge out of the present chaos in Syria could well turn on its Christian, Druze, and Allawite as well as its Kurdish minorities,

adding further scope for acute embarrassment to the mix. It is impossible to hit the right diplomatic note given the region's current turmoil and tensions, but Washington needs to be on guard lest its policies towards—or perhaps its exhaustion with and neglect of—this interlocking set of issues in advertantly strengthen authoritarian and in some instances anti-American regimes in the region, add to sectarian divisions, undermine the development of Iraq's energy industry taken as a whole, upset its best friends in the area, and permit unresolved issues to build up pressures that could explode into violence.

TURKEY AND THE KRG

Massoud Barzani, President of the KRG and leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), one of the two leading Iraqi Kurdish parties that have carved up governance of the KRG between them, has over the years repeatedly referred to his aspiration for a fully independent Iraqi Kurdish state.[12] Until relatively recently such comments were greeted with fury in Ankara, where Barzani was famously dismissed as a "tribal chieftain." The deep Turkish unease at the very existence of the KRG, which could be a precursor of a sovereign Kurdish state; the impact this could have on Turkey's own unsettled Kurds; and the belief that the KRG was enabling cross border raids into Turkey by PKK fighters based in the Iraqi Kurdish mountains, have in the past all fed Ankara's hostility. The enlargement of the KRG's territory to incorporate oil-rich Kirkuk was also a Turkish "red line," as it was feared this could vastly improve the viability of an independent Kurdish state. Turkey also championed the Turkmen population of Kirkuk in order to muddy Kurdish claims to the region.[13] Ankara shunned direct contact with the Iraqi Kurdish leadership. Indeed, former (2000-07) Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer even went so far as to refuse to receive his Iraqi counterpart, Jalal Talabani, on the grounds of his concurrent leadership of Iraqi Kurdistan's other major political party, the PUK.[14]

Some leading figures in Turkey's policymaking elite grew increasingly frustrated by this situation. They recognized that the KRG had become a fixture in the region, that it had Washington's blessing, and that its cooperation would be useful in Turkey's struggle with the PKK, given the latter's use of bases located within KRG territory. Furthermore, Turkey's decades-old militarized approach to its domestic Kurdish problem had not succeeded and showed few signs of doing so. They were also frustrated with the slow political progress in Baghdad and, as time passed, its uncertain political sympathies and alignments. Murat Ozcelik, who had served as Ankara's Special Envoy to Iraq until his appointment as Ambassador to Baghdad in 2009, was one such player. There were circles within Turkey's National Intelligence Organization (*Milli Istibahrat Teskilati*, or MIT), such as Emre Taner who became head of the organization in 2005, who similarly sought a change in Ankara's approach. In Erbil, too, some key players were increasingly writing off Baghdad as either an effective or benign political partner, and were on the lookout for alternative sponsors. President Massoud's nephew and now the KRG's prime minister, Nechirvan Barzani, and Barham Salih of the PUK were early proponents of rapprochement with Turkey.[15]

On both sides, such rethinking was given additional impetus as U.S. military withdrawal from Iraq approached. However, nationalist sentiment in Turkey, embraced by many in its ruling Justice and Development Party (JDP) as well as in the bureaucracy and the population

at large, made any such policy shift difficult to effect. Chief of the General Staff Yasar Buyukanit (from 2006 until August 2008) was a formidable obstacle to any significant reconsideration of Turkish policy towards the KRG. In contrast, his successor, General Ilker Basbug, shared some of the frustrations of the "forward group" in Ankara and proved far more amenable to a change of tack.[16] More recently, the military's fall from grace as a political player in Ankara, as a consequence of ongoing investigations into its past political activities and of the JDP's unprecedented dominance of the Turkish political scene, have in any case downgraded its capacity to influence Turkish policy.

Yet into 2007 and beyond, the predominant sentiment in Ankara was that the KRG was harboring PKK terrorists and that if neither Erbil or Washington would act against the PKK in their northern Iraqi hideouts, then Turkish forces should be unleashed against them, as they had been throughout the 1990s. Matters came to a head in late-2007 when a PKK attack launched from across the Iraqi border resulted in the deaths of 13 Turkish soldiers. Given the highly charged Turkish atmosphere that ensued, the administration of George W. Bush saw little option but to give the green light to a resumption of cross-border air and ground raids by Turkish security forces, and to facilitate them with the provision of real-time intelligence.[17] Turkey had been denied this option since the 2003 invasion had landed Washington with responsibility for Iraq's security. With the November 2007 understanding, the post-invasion downturn in U.S.-Turkey relations came to an end, and the relationship has been on an upswing almost continuously since. More immediately, however, a substantial Turkish ground incursion in February 2008, named Operation SUN (*Gunes)*, produced a confrontation with Iraqi Kurdish forces and American pleas to limit the scale and duration of the operation.[18] Barzani, suspecting the real target was the KRG itself, threatened armed retaliation against Turkish forces.[19] Accompanied by unconvincing denials that it was as a consequence of American pressure, the Turkish force somewhat precipitously withdrew. The PKK remained intact and may even have been emboldened. These events may have further convinced Ankara of the desirability of engaging with Erbil rather than seeking to intimidate it.[20]

Following informal contacts with Barzani in late-2008, the first high level contact he had had with Turkish officials in 4 years, Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu's October 2009 visit to Erbil paved the way for an intense round of diplomacy and high level visits between Turkey and the Kurdish "quasi-state,"[21] leading to the opening of a Turkish consulate in Erbil in 2010. The relationship has subsequently been fully cemented. As just one indication of how Turkey's recalibration of its approach has gone, in his Kurdish New Year (*Newroz)* address delivered in March 2012, Barzani once again hinted that the time for Iraqi Kurdish self-determination might be drawing closer. He cited the factional infighting in Baghdad and the disregard there of Iraq's constitution, not least with regard to the resolution of the disputed territories.[22] Article 140 of Iraq's 2005 Constitution, which promised the holding of a census and referendum on Kirkuk's future, has not been implemented. The referendum was initially earmarked to take place in 2007, but has been put off indefinitely by Baghdad. Most observers anticipate that a referendum would confirm the desire of a majority of the region's inhabitants to be incorporated into the KRG. For Barzani, Baghdad's obstructiveness on this issue now combined with Maliki's undemocratic, sectarian, centralizing, and unconstitutional behavior, to encourage a reconsideration of the Kurdish commitment to Iraq's territorial integrity and federative structure.[23]

Yet Barzani's comments provoked barely a murmur from Ankara. In fact, in April, just weeks after he made them, he was given the red carpet treatment during a trip to Turkey, where he met with the Republic's president, prime minister, foreign minister and intelligence chief. So far has the relationship now travelled that 2 years later, in the autumn of 2012, President Barzani was an honored guest at Turkey's ruling JDP convention. It is evident that Ankara has come to regard Barzani in particular as a trusted partner and as a leader with political and personal integrity and deep roots in his community.[24] Enthusiasts for the relationship on the Kurdish side, such as KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani, now use the term "strategic" to describe their relationship.[25] Turkey's once menacing policy of keeping the KRG at arms lengths has melted away. Ankara seems to have dissolved some of its own "red lines."

There are additional factors behind this paradigm shift in Ankara's relationship with the KRG. The growth of cross-border trade predated the improvement in the political atmosphere, and dates back at least to the lifting of sanction on Iraq following the overthrow of the Ba'athist regime. Although available figures vary slightly, trade with the KRG now accounts for well over half of Turkey's trade with Iraq as a whole, which is Turkey's second or third largest trading partner. Up to 80 percent of Turkish exports to Iraq are to the KRG, and around 80 percent of consumer goods available in the KRG are of Turkish origin. Tens of thousands of Turkish citizens work or have established businesses in Kurdish Iraq, many of them Turkish Kurds. Indeed, the potential economic benefits of the KRG's booming economy to Turkey's impoverished and predominantly Kurdish-inhabited southeast is not lost on Turkey's ruling JDP, which is engaged in a competition for votes in the region with the pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (*Baris ve Demokrasi Partisi*—BDP). Almost half of all businesses established in the KRG originate in Turkey. Turkish companies are heavily engaged in construction, engineering, transportation, retail, banking, other areas of the service sector, and, of course, energy. Turkish religious groups have established schools and a university in the region.

Turkish foreign policy has followed its trade patterns and reflects the importance Turkey's current government attaches to "soft power" as an instrument or precursor to its influence. It also constitutes an expression of Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu's "zero problems" and dialogue-based approach to neighborhood diplomacy. Indeed, his May 2009 elevation to that post was itself a factor in Turkey's apparent paradigm shift in its approach to the KRG, although he was already a prime foreign policy mover in his former position as Prime Minister Erdogan's foreign policy advisor. All in all, the KRG is on the way to becoming part of a Turkish "near abroad," politically and economically. Some might regard this as a manifestation of Turkey's "neo-Ottoman" bid to establish itself as a key regional player.

Ankara has also come to appreciate that prospects for its struggle with the PKK and for its bid to win the hearts and minds of Turkey's Kurdish voters might be enhanced by Erbil's cooperation. In his April 2012 trip to Turkey, Barzani reiterated his frequently-voiced call for the PKK to end its armed campaign, promised to pressure the PKK to end its cross-border raids into Turkey, and declared that he "will not allow the PKK to prevail in the [KRG] region"[26]—all music to Ankara's ears, although it was hardly the first time Turks have heard such utterances from Iraq's Kurdish leaders. Both the PKK and the BDP immediately warned Barzani against involving himself in Turkey's Kurdish problem on behalf of Ankara, seeking to downplay the impact his intervention might have.[27] Barzani and other Iraqi Kurdish leaders

have also declared their support for the dialogue between Ankara and Turkey's Kurds that has emerged in recent months. This follows the failure of the 2009 initiative to address politically Turkey's Kurdish problem that, by 2011, had run into the ground.[28] The more recent effort has involved engaging with the jailed PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan, but Turkey presumably hopes that the soothing words of Iraq's Kurdish leaders will also hold some sway.

For its part, the KRG leadership certainly wishes to minimize the PKK's provocations against Ankara (and Tehran) launched from KRG territory, and to see an end to Turkey's raids into KRG territory in pursuit of PKK targets. It has long been a Turkish demand that the KRG authorities take military steps to expel or weaken the PKK fighters based in northern Iraq, and the Iraqi Kurdish failure to comply has for just as long been a source of frustration to Turkey. However, Ankara now appears to have concluded that it is unreasonable to expect the KRG to be willing or even able to physically confront PKK forces in their remote hideouts in the Kandil Mountains of northern Iraq. Iraqi Kurdish appeals to the PKK to end violence, their silence in the face of Turkey's cross border raids, and any intelligence and other assistance made available to Turkey's security forces, now seem to be sufficient if not entirely satisfactory to Ankara.[29]

TURKEY AND BAGHDAD

Along with Barzani, Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki was also invited to the JDP's autumn 2012 convention. Unlike Barzani, Maliki chose not to attend, which symbolized the cooling of the Ankara-Baghdad relationship. This is not a development Ankara had intended. Even as it moved closer to Erbil, Ankara's overall stance towards Iraq remained what it had been since 2003—to shore up Baghdad, partly in order to minimize the scope for Iraqi Kurdish independence, but also in the hope of stabilizing Iraq and countering Iranian influence there. From the very beginning, Ankara regarded full Sunni Arab engagement with Iraq's political reconstruction as a vital means to these ends. Thus, it was instrumental in limiting the Sunni boycott of the 2005 elections, and in coaxing Sunni participation in the 2009 provincial and 2010 parliamentary elections in Iraq. Ankara had since 2003 sought to cultivate relationships with all the country's factions, including the Sadr Movement, which although Shia and close to Iran is also lukewarm towards Maliki and in favor of greater Shia-Sunni unity in Iraq. In 2008, Ankara and Maliki's first government agreed to establish a High Level Strategic Cooperation Council, and bilateral trade and political dialogue between the two capitals grew apace. In the 2010 elections, Ankara's preference for the Ayad Allawi's al-Iraqiya non-sectarian bloc was clear, perhaps inadvisably so, given the eventual outcome. Although Allawi's bloc gained the (marginally) largest share of the popular vote and of parliamentary seats and did indeed attract large Sunni but also Shia and even Turkmen support, it was Maliki who eventually emerged at the head of a coalition government in December 2010. Turkey's aim was to encourage power-sharing, good governance, economic reconstruction, and stability in Iraq, not to favor one faction over another. Furthermore, its Iraq policy fitted with its wider endeavor to forge a more active and cooperative role in the region.[30]

Yet, despite these efforts, by January 2012 Maliki was condemning Turkey's "interference" in Iraq's affairs after Prime Minister Erdogan had warned him against stoking

sectarian divisions in the country. Erdogan's intervention had been prompted by the attempted arrest of Iraqi's Sunni Vice-President Tariq al-Hashemi on the very day that U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta was overseeing the formal end of the American military presence in Iraq. The war of words between Baghdad and Ankara continued to deteriorate, particularly once Hashemi was granted protection by Turkey, after first receiving sanctuary in Iraqi Kurdistan.[31] Maliki described Turkey as "hostile" towards Iraq and accused Ankara of pursuing a sectarian agenda.[32] For his part, Hashemi declared that "hopes for early political solutions no longer exist" in Iraq,[33] for which he laid the blame at Maliki's door. Turkey's perspective accords with Hashemi's. Hashemi has also insisted that the refuge Ankara had offered him was based not on sectarian considerations but as a result of Turkey's commitment to Iraqi democratization.[34] He subsequently has been given five death sentences in absentia by Iraqi courts on terrorism charges.

Relations between Ankara and Baghdad have since progressively deteriorated. In January 2012, the Turkish Embassy in Baghdad was subjected to a rocket attack. In May 2012, Baghdad called in Turkey's ambassador to protest that Turkey's Basra and Mosul consuls were meddling in Iraq's domestic politics.[35] In July 2012, Baghdad even threatened to report Turkey to the United Nations (UN) Security Council for violations of Iraqi airspace as a consequence of Turkish air strikes against PKK targets within the KRG area, an activity which Iraq had hitherto generally tolerated.[36] Similarly, in October 2012, Baghdad raised the issue of the presence of Turkish military bases on Iraqi soil, albeit within the KRG zone, an arrangement which had long been tolerated by successive Iraqi governments.[37] Baghdad even considered deploying non-Kurdish Iraqi troops on the border with Turkey in order to obstruct Turkish ground incursions.[38] There have also been persistent rumors that Erdogan promised Barzani that Turkey would offer protection to the KRG in the event of an attack by Baghdad's forces.[39] The war of words between Ankara and Baghdad has been given additional impetus by other developments in the region, notably Turkey's burgeoning energy relationship with the KRG and events in Syria.

Maliki's move against Hashemi, which included the arrest or marginalization of other leading Sunni politicians, appeared in Ankara as a challenge to power sharing and pluralism in Iraq, which Ankara sees as offering the best hope for political stability in the country; and as a Shia—and perhaps indirectly Iranian—bid for power and predominance in Iraq. Ankara had long been anxious about Maliki's centralizing, authoritarian, and seemingly sectarian inclinations. Maliki has progressively subverted or bypassed the governing institutions put in place since 2003, and has concentrated power in his own hands by, for example, placing the military, the paramilitary special forces, and Iraq's national intelligence forces under his direct control.[40] Ankara has also remained close to some of Iraq's Sunni elements, including those like Hashemi who had come to favor greater regional autonomy in Iraq as a counterweight to Maliki's increasing autocracy.[41] Nor is Turkey happy about the degree of influence it believes Iran wields in Maliki's Iraq. In this context, the arrest warrant for Hashemi represented something of a last straw for Turkey. Turkish "zero problem" diplomacy had collided with Iraq's fractious, fragile, and sectarian politics, although trade relations between the two neighbors have continued to prosper.

ERBIL-BAGHDAD RELATIONS

More predictable has been the continuing tension between Erbil and Baghdad. Although the Kurdish bloc had supported Maliki in preference to Ayad Allawi's bid to head the government and has held on to key, if increasingly notional, federal government posts (most notably Jalal Talabani's incumbency as president and Hoshyar Zebari's as foreign minister) before long there was mounting Kurdish frustration with the Maliki government's disregard for the power-sharing foundation stone of the coalition and for the provisions of the constitution. In fact, Barzani had played a key role in brokering the November 2010 deal, known as the "Erbil Agreement" that led to Maliki's second spell as prime minister. This obliged Maliki to sign up to a 15-point list specifically designed to limit his accretion of power, a trend that had already been amply demonstrated during his spell as prime minister before the March 2010 elections. Maliki has subsequently almost entirely ignored the terms of this agreement, although at the time of this writing, it has as yet proved impossible to put together enough support for a no-confidence vote in Iraq's Council of Representatives. Barzani has repeatedly condemned Maliki's centralization of power and has especially singled out his increasing domination of federal Iraq's security apparatus. He has criticized Washington's readiness to supply arms to Iraq's military, especially F-16s, which Barzani fears could be used against the Kurds, and has explicitly supported autonomous arrangements for Iraq's Sunni provinces.[42] Barzani's April 2012 and subsequent threats to hold a referendum on Kurdish independence are a response to Maliki's autocratic tendencies as much as or more than they are a reflection of ultimate Kurdish aspirations.

Since the KRG came into being, a major source of difference with Baghdad has been the KRG's claim that the governorate of Kirkuk and other heavily Kurdish populated areas along the "Green Line" border with the remainder of Iraq should be attached to the KRG. The entry of the Kurdish *peshmerga* into many of these areas ahead of or alongside U.S. troops in 2003, where for the most part they remain, appeared to enhance Kurdish prospects of success, as did the strong Kurdish political, administrative, economic, and security presence that was soon established in these "disputed" territories. Article 140 of the 2005 Constitution, which the Kurds played a major role in devising and Sunni Arabs almost none, undertook to "normalize" the disputed areas by reversing earlier "Arabization" programs. Recently settled Arabs would be encouraged to return to their places of origin and displaced Kurds and other minorities would be allowed to return. This was to be followed by a census, which would pave the way for a referendum to be held by December 2007. Exactly which territories were disputed and who had the right of return was left vague. In any case, the federal government holds the responsibility for implementing these measures, and it has shown itself unwilling to do so. Neither Erbil nor Baghdad appears likely to back down on its claim to these mixed population areas.

Tensions between Kurds and local Arab, Turkmen, and other ethnic groups in Kirkuk, the surrounding countryside, and other disputed territories of mixed demographic makeup remain high. Peace was initially maintained by joint U.S. Army, Iraqi Army, and Kurdish *peshmerga* patrols, but cooperation broke down in the wake of the American withdrawal. In the absence of U.S. forces, the risk of direct confrontation between the Kurdish security forces and those of other ethnic groups or the federal government has become serious.[43] The disputed areas remain a flashpoint, as most recently evidenced by the violent clash between the Kurdish

peshmerga and Baghdad's Djila, or Tigris, Operational Command. This unit was formed by Maliki in mid-2012 in his capacity as Iraq's Commander-in-Chief and justified on the basis of the requirement to provide security in and around Kirkuk—or to provide protection to Arab and other non-Kurdish communities from Kurdish forces in the area. This move was interpreted by the Kurds as a challenge to their position, and they demanded the force to be removed and disbanded. The *pershmerga* presence in the region was augmented. A three-star U.S. General was highly instrumental in defusing the tension, but Kurdish and Iraqi federal forces remain in place and confronting each other,[44] as they do on the Syrian border following a confrontation there in July 2012.[45]

Maliki argues that federal Iraqi forces have the right and responsibility to ensure security for all Iraqis throughout the country, including in the disputed territories and along Iraq's international borders. This stance helps swing Arab nationalist opinion, Sunni as well as Shia, to his side. Furthermore, Kurdish uncertainties about the outcome of a referendum, and differences between the KDP and the PUK as to which of them might take the lead role in various of the claimed areas, has in practice dampened Kurdish urgency. Furthermore, studies conducted by the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), which commenced in December 2007 but whose findings were never made public, largely served to muddy the more maximalist Kurdish demands.[46] As a consequence of these factors, no referendum has been held, and the territories remain "disputed'—or, as Barzani and other Kurds prefer to call them, "detached." Yet there has been little tempering of Kurdish rhetoric in support of their territorial claims, and Maliki's unwillingness to deliver the constitutional promises has been a major factor in Barzani's increasing frustration with Baghdad. The Kurds' best opportunity to seize Kirkuk and other disputed territories for themselves was in 2003 in the immediate aftermath of the U.S.-led invasion. Now, in the absence of a referendum, the KRG cannot acquire them by peaceful means and, with the passage of time, the capacity of Baghdad's security forces to deny any forceful Kurdish acquisition of the territories may grow. Mooted U.S. arms sales will further enhance Baghdad's relative and absolute military capacity vis-á-vis Erbil. The territorial issue remains a potential flashpoint.

In June 2013, Maliki paid a visit to Erbil in the latest attempt to patch up the government's multifaceted quarrel with the Kurds in the north. Barzani described these talks as the "last chance" to resolve the differences between Erbil and Baghdad, and once again appeared to threaten Kurdish secession should they fail.[47] The visit resulted in the establishment of seven joint committees to address the energy, budgetary, territorial, border crossing responsibilities, and other differences that have brought Baghdad and Erbil to the brink of armed conflict.[48] The issues look intractable, and there seems to be little likelihood of an early agreement, if any agreement at all.

THE ENERGY NEXUS: A GAME CHANGER?[49]

Kirkuk lies at the center of what was once Iraq's biggest oil and gas field and has been heavily exploited since its discovery in the 1920s and neglected as a consequence of the more recent conflicts and sanctions. It nevertheless continues to hold considerable reserves. The twin pipelines that transport oil from Kirkuk to the Turkish Mediterranean port at Ceyhan are controlled by the federal Iraqi government. Repeatedly sabotaged, they are currently

operating far below capacity and are in dire need of refurbishment. Although the Kurds have insisted that their claim to Kirkuk and the surrounding countryside derives from its historical association with ethnic Kurds and the current demographic balance, Iraq's Arabs and—in the past—Turkey have been inclined to interpret the Kurdish claim to the region as a bid to ensure the economic wherewithal for greater independence.

The current constitutionally-sanctioned arrangement is that the KRG receives 17 percent of Iraq's national budget, which is roughly in line with the KRG's percentage share of Iraq's population. As part of this arrangement, any earnings from oil and gas fields within the KRG's territory should be transferred to Iraq's national budget. In practice, the arrangement has been fraught with difficulty. In continuing disputes over both the KRG's deliveries of energy and over Baghdad's liability to pay, Baghdad has repeatedly suspended payment, and Erbil has just as repeatedly suspended deliveries. Erbil's resort to trucking oil, at below market prices, across its borders into Turkey and Iran as a consequence of the payments dispute cannot serve as a long-term export solution for the KRG, and even less so for those companies that are or soon will be in a position to bring oil to the surface from the substantial fields that have been newly discovered within the KRG's borders. In any case, Baghdad regards these exports as illegal. Any payments that Baghdad does make to Erbil—as a result of an agreement made in September 2012, for example, but one that soon collapsed—are intended to cover the costs of exploration and production in the KRG's new fields, but not the profits of the oil companies there.

It is believed by the KRG that Baghdad should be content with the dynamic approach adopted by Erbil to the exploration and exploitation of new oil and gas fields in territory under Kurdish control. Iraq's total national revenue would increase as the north's energy resources are exploited and exported. However, Erbil insists that it has the legal right to initiate the development of new fields within the areas it controls, and has signed around 50 so-called Production Sharing Contracts (PSCs) with energy companies, most of them small. The terms on offer theoretically permit the international energy companies operating in the KRG to retain around 20 percent of the profits, as opposed to the 1 or 2 percent that Iraq's fee-per-barrel-of-oil-produced service contracts might typically yield. The estimates of energy reserves in the KRG area has substantially increased since Erbil decided to enter into its own exploration agreements, and, when combined with the investment-friendly KRG operating environment, there has been no shortage of international energy companies prepared to take a risk against the uncertain political environment. Indeed, although such estimates are notoriously varying and contingent, it is possible and even likely that around 30 percent of Iraq's oil reserves lie in the Kurdish north of the country. If correct, the KRG alone would be the world's 10th most oil-rich country (Iraq as a whole ranks second), roughly on a par with Nigeria or Libya. Its actual production could very soon match that of Azerbaijan.

However, Baghdad's interpretation of Iraq's ambiguous and vague Constitution is that, as the federal government, it alone has the right to enter into negotiations with international energy companies concerning the exploitation of Iraqi national resources. In part, then, Iraq's energy disputes can essentially be seen as disputes about the nature of the country's federal arrangements and the degree of its decentralization—or even about Kurdish secession altogether. Baghdad's suspicions are strengthened by the fact that some of the PSCs Erbil has negotiated cover territory that it controls but that lie within the disputed territories rather than within the KRG's recognized boundaries. It is also concerned that the terms of agreements entered into by Erbil are not aligned with those that Baghdad negotiates. Baghdad's response

to what it regards as the KRG's illegal activities has been to threaten to blacklist any energy company that does business with the KRG from bidding for contracts in Iraq's larger southern fields.

This approach was fine when the companies doing business in northern Iraq were small and unlikely to obtain much of a stake in Iraq's southern fields. However, the stakes were considerably raised as a consequence of the U.S. oil major company ExxonMobil's surprising decision in November 2011 to sign an oil and gas exploration agreement with Erbil. Baghdad was obliged to implement its threat by excluding Exxon from a bidding contest in Iraq's southern oil fields in retaliation, but for contractual reasons it could do nothing about Exxon's existing stake in southern Iraq's West Qurna 1 field. In a further blow to Baghdad, the exploration blocs that Exxon had acquired in its 20-year deal with Erbil include fields located in the disputed areas. Exxon is expected to start drilling in mid-2013. Although in early-2013 it appeared that Exxon might be prepared to sacrifice its agreement with the KRG to exact a better offer from Baghdad for its southern operations,[50] the company has subsequently been reported as having entered into a KRG exploration agreement with a Turkish partner.[51] In July 2012 ExxonMobil was followed by another U.S. oil giant, Chevron, when it acquired an interest in two exploration blocks in KRG territory; this was, in turn, followed within weeks by the French oil major company Total and by the Russian company, Gazprom. Like ExxonMobil these companies too seemed undeterred by Baghdad's threats to exclude them from contracts in southern Iraq—in fact, Chevron has no stake in Iraq's south[52] and has since acquired a third exploration block in the north.[53] Doing business with the KRG is far more lucrative and less frustrating than dealing with Iraq's federal government. It is also possible that the oil majors have calculated that, in the longer term, a deal between Erbil and Baghdad will be struck because the riches at stake are too high—this is certainly the view of Tony Haywood, former British Petroleum (BP) Chief Executive and now Chief Executive of Genel Energy, which is a major energy investor in Iraqi Kurdistan.[54] They may also calculate that Iraq will find itself unable to operate effectively without access to the capital and know-how of the oil majors.

Turkey Eyes the KRG's Energy Resources

BP's recent expression of interest in reviving the Kirkuk oilfield infrastructure is very much at the mercy of the Kurds who, given the physical presence of Kurdish forces and their substantial administrative control over the region, are well-placed to sabotage any initiatives from which they are excluded.[55] Unsurprisingly, the KRG reacted negatively when in January 2013, BP announced it would make an initial short-term investment in the parts of the Kirkuk field that lie within the formally Baghdad-administered area, and that negotiations with Baghdad were still ongoing.[56] Erbil declared this step as "illegal and unconstitutional." The KRG simultaneously defended as legal and constitutional its decision a few days earlier to permit Genel Energy to export oil to world markets directly via Mersin in Turkey, bypassing Baghdad.[57] Hitherto, trucked exports of crude to Turkey had been in return for refined products, given the KRG's lack of refinery capacity. Baghdad's reaction to Genel's export venture was to threaten to sue the company and to cut the KRG's 17 percent share of Iraq's national budget,[58] a move that the February 2013 debates surrounding the Iraqi national budget suggests would be popular with Iraq's Arab political leaders.

The KRG's problem—and that of the companies involved there—is how to export the oil and gas which is now being extracted in limited quantities, but production of which is scheduled to soar. In the absence of a solution to this problem, the investments made by the energy companies will have been in vain, and the energy reserves that have been discovered there will remain unavailable to the world market. It would be helpful if Erbil's continuing legal and political differences with Baghdad over production, export, and payment could be resolved by the time production begins apace in 2014. If these difficulties, and the clashing territorial claims around Kirkuk, could be settled, then a restoration of the Kirkuk infrastructure and the Kirkuk-Ceyhan pipelines—presumably with BP as the most likely contractor—would be in Erbil's interest too. However, any such resolution appears to be a very long way off. The KRG's limited storage, pipeline, and refining infrastructure compounds Erbil's problem.

Given the fractious relationship with Baghdad, access to Turkey's market and its energy infrastructure presents itself as the more desirable option for the KRG. Turkey is the most obvious export route for Iraqi Kurdish energy, and its hunger for energy makes it the KRG's most obvious market. Kurdish oil and gas would also feed into Ankara's aspiration to develop as an energy hub. Genel Energy is the largest of a number of Turkey-based companies engaged in the KRG's energy sector. More significant is the growing involvement of the Turkish state. The direct exportation via Turkey of Genel's crude oil could only have taken place with Ankara's approval. More dramatic was the announcement in May 2012 of an agreement between Ankara and Erbil, following a visit to Ankara by KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani[59] and made without Baghdad's involvement, that two new pipelines could be constructed to carry gas and oil directly across the border into Turkey.[60] Although Turkey has yet to formally commit to plans to run the pipelines directly across the border, they were first publicly announced by the KRG's Natural Resources Minister Ashti Hawrami at an energy conference in Erbil in the presence of a large Turkish delegation headed by Ankara's Energy Minister Taner Yildiz. Baghdad was not represented. In June 2013, Hawrami announced that an oil pipeline from the KRG to Turkey would be completed by September 2013, that the Anglo-Turkish company Genel Energy would begin exporting oil via the pipeline in 2014, and that gas exports to Turkey would begin in 2016.[61] The oil pipeline is planned to reach the border alongside the Baghdad-controlled Kirkuk-Ceyhan pipeline at Fish Khabur, into which it could in principle feed in order that its throughput could be monitored by Baghdad. However, there would also be the option of constructing an entirely new stretch of line into Turkey, or joining it to the existing pipeline at a new monitoring station closer to the Turkish border—which could be controlled by Erbil rather than Baghdad—or even across the border inside Turkish territory.[62] Although the KRG section of the pipeline is expected to be operated by Erbil, it is also assumed that the Kurds will take only their 17 percent of the proceeds, and transfer the remainder to Baghdad's coffers. A feasibility study for the gas pipeline has already been commissioned.[63] There is also the option of a reversible-flow pipeline that could pump Kirkuk oil southwards to Basra, or southern oil northwards to Kirkuk and on to Turkey, and some limited pumping is apparently now viable again after the damage caused by U.S. bombing and sabotage.[64] In spite of this, Baghdad has invested little in developing this element of its infrastructure, notwithstanding Turkish expressions of interest in helping develop Iraq's north-south pipeline infrastructure.[65]

It is possible that the new pipeline plans represent an attempt by Turkey to put pressure on Baghdad. However, there can be little doubt that Ankara is frustrated with the slow pace of

Iraq's energy policy and the absence of a federal energy law, and that it is impatient to exploit the opportunities offered by the KRG. As former U.S. Ambassador to Turkey James Jeffrey put it:

> Sooner or later, hydrocarbons will be exported out of northern Iraq. The question is whether that would be done in cooperation with Baghdad, and thus reinforcing the unity and federal system in Iraq, or whether that would be done in another, maybe less helpful, way.[66]

He went on to say, "A major reason behind the failure has been Baghdad's lack of cooperation, including not paying the second [installment] of payments to the companies in the north."[67] National elections are due in 2014 and could be held earlier still. Barzani has reportedly asserted that the Kurds of Iraq will go their own way should Maliki remain in power after 2014.[68] There is little reason to assume that the task of assembling coalitions in Baghdad that are inclusive of its sectarian and ethnic groups is likely to become easier in the future. Iraq's Sunni provinces might also edge towards greater autonomy from a Shia dominated and centralizing Baghdad. When added to the persisting sectarian violence in Arab Iraq, the omens for the consolidation of Iraqi democracy and the establishment of stable governance are not good. Furthermore, Shia dominated Iraq's increasing ties to Iran are unmistakeable and possibly irreversible. In short, reasons for optimism regarding Iraq's future desirability as a regional partner, for Turkey or for Erbil, seem somewhat thin.

The year 2014 coincides with the likelihood that the oil majors operating within the KRG area will be ready to export energy commercially. Only time will tell how far Turkey is prepared to go in the pursuit of an energy relationship with Erbil which would both enhance the KRG's financial independence from Baghdad and symbolize its political estrangement, but the clock is clearly ticking.[69] If, within a very few years from now, Maliki or some other equally awkward political leader is in power in Iraq, a federal hydrocarbons agreement remains in abeyance, and Ankara (and Erbil) are confronted with the choice of enabling the export of commercial quantities of energy or of seeing the energy majors such as Exxon and Chevron wind down their activities in the KRG, Turkey might take the risk. Indeed, the exigencies of pipeline construction might push them towards a still earlier decision.[70] Energy is now widely regarded as a truly transformative factor in this three-way set of relationships between Ankara, Erbil, and Baghdad. In essence, it has brought Ankara closer still to Erbil, and distanced both from Baghdad. There is an increasing sense that the KRG's energy resources could propel profound geopolitical changes in the region.

The Iraqi government clearly believes Turkey has already gone too far in its relationship with Erbil. Unsurprisingly, Baghdad reacted angrily to an unannounced visit to Kirkuk by Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu in August 2012. Davutoglu travelled to Kirkuk directly from Erbil without first informing the Iraqi government, according to Baghdad. Although the primary purpose of Davutoglu's trip was to meet with and reassure the city's Turkmen population and thus could not be construed as a show of support for Kurdish claims to the city, Maliki nevertheless accused Turkey of treating the KRG as an independent state, and threatened a review of Baghdad's relationship with Ankara.[71] In November 2012, Baghdad offered no explanation for its expulsion of the Turkish Petroleum Corporation (*Turkiye Petrolleri A.O.*—TPAO) from an oil exploration deal in Iraq's south.[72] In the following month, Baghdad even refused permission for the private jet carrying Turkish

Energy Minister Taner Yildiz to land at Erbil airport. Although it claimed the reason was technical, the incident came amidst reports that Yildiz was about to finalize the pipeline deal with Erbil.[73] The indications are that Erbil is already within Ankara's, far more than Baghdad's, orbit, and that the likely future direction of travel will cement this. What might be the implications of this development?

WASHINGTON'S APPROACH

As already noted, the November 2007 agreement between the Bush administration and Prime Minister Erdogan whereby Washington undertook to provide "real time actionable intelligence" in support of Turkey's attacks against PKK bases in northern Iraq, heralded the warming of a relationship that had entered a deep chill since the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. The agreement served as a reminder to the KRG that Washington's relationship with Turkey enjoyed high priority, and encouraged Erbil's opening to Ankara. The December 2008 Status of Forces agreement between the Bush administration and Baghdad led inexorably to the end of 2011 withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Iraq, after it had proved impossible to agree on terms with Baghdad that would enable some U.S. forces to remain. This intensified Erbil's anxiety, especially given the unresolved differences between Erbil and Baghdad over the disputed territories and the nature of the Iraqi federation.[74] Iraqi Kurdish unease had already been sparked by President Obama's November 2010 request that Iraqi President Talabani, a Kurd, give up his post for Ayad Allawi to take over.[75] Iraq's Kurds detect the possibility that Washington might sacrifice them, which would not be a new experience for them. Simultaneously, the likelihood that a Shia dominated Iraq would move closer to Iran made Ankara uneasy. These anxieties gave additional impetus to the relaxation of Turkish-KRG relations, as both parties sought to better position themselves in what was seen as the void left behind by the American departure.

Had Turkey and Iraq been able to maintain a functioning relationship, the situation might have been more manageable. Turkey could have offered Iraq an alternative to political and diplomatic over-dependency on Iran and a shared desire to limit the KRG's autonomy, while the KRG would have been left in little doubt regarding its limited scope to pursue more expansive objectives. However, the political and diplomatic fallout between Ankara and Baghdad, the increasing energy significance of the KRG area, and the sectarian rifts that have become ever more evident in the region, have undermined the prospects of such a benign outcome. These developments have also demonstrated that Washington's commitment to Baghdad, notwithstanding Maliki's increasing authoritarianism and sectarianism, and to combating any apparent threats to Iraq's territorial integrity, are no less a determinant of the U.S. stance than its alliance with Turkey and its residual and moral responsibility to Iraqi Kurdistan. This has produced a somewhat un-anticipated situation in which Washington, which, in general, is pleased with the Turkey-KRG rapprochement, is nevertheless uncomfortable with some of its details and nervous about its possible implications for Iraq's territorial integrity and for the stability of the region.[76]

This is most evident with respect to the KRG's energy deals. Washington has advised U.S. energy companies that they should first clear with Baghdad any agreements they might be contemplating with the KRG, citing the legal uncertainty surrounding such agreements,

although Washington also insists that it cannot directly interfere with commercial decisions.[77] Furthermore, although Washington has been coy about admitting it, the United States has been putting pressure on Turkey to temper its energy relationship with Erbil, reminding Ankara that its approach threatens to contradict Turkey's own opposition to an independent Iraqi Kurdistan.[78] The Turkish response is that it cannot be expected to ignore the existence of such considerable energy resources on its doorstep, particularly in light of the fact that almost 50 energy companies, including a number from the United States, are actively engaged there.[79] Ankara also sides with Erbil in rejecting Baghdad's view that the KRG's energy deals with third parties, including Turkey and the oil majors, are illegal.[80] In effect, Washington is now more concerned than is Ankara with the implications for Iraq's territorial integrity of the KRG's drive to develop its energy sector.[81]

It is similarly noteworthy that the Obama administration appears determined to proceed with a major package of arms sales and training programs with Maliki's government, even though Sunni politicians and even the then U.S. Ambassador to Iraq James Jeffrey have expressed their disquiet.[82] The deal includes the purchase of main battle tanks and 36 F16 fighter jets due for delivery between 2014 and 2018.[83] President Barzani has expressed his fears that the F16s in particular could be used against Iraqi Kurdistan, and believes Washington to be mistaken in its continued support of the Maliki government.[84] Although some have detected an element of hyperbole in Barzani's comments, there is some risk in Washington's stance and some substance to Barzani's concerns given the current military standoff between Kurdish and government forces around Kirkuk and elsewhere, the unresolved political differences between Baghdad and Erbil, and the long history of Arab-Kurdish conflict and violence in Iraq. Furthermore, Barzani's comments were made in the context of a reported failure to obtain the security guarantees he sought during his April 2012 Washington visit.[85]

To some extent, Washington's position might be explained by a degree of inertia in the American approach to Iraq. Although Iraq has not been a priority for the Obama administration, Washington has embraced the legacy of the extraordinary U.S. commitment to Iraq of the recent past and has sustained the direct personal relationship with Maliki.[86] It has seemed content to allow the inherited political commitment to the Maliki government to dictate its approach. In any case, there is a widespread view in the United States that the KRG has achieved as much as it can reasonably expect, and that independence was not, and should not be, an option. Washington under Obama also appears aware of U.S. limitations in Iraq, and indeed in the wider region and beyond, is less intent on taking initiatives, and is particularly inclined to take account of Ankara's perspectives.[87] Its behavior suggests a belief that there is little it can or should do beyond encouraging dialogue and consensus, although it is highly likely that Washington is applying pressure behind the scenes.

MOVING PARTS, UNKNOWN UNKNOWNS, AND PARADIGM SHIFTS: TIME FOR A STATE OF KURDISTAN?

However, the risks and opportunities in the region are now looking profoundly different from what they were at end of 2011. The Arab Spring, particularly its manifestation in Syria, has introduced new and unanticipated elements into the already complicated Ankara-Erbil-

Baghdad triangular relationship. First, the sectarian dimension of the Syrian turmoil, and the manner in which this has both reflected and stoked sectarian schisms in the wider region, have served to deepen the rift between Turkey on the one hand and Baghdad and Tehran on the other. Second, the position of Syria's Kurdish minority, which amounts to around 10 percent of its population, has added further complexity to Turkey's relationships with the KRG and with its own Kurds, and has brought into greater focus the predicament of the region's Kurds. Iraq's Kurds are at the center of this chapter, but their fate is very much entangled with the fates of their Kurdish cousins in Turkey, Syria, and, indeed, Iran. In being denied a state of their own, the Kurds can be said to have been losers in history's evolution thus far. Could this be about to change? Might the map of the region be redrawn to accommodate a Kurdish state? A number of seasoned commentators have ventured the argument that the prospect of eventual Kurdish independence has been strengthened immeasurably as a consequence of regional developments such as those in Iraq and Syria.[88] Even an Iraqi newspaper editor said to be very close to Maliki has speculated whether the time has come for a negotiated separation of Arabs and Kurds in Iraq,[89] while the U.S. National Intelligence Council's *Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds*,[90] published in December 2012, speculated that, "in the event of a more fragmented Iraq or Syria, a Kurdistan would not be inconceivable"[91] and that this would constitute a "blow to Turkish integrity."[92] Some of this speculation relates to a Kurdistan carved exclusively out of Iraq,[93] and some to the prospect of a wider Kurdistan that might incorporate Turkey's southeast. Politicians and statesmen generally employ short term perspectives, but history unfolds over a longer time scale, and involves dramatic change as well as stubborn continuity. It can involve the rise and fall of empires, the appearance and disappearance of states, chaos, and degeneration as well as order and growth and shifts in identities and perspectives. Time will tell whether we are currently witnessing the prelude to a changed order in the Middle East, and particularly with respect to the fortunes of its Kurds.[94] However, Washington would be wise to think through the implications of a potentially profound reordering of the region's arrangements.

The Syrian Uprising, Sectarianism, and the Kurdish Question

Prior to the Syrian uprising against the Ba'athist regime of Bashir al-Assad, which turned violent in the first half of 2011, Turkey had warmly embraced the Damascus regime, perhaps inadvisably given its poor human rights record and Washington's disapproval. Bilateral trade mounted, visa free travel arrangements were put in place, and a host of other political, security, economic, and social agreements were signed. A High Level Strategic Cooperation Council between Damascus and Ankara held its first ministerial meeting in October 2009. However, as Assad's regime responded to growing opposition with increasing violence, Ankara's approach abruptly changed tack. Turkey was disappointed that its Syrian friends did not heed their advice to respond to the frustrations of the street, and found itself confronted with a flow of refugees across the Syrian border into a corner of Turkey that contains significant Alevi, Alawite, Arab, and Kurdish minorities, thus threatening an overspill of Syria's sectarian and ethnic tensions into Turkey.[95] The May 2013 car bombings in the Turkish border town of Reyhanli that killed 43 people seemed to confirm Turkey's vulnerability to Syrian developments.[96]

Ankara was quick to take a leading role in the call for the removal of the Assad regime. It sponsored the formation in August 2011 of the Syrian National Council (SNC) and hosted it in Istanbul until it expanded and reformed as the Syrian National Coalition in November 2012, basing itself in Doha, Qatar. The SNC is closely linked to the Free Syrian Army (FSA) which is largely formed and led by defectors from the Syrian government's armed forces. Until November 2012, the FSA was headquartered in Turkey, where it is strongly rumored to have received training and arms. Turkey is also a leading light in the largely western Friends of Syria group of countries. It joined the Arab League, the European Union (EU), and the United States in imposing sanctions on the Damascus regime.

Following incidents of cross-border fire from Syria, in which two Turkish civilians were killed, and the shooting down of a Turkish fighter jet in June 2012, Turkey not only shelled Syrian military positions but also began calling for the creation of a "humanitarian corridor" in northern Syria, as a safe haven for refugees but also as a base for the FSA. In October 2012 Turkey's Grand National Assembly (NGA) voted to give the government a 1-year green light to militarily intervene in Syria should it be deemed necessary. However, once it became evident that the Assad regime was not going to crumble quickly, and also that there was little support from Turkey's NATO and EU allies for intervention, Ankara found that its rhetoric and behavior had left it in a somewhat exposed position.[97] In December 2012, NATO acceded to a Turkish request to deploy Patriot anti-missile systems close to the Syrian border. Although Ankara has since had little alternative but to align itself with Washington and with wider diplomatic efforts to find a solution to the Syrian crisis, it continues to be at the forefront of calls to arm the opposition and to establish a humanitarian corridor. It is also accommodating an influx of Syrian refugees that numbered around half a million by mid-2013.

One implication of the Syrian crisis has been the resurgence of sectarian rifts in the region, which have further damaged Ankara's relationship with Baghdad and, indeed, Iran. Iran has stood by its ally in Damascus, while Maliki too has expressed his pro-Assad sympathies. On both the Syrian and Iraqi issues, Saudi Arabia and Qatar have lent their support to the anti-regime side. Given the largely Alawite makeup of the Syrian regime, and the essentially Sunni nature of the opposition, the fact that Iran and Turkey found themselves on opposite sides has—rightly or wrongly—been interpreted as suggesting that a sectarian undercurrent is now evident in regional diplomatic alignments. Thus, a Tehran-Baghdad (and Damascus) axis is pitted in opposition to a Turkey-Gulf Arab coalition. Turkey's JDP government's evident preference for the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood faction within the SNC has added substance to these rifts.[98] Ankara's 2011 agreement to host NATO early warning radar facilities as its contribution towards a ballistic missile defense shield, widely seen as directed primarily at Iran's growing missile threat, was badly received in Tehran, which sees the Patriot deployments in a hostile light.[99] Given the Sunni roots of Turkey's ruling party, and the sense of exclusion felt by Turkey's substantial Alevi population, regional sectarian tension could have unsettling domestic repercussions in Turkey also.

Syria's minorities—Christians, Kurds, and Druze, as well as Alawites and secular Sunnis—are generally suspicious of the Arab nationalist and Muslim Brotherhood strands that appear to be dominant elements in the opposition to the Assad regime. Many of Syria's numerous Kurdish factions have come together to form a Kurdish National Council (KNC), which has as its key demand the establishment of a Syrian federation to include an autonomous Kurdish region. Although worried by the prospect of Kurdish secession in the

context of Syria's turmoil, Ankara has sought to enlist KRG President Barzani in its endeavors to persuade the KNC to commit to the SNC. However, most of the squabbling elements that make up the increasingly Islamic and Arab nationalist SNC are hostile to Kurdish aspirations. In any case, Syria's Kurds are almost as divided as the SNC,[100] and although their plight under the Assad regime has been a far from happy one, some appear to distrust the Syrian opposition to Assad as much or more than they distrust Assad, and they have generally kept their distance from it.

Behind Ankara's reasoning, and that of Barzani, is the perceived threat posed by the Democratic Union Party (*Partiya Yekitiya Demokrat*—PYD), which has stayed aloof from the KNC and is seen by Ankara and Erbil alike as Syria's PKK offshoot. However, the PYD appears to enjoy the support of the majority of Syria's Kurds, and boasts a powerful armed wing. This has enabled the PYD to take control of most of the heavily Kurdish populated areas of northern Syria, an outcome eased by the withdrawal of Assad's forces from the region at an early stage in the revolt. Notwithstanding some clashes between the PYD and pro-government forces in late-2012, and the PYD's demands for Syrian Kurdish autonomy, Ankara suspects that the PYD is in an alliance of sorts with the regime, that the recent spike in PKK violence inside Turkey was linked to Syrian—and Iranian—displeasure with Ankara's opposition to Assad,[101] and that the prospect of a PKK haven opening up in northern Syria is aimed at deterring Turkish involvement in Syria's domestic affairs.

Many Turks are convinced that Damascus resuscitated its support for Turkey's Kurds in retaliation for Ankara's support for the SNC,[102] with reports that around 2,000 PKK fighters moved from northern Iraq to the Syrian border with Turkey. As it is reckoned that as many as one-third of the PKK membership is of Syrian Kurdish origin,[103] Ankara is obliged to take any such developments seriously. After all, the Damascus regime—especially in the form of Bashar al-Assad's father, Hafiz—has a track record of supporting and sheltering the PKK in its struggles against Turkey. Clashes between PYD and anti-government forces that broke out in late-2012 and early-2013 might suggest some credence to the Turkish view.[104] However, it would appear that the anti-government tribal Arab and jihadist-inclined groups provoked the clashes, and that they may have operated with the support of Turkey— even crossing from Turkey to mount their operations. Many Turks believe this; Syrian Kurds certainly do.[105] Gradually, the Kurdish issue has emerged as an even bigger worry for Turkey than the ongoing conflict between Syria's pro and anti-government forces. By July 2012, Turkey's prime minister was warning of the possibility of Turkish air strikes against PKK elements in northern Syria.[106]

Barzani shares Ankara's distaste for the PKK and PYD. He is keen to preserve his advantageous relationship with Ankara and to maintain the KRG's economic progress, is irritated by the PKK's presence in northern Iraq, and appears to genuinely believe that the JDP government in Ankara should be given the benefit of the doubt with respect to Kurdish aspirations. On the other hand, Barzani has expressed his support for the Syrian federation idea,[107] and he recognizes the disadvantages that division carries for the Syrian Kurdish cause. At a gathering of Syrian Kurds in Erbil in summer 2012, he managed to broker a united front between the PYD and the KNC.[108] His KDP has also been engaged in establishing and training a Syrian Kurds *peshmerga* that could form a fighting arm for those elements of the KNC that look to him for leadership. However, the PYD has prevented them from crossing into Syria from their northern Iraqi bases, which is just one indication of how unsuccessful Barzani's efforts to forge greater Syrian Kurdish unity have been.[109] In May 2013, the PYD

arrested 74 members of an armed pro-KDP faction that apparently did manage to cross into Syria. In retaliation, Barzani closed the KRG-Syrian border.[110] Skirmishes between the PYD and other Syrian Kurdish factions have reportedly occurred on a number of occasions at least since mid-2012.[111]

Despite these difficulties, the emergence of a Syrian "Kurdish question" and the interest Barzani has taken in it has introduced a note of disquiet into Ankara-Erbil relationships. Ankara does not wish to see an autonomous Kurdish zone in Syria, and is mistrustful of the role the Iraqi Kurdish leadership might be playing.[112] On the other hand, should Syria continue its descent into "failed state" status, Ankara would prefer a Syrian Kurdish entity that is under Barzani's influence rather than that of the PKK and its affiliates, and might welcome it as a buffer zone against a chaotic Arab Syria—much as the KRG functions with respect to Iraq. Should improvements in the circumstances of Turkey's Kurds materialize, then enhanced economic, social, and even political interdependence with Ankara could prove to be an acceptable, and the most beneficial, outcome for Syria's Kurds. In short, it is not unthinkable that Syria's Kurds might arrive at arrangements not dissimilar to those enjoyed by their Iraqi cousins, with respect both to their relationship with Ankara and with their Arab neighbors.

An Iraqi Kurdistan?

Perhaps the primary threat to the KRG's current status stems from its dependence on Baghdad for around 94 percent of its budget.[113] The resentment shared by all the leading factions in Arab Iraq is putting at risk the KRG's continued receipt of 17 percent of Iraq's national budget—in fact, it already receives rather less than that. There is little doubt that Iraq's Kurds could survive on far less, but there is also little doubt that a reduction in this allocation would give them pause for thought. Even so, how realistic is it to suppose that the Kurds would step back from their bid for maximum autonomy, given their experiences of struggle and repression in Iraq? Could the KRG leadership countenance the restoration of an Arab military presence on KRG territory, and a disarming or subordination of the *peshmerga*?

With respect to Kirkuk and other disputed territories, there are as yet few signs that Iraq's Kurds are prepared to forego their claim. However, Barzani long ago softened the KRG's position on its claim to Kirkuk, at least rhetorically, by countenancing a power sharing arrangement for the city and its environs and by agreeing to give serious consideration to UN proposals for disputed areas of northern Iraq.[114] However, there has been no progress on this issue, and it remains an open question whether, over the longer term, power sharing would work any better at the local level than it has at the national level. In any case, would Baghdad become more accommodating rather than more assertive if the Kurds were prepared to concede, and how might Kurds left on the "Arab" side of the "green line" be treated? Also, given Baghdad's approach to the development of the energy resources of Arab Iraq, is it reasonable to anticipate that Baghdad would adopt a more dynamic approach to the development of the north's riches, if it was allowed the capacity to do so? What can Kurds give to Baghdad beyond supine appeasement, and what does Baghdad want from Iraq's Kurds beyond their subordination?

Of course, were Baghdad's political processes to produce a more reasonable leadership, then there could be stronger grounds for a more positive assessment of the future for Arab-

Kurdish relations inside a federal Iraq. Although all leading Arab Iraqi figures would seek to limit Kurdish autonomy, an improvement on the current atmosphere would surely require Maliki's removal and the reinstatement of a power-sharing coalition in which the Kurds played a full part—as was the original hope. However, it is far from clear that this would produce anything other than resort to the blocking mechanisms, not least by the Kurds, that have plagued post-Saddam Iraqi politics from the outset. It would not follow that the territorial differences or energy disputes between Erbil and Baghdad would be resolved, or even that tension surrounding these issues would be reduced. That would necessitate a redrawing of the constitution and would probably require external pressure and guidance—which is unlikely to be forthcoming, including from Washington. On the other hand, a post-Maliki coalition Iraqi government might win Turkey over to a policy of re-engagement with Baghdad (and would presumably have the opposite effect on Tehran). This might in itself serve to isolate the Kurds, who once again could find themselves with, according to their proverb, "no friends but the mountains." Optimists about Iraqi politics—and at least in its rhetoric the Obama administration should be so counted—would presumably be content with such an outcome. But it would fail to take account of Kurdish aspirations and fears, or of Turkey's energy ambitions.

More pessimistic scenarios posit little improvement in Baghdad's politics or in Arab-Kurdish relationships in Iraq. If this stream of supposition proves truer, then the spotlight will shine on Turkey particularly fiercely. If Ankara continues to find itself faced with an uncooperative, perhaps hostile and dysfunctional regime in Iraq, how far would it go in its embrace of Iraqi Kurdistan? In an interview with *Time* magazine in December 2012 in which he was questioned on the prospects for Kurdish independence, KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani, believed by many to be the KRG's next leader, replied that:

> first of all, we have to convince at least one country around us. Without convincing them, we cannot do this. Being land locked we have to have a partner, a regional power to be convinced and internationally, a big power to be convinced to support that.[115]

That "door of hope," he said, "is Turkey. And if that door, that hope is closed, it will be impossible for us to surrender to Baghdad."[116] Nechirvan Barzani has been highly instrumental in engineering the rapprochement with Ankara, but he is far from alone among the KRGs, and especially its KDP, leadership. Another leading KDP and KRG figure, Safeen Dizayee, has said in an interview that "even if tomorrow when there is a Kurdish independent state in Iraq, it would be a dependent independent [country] whether on Turkey, Iran, Syria or Iraq," [117] and made it clear that Turkey represents the preferred option. Falah Mustafa Bakir, head of the KRG's Department of Foreign Relations, is another leading KRG figure who pins his hopes on the KRG's relationship with Turkey.[118] However, these KRG leaders understand that Turkey is not ready and may never be ready to countenance full Kurdish independence. They would also welcome a more accommodating regime in Tehran with which they could constructively engage. However, they all dismiss Baghdad as a fruitful partner, at least given the current composition of its government, but possibly existentially too.

Ankara is clearly engineering an ever-closer relationship with the KRG, even while falling far short of supporting its formal independence. The objective appears to be to create an economic, and indeed political, "interdependence" between Turkey and the KRG, both because the KRG is a neighbor that possesses energy resources and markets that Turkey

needs, but also as a means to lever Baghdad. If and when Baghdad adopts a more constructive policy towards the development of the KRG's energy resources, then Iraq would support rather than oppose the geographically and economically-determined export of northern Iraq's gas and oil via Turkey[119]—an outcome that would reflect American preferences. In other words, the KRG and Turkey will economically grow together in any case, not least via energy considerations. The only issue is whether and when Baghdad will give this development a green light. This, in turn, leads back to the question of the future of Baghdad's political processes, and raises the question of what Turkey's response would be were Baghdad to continue to be a dysfunctional or hostile neighbor.

At present, Turkey's expectations of Baghdad are low. Furthermore, it has embraced the reality of the KRG's de facto independence and is maximizing the economic benefit it can obtain from the situation.[120] In aligning itself with the KRG on the issue of the legality of Erbil's energy policy, including the export of crude oil by Genel Energy, Ankara is also aligning itself, and enabling, an interpretation of Iraq's federalism that maximizes the KRG's independence from Baghdad.[121] Turkey depends on imports for over 90 percent of its (growing) oil and gas consumption. Of that, Iran provides around half of its oil and one-fifth of its gas,[122] and is the only neighboring country with which Turkey has a trade deficit. This degree of Turkish dependency on Iran is itself historically a function of the U.S.-inspired sanctions on and wars with Iraq, which had before the early-1990s been a more important trade partner for Turkey. Furthermore, Iranian gas is expensive, Tehran has proven to be a difficult trade partner, sanctions against Iran have put pressure on Turkey to find alternatives, and, in any case, Ankara's overarching policy is to diversify its suppliers. Iraq generally, and northern Iraq in particular, offers a very real energy prospect for Turkey, whose aspiration to develop as an energy hub, where energy can be stored, refined, traded, and exported, reinforces Turkey's interest in northern Iraq's rich energy resources.

So, if Iraq continues along its present path, how will Ankara square its declared commitment to Iraq's territorial integrity with its embrace of a de facto independent KRG? Given the uncertain future of its own Kurdish problem, and the likely reaction of Iran in particular, it is hard to imagine Turkey supporting an Iraqi Kurdish declaration of independence. Even so, it should be noted that in the early days of the Republic, Ankara sought to incorporate within its own borders the Ottoman province of Mosul, which included the Kurdish populated areas of what later became Iraq. In 1925, the League of Nations found in favor of British Iraq, but, at various junctures since then, Turks have revisited the terms and indeed the justice of this outcome. For example, in 1986 Ankara apparently warned the United States and Iran that it would demand the return of Mosul and Kirkuk (in effect, the former Ottoman *viliyet* of Mosul) in the event of disorder in Iraq as a consequence of the Iran-Iraq war.[123] During the first U.S.-led war against Iraq, President Turgut Ozal mused about historic Turkish claims to the region in the event of an Iraqi collapse.[124] In May 1995, Turkish President Suleyman Demirel proposed that the border should be rectified in Turkey's favor,[125] and in December 2003 expressed regret that Turkey had been denied Mosul province in 1923.[126] In August 2002, Defence Minister Sabahattin Cakmakoglu, admittedly a member of the far right National Action Party (*Milliyetci Hareket Partisi*—MHP), chose to remark that Iraqi Kurdistan had been "forcibly separated" from Turkey at the time of the Republic's formation in 1923, and that Ankara retained a protective interest in the region.[127] As U.S.-led military action against Iraq approached, Abdullah Gul's predecessor as foreign minister of the new Justice and Development Party government, Yasar Yakis, apparently sought legal

clarification of the status of Mosul and Kirkuk,[128] while one of Turkey's leading commentators pointed out that Mosul and Kirkuk were ceded to Iraq, not to any Kurdish state that might subsequently emerge.[129] More recently, there have been unconfirmed reports that David Petraeus, as Central Intelligence Agency chief, raised with Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan the possibility of independence for the KRG.[130]

Turks today are fond of pointing out that Iraq, and particularly its Kurdish north, is a neighbor with which Turkey's own security is interconnected and towards which Turkey cannot be indifferent. This is not to predict that a Turkish annexation of northern Iraq is on the horizon, but it helps to be reminded—not least in the wake of the Soviet, Yugoslav, Czechoslovakian, Indonesian (East Timor), and Sudanese redrawing of state boundaries, not to mention the de facto and Turkish-sponsored autonomy of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), and in the context of the countless territorial disputes currently raging around the world—that the territorial legacies left behind by Europe's departing colonial powers were often insensitive to demographic and geopolitical realities, and need not necessarily endure indefinitely. Nowhere is this truer than in the lands inhabited by ethnic Kurds. The march of events can bring about unanticipated outcomes, and in the Middle East in general, events are undoubtedly on the march.

A more likely outcome, and one that is not necessarily a function of the make-up of Baghdad's government, is that northern Iraq will evolve as a de facto Turkish satellite and dependency. Geography, the energy relationship, the shared transborder Kurdish ethnicity, and the sheer pull of Turkey's economic dynamism, is likely to push the KRG into the arms of Turkey, whether Baghdad resents it or not. Ambassador Riccardione's comments, outlined at the beginning of this chapter, envisage this outcome occurring via a benign process in which the entirety of Iraq economically, and maybe politically as well, aligns itself with Turkey. On current trends, this looks unlikely. Instead, the KRG's dependency on Turkey might come about as a consequence of Ankara's and Erbil's shared frustration with Baghdad, and in the face of its opposition—and presumably that of Washington, too.[131] Some Iraqi Kurds, especially from the PUK, would be uneasy about such an outcome.[132] Yet others are even prepared to speculate about a de facto or de jure "Turkish-Kurdish" federation of some kind, at least as a distant possibility.[133] There is scope for greater integration of the economies of Iraq's Kurdish north and Turkey's Kurdish southeast, and many Turkish Kurds have already benefitted from the economic opportunities across the border. The construction of the mooted gas and oil pipelines into Turkey would constitute part of this overall arrangement.

A Turkish Kurdistan?

The Turkish case is still more difficult to think through, but developments in Syria and hopes for the future relationship with the KRG have, in recent months, driven Ankara to embark on yet another domestic Kurdish initiative, dubbed the "Imrali process" because it has involved negotiations with the PKK leader, Abdullah Ocalan, who is incarcerated on a Turkish island of that name. Following a complex series of behind-the-scenes consultations, a message from Ocalan was read out at the Kurdish new year, or *Newroz*, gathering on March 21, 2013, in Diyarbakir,[134] in which he declared that "we have now arrived at the stage of withdrawing our armed forces outside the borders."[135] On May 8, PKK fighters did begin to trek through the mountains to their northern Iraqi bases— seen in Baghdad as a slight on Iraqi

territory[136]—but Ocalan's address made no direct mention of what concessions Ankara had made in return. Nor has Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan been at all forthcoming, although it is for his government to initiate the next phase of the process. At the time of writing, no details of what this might look like had yet emerged.

In fact, there are few indications that the prime minister will be willing or able to meet Kurdish expectations. Although these remain largely unspecified, they are believed to include Ocalan's release or transfer to house arrest—something that Erdogan has specifically denied he has agreed to; the winding down of the so-called "village guard" system of government-sponsored and armed Kurdish citizens; the release of the thousands of *Koma Civakên Kurdistan* activists currently held in detention; a reform of Turkey's notorious anti-terror laws that are frequently used against political activists thought to be sympathetic to the Kurdish cause; education in Kurdish; establishing Kurdish as co-equal with Turkish as an official language of the Republic; the replacement of the current ethnic definition of citizenship with a civic one; an end to the 10 percent electoral hurdle for parliamentary representation; and, above all, some kind of devolution, self-determination, or "democratic autonomy" that would, in effect, introduce something tantamount to a federal political system in Turkey.[137] There appear to be few indications that Erdogan, his party, the opposition parties, or public opinion, are at all ready to concede many, if any, of these demands. Erdogan appears to think in terms of an Islamic "brotherhood" between Turkey's Turkish and Kurdish citizens, and appears not to recognize the pressure to embrace the pluralism that is inherent in Kurdish ethnic identity demands.[138] Furthermore, the behavior and rhetoric of the government during the "Gezi Park" protests that erupted in spring 2013 hardly suggested that it is set firmly on a course of further democratization, reform and inclusiveness.

Unsurprisingly, then, at the time of this writing, there is disquiet among some Kurdish leaders. In addition to impatience, voiced by Ocalan among others, at the government's somewhat tardy response in the wake of the PKK cross-border withdrawal,[139] many PKK fighters, led by their leader Murat Karayilan, have been skeptical from the beginning.[140] Indeed, Karayilan has openly expressed his doubts regarding Ankara's sincerity and has warned of the possibility of a renewed and even intensified war.[141] At the June 2013 Kurdish gathering in Diyarbakir, Ahmet Turk, a senior BDP figure, voiced similar doubts about Ankara's intentions.[142] It does indeed seem unrealistic to assume that so long and bitter a conflict can be overcome easily or quickly, and without considerable sacrifice on the government side also. In short, a satisfactory outcome to the process should not at all be taken for granted. The major obstacles are still to be overcome. A case can even be made that neither the government nor the PKK are in great need of a settlement. Each deeply mistrusts the other. The PKK remains able to recruit and raise funds, might reasonably feel that time is on its side in light of the wider developments in the region, and will seek to preserve its legitimacy. For his part, Erdogan runs the risk of incurring the wrath of Turkish nationalist sentiment, of seeming to legitimize Ocalan and the PKK, and of the initiative's failure. Nor is it necessarily the case that Ocalan, for all the status and symbolic significance he undoubtedly possesses, entertains aspirations that precisely accord with all elements of Turkey's wider Kurdish movement.[143]

The Turkish state retains the capacity to sustain a crackdown on the PKK inside its own borders and in northern Iraq. Of course, negotiations that lead to some kind of Kurdish autonomy in Turkey could also evolve, although that hardly seems to be what Prime Minister Erdogan currently has in mind. It might even transpire that Turkey's Kurds would be satisfied

with little more than some relaxation of the cultural and language restrictions currently in force, which appears to be all that Ankara has in mind. Greater contact and interaction with a Turkey-leaning KRG might prove sufficient, not least as a consequence of economic benefits that might accrue. However, such an outcome would represent little return on decades of violent struggle against a very repressive and determined Turkish regime. Either the government needs to show willingness to go the extra mile in return for a lasting solution—which would probably need to consist chiefly of some kind of devolved government—or the struggle will surely continue.

If that occurs, what would the implications be for Ankara's relationship with the KRG? No doubt recalling earlier clashes with the PKK, such as during the mid-1990s, Barzani is wary of the expanded PKK presence on KRG territory that is a consequence of the "Imrali process," seeing it as a potential rival and as posing the risk of intensified Turkish military activity inside KRG territory should the process be derailed.[144] There is at least an outside possibility that failure of the "Imrali process" could result in heightened tension between Erbil and the PKK, particularly if that failure could be attributed to the PKK. This scenario would be still more probable in the event of tension between Erbil and a PYD-dominated autonomous Kurdish zone in Syria. On the other hand, should Ankara take the blame for a renewal of the struggle against the PKK and a denial of Kurdish rights in Turkey, Barzani would find himself under domestic pressure to distance the KRG from Ankara—pressure that Tehran, and perhaps the PUK, too, would seek to exploit. Turkey's relationship with Iraq's Kurds is conducted more through Barzani's KDP than through the PUK, which historically has been relatively open to Iranian influence. The KRG is by no means a unified entity. The PUK is, in general, less enamored of the KRG's new relationship with Turkey, more accommodating towards Baghdad, and closer than is the KDP to Syria's PYD.

An Iranian Kurdistan?

Iran's Kurds are at least as geographically dispersed, politically fragmented, and cowed as their Syrian counterparts have been, and are even more understudied.[145] Since 2004, Iran, like Turkey, has been in a struggle with Kurdish fighters operating from Iraqi Kurdish territory, in the form of the Party for Life and Freedom in Kurdistan (*Partiya Jiyana Azad a Kurdistane*—PJAK). Like Syria's PYD, PJAK is widely assumed to be affiliated with the PKK. In the past, Ankara has cooperated with Iran against the PKK/PJAK threat from northern Iraq. Iran also suspects that PJAK is or was sponsored by the United States as a means to destabilize the Iranian regime. Certainly during the autumn of 2011, as the American withdrawal from Iraq approached, PJAK seemed to be on the lookout for a truce with Tehran. This eased the task of the KRG officials who helped broker the first ever ceasefire between PJAK and Iranian forces, which came into effect in September 2011, following an intensified summer campaign against PJAK by Tehran's security forces.[146] However, given the KRG's autonomy, the establishment of a Kurdish self-governing zone in Syria, and the "Imrali process" in Turkey, Tehran must be feeling isolated and its ethnic Kurds left behind by the progress being made by their kin in neighboring countries. They could conceivably be inspired to emulate them.[147] Such is Iranian Kurdish disunity, however, that attempting prediction is ill-advised, although recently there have been attempts to forge greater unity.[148] In the past, Kurdish challenges in Iran have tended to materialize at moments

of crisis in the country. An attack against Iran's nuclear facilities, or an implosion of the regime there, could lead to a scenario resembling that currently at play in Syria and that has created the current Iraqi situation, in which Kurdish elements could seek to exploit the chaos in order to establish some autonomy.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The pathway to a fully independent and pan-Kurdish state is hard to visualize. The geographical location and the history of the Kurds, inside and outside Iraq, are unenviable. For Iraq's Kurds, in the absence of a functional government in Baghdad or of an Iran fully integrated into the regional and global system, a close embrace by an economically and politically dynamic Turkey, which can offer markets, investment, protection, and diplomatic connectedness, might not be the worst possible outcome, though it too would undoubtedly bring challenges.[149] Syria's Kurds could conceivably take a similar route. Of course, the road to any such outcome is strewn with risks and obstacles. Iran could object, but its protests might be stifled by the prize of preponderant influence in Shia Iraq. Tehran might also be appeased by Turkish and Iraqi Kurdish cooperation with respect to its own Kurdish difficulties. Baghdad, too, might be unhappy, but there would be little it could do in the face of Erbil's economic and political dependency on a Turkey determined to tighten its hold over Iraq's north. In fact, arguably a bigger risk for Iraq's Kurds would be the risk of a cooling of the Ankara-Erbil relationship as a result of developments in Syria's Kurdish lands, or of intra-Kurdish tensions that undermine the political cohesion of the KRG. It is possible—even likely—that splits within the Syrian and indeed Iranian Kurdish movements—splits that could appear in Turkey, too, if and when a political process there gets fully underway,[150]—could magnify the divisions inside the KRG between the PUK and the KDP. If the PYD retains its current ascendency in Syrian Kurdistan and is able to use it to enhance Kurdish autonomy—both of which are quite likely—then a great deal will depend on factors such as whether the PYD actively supports the PKK, whether Turkey is able to make such profound political progress that it leads to the effective disarmament of the PKK and the end of its violent struggle against Turkey's security forces, and whether Barzani—or good sense—is able to steer Syria's Kurds away from confrontation with Turkey in a manner that reassures Ankara. Much also depends on what kind of post-Assad regime emerges in Damascus and how its relationship with the country's Kurds evolves. Another possibility is that there could be some kind of fusion between Iraqi and Syrian Kurdish autonomous entities, although this, too, would depend on the fortunes of the PYD in Syria and its relationship with the KRG.

However, it is clear that whatever transpires in Syria and whatever path the latest "Kurdish opening" in Turkey takes, the Kurds will have the capacity to deny stability to each of the countries in which they reside for so long as their aspirations are not considered. This applies to Iraq as well. In the seemingly unlikely event that the Arab politics of Iraq stabilize to such a degree that a more sustained onslaught against Kurdish autonomy can be mounted, the Kurds would undoubtedly resist and a bloodbath would ensue, the outcome and ramifications of which would be highly uncertain. Would Turkey seriously intervene on behalf of the KRG, as has been rumored it might? How would Washington, which bears heavy responsibility for the state of affairs in Iraq and which is currently arming Baghdad,

react? How would Tehran react? In short, in today's fast-moving regional environment, it is more difficult than ever to predict the future for the Kurds of Iraq, or indeed of the wider region. Washington's ally, Turkey, finds itself torn between its vulnerability to the turmoil in its neighborhood, and a desire to act in order to change it, possibly dramatically. However, recent developments suggest that, whatever the future holds, it is very unlikely to resemble the past. Washington will determine for itself how actively it will engage in trying to shape that future. It will be less able to choose for itself how much that future impinges on its interests and preferences in the region.

Recommendations to U.S. Policymakers

- Be more proactive in helping resolve the KRG-Baghdad relationship, in particular with respect to agreement on a hydrocarbons law. This would enable KRG energy resources to be exported to and through Turkey.
- Encourage Ankara and Baghdad to improve their relationship, and especially to explore the possibility of a north-south energy pipeline in Iraq.
- Encourage Prime Minister Maliki to adopt more inclusive and less confrontational policies towards the country's Kurdish, Sunni Arab, and even its other Shia groups, so that Iraq can consolidate its democracy and achieve stability.
- Make rearming Iraq, especially the sale of F-16s, dependent on Baghdad adopting more conciliatory and inclusive domestic policies.
- In the event of a failure to improve relationships in the region, consider the implications of its commitment to the Maliki government for U.S. relations with Turkey and the KRG, and for the development of Iraq's energy resources.
- Prepare for the possibility that Syria and/or Iraq might fragment or descend into continued chaos, thereby potentially pushing Iraqi and Syrian Kurds into the Turkish orbit.

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In: Encyclopedia of Turkey
Editor: Dennis Rivera
ISBN: 978-1-63482-757-7
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Chapter 3

TURKEY'S NEW REGIONAL SECURITY ROLE: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES*

Richard Weitz

FOREWORD

Since the Cold War era, when the United States began heavily investing in Turkey's military and defense operations, the United States and Turkey have enjoyed a fruitful and mutually beneficial relationship. Because of Turkey's geographic location, political stability, and recent economic success, the country has served as a strategic ally in U.S. foreign policy. The Arab uprisings in particular have challenged the Turkish-U.S. partnership. For a country that was already struggling to balance its position as a regional power with the imperative of maintaining good relations with its Western allies, the increasing instability in the region has forced Ankara to rely more on the United States than it would prefer. Although the Syrian conflict has underscored to Turkey the value of its security ties with the United States, the war has also exposed deep differences between the two countries on fundamental issues. While presently partially buried, these differences could easily rise to the surface in coming years.

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SUMMARY

Until a few years ago, the relationship between Washington, DC, and Ankara, Turkey, was perennially troubled and occasionally terrible. Turks strongly opposed the U.S. 2003 invasion of Iraq and have subsequently complained that the Pentagon was allowing Iraqi

* This is an edited, reformatted and augmented version of a report issued by the Strategic Studies Institute, September 2014.

Kurds too much autonomy, leading to deteriorating security along the Iraq-Turkey border. Disagreements over how to respond to Iran's nuclear program, U.S. suspicions regarding Turkey's outreach efforts to Iran and Syria, and differences over Armenia, Palestinians, and the Black Sea further strained ties and contributed to further anti-Americanism in Turkey. Now Turkey is seen as responding to its local challenges by moving closer to the West, leading to the advent of a "Golden Era" in Turkish-U.S. relations. Barack Obama has called the U.S.-Turkish relationship a "model partnership" and Turkey "a critical ally." Explanations abound as to why U.S.-Turkey ties have improved during the last few years. The U.S. military withdrawal from Iraq removed a source of tension and gave Turkey a greater incentive to cooperate with Washington to influence developments in Iraq. Furthermore, the Arab Awakening led both countries to partner in support of the positive agenda of promoting democracy and security in the Middle East. Americans and Turks both want to see democratic secular governments in the region rather than religiously sanctioned authoritarian ones. Setbacks in Turkey's reconciliation efforts with Syria, Iran, and other countries led Ankara to realize that having good relations with the United States helps it achieve core goals in the Middle East and beyond. Even though Turkey's role as a provider of security and stability in the region is weakened as a result of the recent developments in Syria and the ensuing negative consequences in its relations to other countries, Turkey has the capacity to recover and resume its position. Partnering with the United States is not always ideal, but recent setbacks have persuaded Turkey's leaders that they need to backstop their new economic strength and cultural attractiveness with the kind of hard power that is most readily available to the United States. For a partnership between Turkey and the United States to endure, however, Turkey must adopt more of a collective transatlantic perspective, crack down harder on terrorist activities, and resolve a domestic democratic deficit. At the same time, Europeans should show more flexibility meeting Turkey's security concerns regarding the European Union, while the United States should adopt a more proactive policy toward resolving potential sources of tensions between Ankara and Washington that could significantly worsen at any time.

INTRODUCTION

During its past decade under the ruling Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* or AKP), Turkey became a much more prominent global actor due to its dynamic diplomacy, strengthening economy, and the security vacuum in its turbulent neighborhood, which created a demand for the greater foreign policy activism Ankara was now able to provide. The "zero problems with neighbors" policy, which has been the cornerstone of the Turkish AKP party's foreign policy under Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, aims at resolving all Turkey's problems with neighbors, or at least minimizing them as much as possible. Guided by the philosophy of Davutoğlu, the dominant strategic thinker of the AKP even before he became foreign minister, Turkey has sought to improve its political relations with its key neighbors by strengthening mutual economic links and by moving its position on prominent issues, such as Israel and Iran's nuclear program, closer to the mainstream international view even if that differed from the position favored by the United States and most North Atlantic Treaty

Organization (NATO) governments. The goal has been to strengthen Turkey's economy, achieve greater regional stability, and thereby raise Ankara's global influence. The Turkish leadership recognized that regional conflict and competition would persist, but hoped the parties would keep these negative elements constrained to enjoy the positive benefits of improved economic relations and a more secure region, which would provide Turkey with the "strategic depth" Ankara needed to become a great power. Turkey's rapid economic growth is facilitating the modernization of the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) and the country's domestic defense industry. Its large, predominately moderate Muslim population provides Ankara with one of the largest and most readily deployable armies in Europe. Turkey's location astride multiple global hotspots—the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Middle East, etc.—widens NATO's geographic perspective. Turkish strategic thinkers have traditionally seen their country as surrounded by unstable, potentially hostile geographic regions. Turkish foreign and defense policy has sought to reduce this instability—and ideally transform Turkey's pivotal geopolitical position from that of a liability into an advantage—by partnering with the United States and other NATO countries. Being more flexible, however, recent Turkish foreign policy has also become less predictable, which complicates Ankara's relations with Washington and other traditional partners. Within Turkey, newly empowered societal actors such as ethnic lobbies, business associations, influential civilian politicians, and a resurgent religious establishment have pushed for changes in long-established foreign and defense policies. Conversely, the Turkish military, previously the dominant security actor, has lost influence, weakening a traditional force favoring close ties with the United States. The AKP has managed to exploit Turkey's efforts to join the European Union (EU) to justify stripping the TSK of political powers.

EUROPEAN SECURITY

Turkey has presented both a challenge and an opportunity to NATO and the EU as they restructure their roles, missions, and capabilities to address Europe's 21st-century security challenges. Since NATO's foundation in 1949, the Alliance has played a crucial role in Turkey's security strategy and contributed to its integration with both Europe and the United States. During the Cold War, the Turkish government relied on its NATO membership and its bilateral alliance with the United States to backstop Turkey's security. The pro-Western elite that dominated the country's foreign and defense policies viewed Turkey's affiliation with NATO and ties to the United States as defining and ensuring its status as a core member of the Western camp.

NATO simultaneously defended Turkey against the Warsaw Pact and benefited from Ankara's efforts to deter Soviet adventurism. Though confrontations occurred between Turkey and fellow Alliance member Greece over Cyprus and other issues, these conflicts actually highlighted NATO's additional value in moderating differences between Athens and Ankara. Turkey has not only benefitted from NATO's support, but has also contributed heavily to the Alliance's effort to promote security in the Euro-Atlantic region and beyond. Turkey serves as the organization's vital eastern anchor, controlling the straits between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea and sharing a border with Syria, Iraq, and Iran. Although the Cold War is over, NATO's importance for Turkey remains. With much of

Europe paralyzed due to the Euro crisis and with U.S. attention drifting eastward, Turkey has the opportunity to emerge as one of NATO's new leaders, providing Ankara adopts more of a collective transatlantic perspective and stops trying to import its bilateral disputes with Israel and the EU into the Alliance's multinational deliberations. Having been a member of NATO since 1952, an aspirant for EU membership for over a decade, and disposing of one of Europe's most powerful military forces, Turkey must perforce be a key component of any effective European security architecture. Yet, finding an appropriate place for Ankara in the evolving EU-NATO balance has proven exceptionally difficult given the country's continued exclusion from the EU and dispute with the government of Cyprus.

Turkish officials have waged a protracted battle to influence EU security decisions and compel Greek Cypriots to reach a political settlement with their Turkish minority. In pursuit of these ends, they have proved willing to block EU-NATO cooperation on important security issues. A recurring problem is that Turkey is a member of NATO but not the EU, whereas Cyprus belongs to the EU but not NATO. The two countries have used the consensus rules of each organization to prevent one organization from cooperating with the other on important security issues. In particular, Turkish objections to the possible leaking of sensitive NATO military information to Cyprus have limited ties between the EU and NATO since Cyprus joined the Union in 2004. With no security arrangement in place, EU officers on the training mission for Afghan police are forced to improvise on the ground for their own protection with local International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) commanders.

These mutual antagonisms have constrained NATO-EU cooperation in general, and disrupted the joint NATO-EU security missions in Afghanistan, Kosovo, and in the Gulf of Aden in particular. For example, there is no comprehensive EU-NATO agreement on the provision by ISAF of security for the European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL) staff and no possibility to exchange classified and often critical information. Consequently, EUPOL has had to conclude individual agreements with Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) nations and has even been obliged to hire a private company to guarantee its security and to maintain an extremely tight security policy. Moreover, Turkey and the United States did not conclude bilateral agreements with EUPOL.

All this has slowed down EUPOL's deployment and hampered its effectiveness.[1] The AKP's dominant form of security discourse, with frequent references to multilateralism, soft power, and critical dialogue, resembles more closely that used by EU rather than U.S. officials, who try to "keep all options on the table," including the use of military force. But Turkey has always relied on the United States as well as NATO to provide such power when it is needed. For example, Turkey insisted on giving NATO control of the 2011 Libyan intervention.[2] Having NATO, rather than an ad hoc coalition or one led by the EU or United States, will likely remain Ankara's preference as long as Turkey is excluded from the EU.[3]

NATO

When NATO was formed in April 1949, Turkey was not initially invited to join. Washington was reluctant to commit to defend distant Turkey, and had also rejected Turkish proposals for a bilateral alliance or a unilateral U.S. security guarantee. NATO's West European members did not want to risk diluting the U.S. economic and other assistance they

were receiving. Although some Turkish leaders wanted to pursue a more neutral foreign policy following NATO's snub, Turkish policymakers continued to pursue NATO membership, believing the Alliance offered Turkey the optimal Western anchor. Turkey's key contribution to the U.S.-United Nations (UN) Korean War effort augmented Ankara's renewed membership campaign. In September 1951, NATO invited Turkey, along with Greece, to join the Alliance. The United States was hesitant to extend its involvement in the Middle East due to its commitments in Europe and Asia.[4] Yet, with the outbreak of war in Southeast Asia, the decline of British influence in the Middle East, and the threat of Soviet aggression in the Mediterranean, the United States began to not only see the importance of the Middle East but also the importance of Turkey as a potential ally. At the time, several factors impeded Turkey's admission into NATO. Influential European leaders considered Turkey as part of the Middle East and did not want to extend the Marshall Plan to Turkey.[5] Nonetheless, London, United Kingdom (UK), and Washington pushed for Turkey's admission into NATO, primarily because of its "guardianship" of the Dardanelles and Bosporus. Under the Montreux Convention, Turkey could close these straits to the Soviet Navy in wartime.[6]

Turkey has since made major contributions to Western security. During the Cold War, Turkey helped constrain the Soviet Navy in the Mediterranean, provided one of the largest armies in Europe, and hosted key NATO military facilities. NATO planners were concerned with strategic weaknesses that could be exploited by the Soviet Union if war were to erupt between the Alliance and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). NATO's boundaries stretched from the North Cape in Norway to Mount Agri in eastern Turkey, and while central Europe was the primary focus of NATO's defense, its northern and southern flanks were dangerously exposed. Not only did NATO have to contend with Soviet ambitions in the Mediterranean, but it also had to deal with the deterioration of British influence in the Middle East and the disunity between the Arab states. The Middle East and the Mediterranean are also important because of vital transportation and communications lines and the raw materials located in the region.[7] In addition, Turkey not only played an important role in intelligence gathering, early warning, forward basing, logistics, and training, but also served as a valuable link between the Middle East and the West. This was demonstrated during the U.S. landings in Lebanon in 1958 and the Jordanian civil war in 1970. Until its military intervention in the Cyprus crisis, Turkey was "a strong element of stability in the eastern Mediterranean."[8]

The end of the Cold War, however, changed this relationship.[9] Turkey cooperated with the United States in the 1991 Gulf War and contributed to NATO backed missions in the former Yugoslavia and Libya. But as the 1990s unfolded, Turkey suffered escalating terrorist violence in the southeast region, a major economic crisis, increased political polarization, a security vacuum in neighboring northern Iraq (which the PKK exploited), and perceived diminished Western interest and support.[10] The September 2001 (9/11) attack on the World Trade Center marked a new era in NATO's history, but it also led to a change of Turkey´s role within the Alliance's structure. The more diverse security environment in the post-9/11 world has led to NATO engagements far beyond the Euro-Atlantic area, and provided new importance to Turkey, given its geographical and cultural position in contemporary "out of area" missions.[11] There are three main developments that gave Turkey a more significant role in the organization. First, NATO's attention expanded to include a wider geographical focus, reaching countries with a strategic distance away from the Euro-Atlantic geography. This included a specific focus on the Middle East and countries located in Turkey's neighborhood.

Second, the allies reached a consensus to include terrorism in NATO's agenda, creating a need for new means and strategies, which largely depended on local knowledge that Turkey could contribute regarding its region. Third, Turkey has close physical and other connections with Afghanistan.[12]

Turkey brings other important assets to the NATO Alliance. It is the only predominantly Muslim member of NATO and boasts one of the world's most dynamic economies. The country's rapid growth is allowing the country to enhance its military forces through both foreign purchases and an improving domestic defense industry. Thanks to its large population and the geographically broad perspective of its national security community, Turkey has one of the largest and most readily deployable armies in Europe. With a force of over 600,000 personnel and a military budget of close to $19 billion, Turkey has the second largest military in NATO.[13] Turkey borders three security hotspots of concern for the Alliance: the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Middle East. Turkey has contributed heavily to the NATO-led ISAF in Afghanistan, commanding ISAF on multiple occasions and stationing more than 1,700 troops in Kabul. Turkey has made substantial contributions to the reconstruction of the country.

One such example is the Vardak Provincial Construction Team, which was established in November 2006. Under its auspices, Turkey had provided $200 million worth of aid by 2008.[14] At the same time, Turkey has deployed soldiers to Afghanistan to train Afghan soldiers and police belonging to the Afghan National Security Forces. Turkey's training mission, its economic assistance, and its regional diplomatic initiatives aimed at reconciling Afghanistan and Pakistan are essential to promoting Afghanistan's security and post-conflict reconstruction. President Abdullah Gül has said that, "As stakeholders in the region, we cannot expect that the United States and other Western powers solve the problems by themselves. We should shoulder our responsibilities."[15] In addition, by constructing roads, Turkish firms are building stronger economic relations and diplomatic ties between Afghanistan and other countries.[16] With its involvement in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, Turkey can not only take a stand against Taliban extremism, but also provide NATO with leverage against Iran.[17]

Turkey's influence in the Balkans, another area of concern for NATO, remains strong, especially since Ankara has improved relations with Serbia. Turkey has made contributions to the Kosovo Force (KFOR), the Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (SFOR), and the follow-on mission led by the European Union Force Althea.[18] For years, Turkish warships have been helping patrol the Black Sea and eastern Mediterranean against terrorists and other threats to these vital lifelines. Ankara has supported expanding NATO's roster of members and partners since the Alliance's enlargement promotes stability in neighboring regions. Current Turkish efforts focus on assisting Georgia, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina in their efforts to join NATO at some point. In terms of NATO's "new missions," Turkey is playing a vital role in promoting NATO's energy security by serving as a vital conduit for oil and gas reaching Europe from Eurasia, especially the Caspian basin and Russia. Turkey's energy partnership and overall good relations with Russia, despite differences over the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE) and Syria, have helped buffer Russia-NATO tensions on many issues. In the future, Turkish diplomats could help resolve the protracted conflicts in the former Soviet Union involving Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia.

Ankara has also played a critical role in the European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA), which is designed to deal with the threat posed by Iranian short-and intermediate-

range ballistic missiles to U.S. assets, personnel, and allies in Europe.[19] When the Obama administration announced the EPAA, it was in Turkey's interest to integrate the U.S. program into NATO to present a transatlantic missile defense project as a NATO rather than a U.S. plan to its neighbors. In September 2011, Turkey agreed to host in Malatya a forward deployed AN/TPY-2 early warning radar system, operational since January 2012, as part of the EPAA ballistic missile defense program. Turkey has also played an important role in advancing NATO's security in the Middle East. From August 2004 to June 2013, Turkey hosted NATO's Allied Air Command Headquarters. This Air Command, located in Izmir, was part of Allied Joint Force Command Naples and safeguarded almost three million square miles of airspace across NATO's southern region. The Air Command in Turkey played an important role in Operation UNIFIED PROTECTOR against Libya.[20] Turkey today hosts NATO's Land Command headquarters, which is also located in Izmir, in addition to one of NATO's six "Rapid Deployable Corps," which are high readiness headquarters that can be quickly removed to lead NATO troops on missions within or beyond NATO territory.[21] As part of NATO's nuclear sharing arrangement, Turkey is reported to host U.S. tactical nuclear weapons on its territory at Incirlik Air Base.[22] Turkey and NATO have been aligning their policies toward Syria throughout the crisis there. Turkey is playing a crucial role in promoting NATO's energy security by serving as a vital conduit for oil and gas reaching Europe from Eurasia, especially the Caspian basin and Russia.

From Washington's perspective, Turkey has an exemplary nuclear nonproliferation record. Neither the collapse of the Eastern bloc, nor the wars involving neighboring Iraq, which under Saddam Hussein sought nuclear weapons and used chemical ones, nor Iran's nuclear ambiguous ambitions have prompted Turkey to pursue nuclear weapons. Of particular importance to Turkey's foreign policy are arms control and disarmament treaties. Turkey became a party to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in 1979 and to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 2000. Turkey also joined the Chemical Weapons Convention in 1997 and the Biological Weapons Convention in 1974. In 1996, Turkey became the founding member of the Wassenaar Arrangement regarding export controls of conventional weapons and dualuse equipment and technologies. Turkey joined the Missile Technology Control Regime in 1997, the Zangger Committee in 1999, the Nuclear Suppliers Group in 2000, and the Australia Group that seeks to ensure that exports do not contribute to the development of chemical or biological weapons that same year. Turkey supports the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), which was launched by President George W. Bush during a speech in Krakow, Poland, in May 2003.

Turkey joined, as initial partner state, the "Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism" (GICNT), launched by Presidents Vladimir Putin and Bush, following a joint statement in St. Petersburg, Russia, in July 2006. Turkey hosted the Initiative's second meeting in Ankara in February 2007. Turkey became a signatory to the Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (HCOC) at the conference held in The Hague, the Netherlands, in November 2002. Furthermore, Turkey joined the "Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons" (CCW) and its three Protocols (Protocol I, Amended Protocol II, and Protocol IV) in 2005. Under the provisions of the Convention, Turkey is obligated to destroy its stockpiled anti-personnel land mines by 2008 and to clear mined areas by 2014. In order to destroy the stockpiled anti-personnel land mines, the "Turkish Armed Forces Munitions Disposal Facility" was built and has been operational since November 2007.

Turkey's nonproliferation bona fides were highlighted by the March 26-27 Nuclear Security Summit in Seoul, Korea. Turkey's delegation reported progress in adopting international treaties against nuclear terrorism, supporting UN and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) efforts in these areas, holding training courses for its customs and nuclear workers on nuclear security issues, participating in anti-nuclear smuggling initiatives, shipping dangerous highly enriched uranium spent reactor fuel to the United States for more secure storage, and upgrading the safety and security regulations for its emerging civilian nuclear energy program, especially the Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant project.

Nonetheless, several developments could move the environment in a more adverse direction. Most obviously, unambiguous evidence could arise that Iran is pursuing nuclear weapons, which would compel Turkey to reassess its nuclear weapons policies. Turkey's plans to expand its domestic nuclear energy program would, for the first time, provide its government with the scientific, technical, and industrial foundations to pursue genuine nuclear weapons options, as Iran's own development of the capacity to make nuclear weapons has demonstrated to Ankara and others. But Turkey's leaders might still decide that, even if Iran developed a small nuclear arsenal, they would be better off continuing to rely on NATO and Washington as well as Turkey's powerful conventional military, bolstered by national and multinational missile defenses, rather than pursue an independent Turkish nuclear force as a means of deterring even a nuclear-armed Iran.

EUROPEAN UNION

Turkey has been bidding to join the EU since 1959, only 2 years after the organization's inception. Ankara achieved this goal on September 12, 1963, with the signing of the Agreement creating an association between the Republic of Turkey and the European Economic Community (EEC). This agreement aimed to move Turkey toward entry into a customs union with the EEC, both as an achievement in itself and as a means to facilitate Turkey's accession into the EEC as a full member.[23] This was accomplished with the 1963 Ankara Accession Agreement and its Additional Protocol, which envisaged eventual EU membership; in 1995, Turkey joined the EU Customs Union. Turkey gained the right to export its goods duty free to EU countries though the freedom of movement was restricted to goods; Turks wishing to enter the EU still require an entry visa.

Negotiations toward Turkey's accession to the EU officially began on October 3, 2005. This process requires that the parties negotiate and close all 33 chapters of the EU *acquis communautaire* (the corpus of EU laws and policies). The opening and closing of individual chapters is subject to unanimity among the 27 EU member states, as is the final decision to conclude an Accession Treaty, making the whole process vulnerable to national vetoes and blackmail. All 27 EU governments must vote to open and close each chapter as well as to admit each new member.[24] As of now, only 13 chapters have been opened to Turkey; the European Council suspended eight chapters in December 2006. Austria, Cyprus, France, and Germany have blocked another nine chapters.[25] Turkey started accession negotiations with the EU at the same time as Croatia, which will soon join the EU. Fifteen other countries have joined the EU since 1987, when Turkey applied for full membership. Not only has Turkey's membership drive stalled while the EU has grown from 12 to 27 countries, but the EU has

declined other Turkish priorities, such as being extended the visafree entry privileges offered by all EU members to one another's citizens under the Schengen Treaty. Egemen Bagis, Turkey's Minister for EU Relations, has called these travel restrictions "not fair" since "Turkey is the only EU candidate country, whose citizens are still subject to visas."[26]

Since coming to power more than a decade ago, the ruling AKP has used the EU entry requirements as a justification and catalyst to promote economic and political reforms at home that have also served to strengthen the Turkish economy and to curtail the power of the Turkish military. Public opinion polls show that Turkey's EU membership drive continues to enjoy strong support among the country's elite despite falling popular support for membership. In a January 2013 opinion survey, 87 percent of experts still favored joining the EU, while only 33 percent of the public were in favor of persisting.[27] The other main political parties still officially support Turkey's quest for EU accession.

Yet, the question of Turkish accession has been problematic for many years. Many Europeans have been concerned about Turkey's poor human rights record, restrictions on media freedoms, potential miscarriages of justice, constraints on Kurdish rights, and non-recognition of the Republic of Cyprus. Disputes with EU countries over various Turkish domestic and foreign policies have led Turkish leaders to lose faith that Ankara will soon be invited to join as a full member. EU members have become preoccupied with organizational reform, economic restructuring, and integrating recent members. Efforts to develop a European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) distinct from NATO have presented challenges for Turkey due to its limited influence on EU decisionmaking. In addition, many Europeans characterize the accession negotiations that formally began in October 2005 as a decades-long process that might not lead to full membership even if Turkey completes them successfully.

Numerous domestic and external issues have negatively affected the negotiation process. Supporters of EU membership for Turkey argue that the AKP has managed to stabilize the economy and suppress the scope for military coups since it came to power in 2002. It has built good ties with international donor organizations and can count on the support of the European Commission in its dispute with the Constitutional Court in regards to its legitimacy.[28] Critics argue that Turkey is mostly located in Asia. Also, the proximity to security areas such as Iraq, Iran, and Syria does not appeal to some EU leaders. They argue that EU's Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) is not ready to shoulder more responsibility in the Middle East, and that Turkey's membership would link the otherwise fairly peaceful and quiet EU more strongly to a very volatile region in security terms. As for Turkey's new political stability, critics argue that the AKP achieved this through suppression of government critics. The recent mass protests against the Erdoğan government have reinforced these concerns.

Public opinion in several EU countries, such as Austria and France, has opposed Turkey's membership. This fact became significant when both governments announced they would hold referendums on Turkey's accession. In addition, the 2004 entry into the EU of the Republic of Cyprus, not recognized by Turkey, further complicated matters since, once having joined, Cyprus could veto Turkey's entry. The Cypriot government has blocked six chapters of Turkish accession negotiations, arguing that Ankara needs to normalize relations with them before being considered as a potential EU member.[29] When Cyprus held the rotating EU presidency during the last 6 months of 2012, Turkey–EU relations froze solid with no progress in their negotiations and minimal official contact between Turkey and the

EU. Leading EU countries, such as France and Germany, openly expressed their unease regarding Turkey's joining the EU and instead proposed establishing a "privileged partnership" for Turkey short of membership, which Ankara has rejected. As a result, talks between Ankara and Brussels became rather quiet, stale, and unproductive throughout the following years and leading up to the present. Turks have become frustrated by these negotiations, which have been stalled for years. The EU's protracted crises have also considerably decreased Turkish interest in the organization.

The official reason given for suspending the accession negotiations with Turkey was Ankara's refusal to apply the Customs Union between the EU and Turkey to the Republic of Cyprus.[30] Vessels flying Cypriot flags are barred from entering Turkish ports.[31] On July 20, 1974, Turkey invaded and occupied a third of the island after a Greek initiated coup attempted to secure power and annex the island to Greece.[32] The Turkish government seized for its citizens the northern section of the island, which they then self-declared to be the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The rest of the island, besides the small segment that is currently being occupied by UN Peacekeeping forces, is known as the Republic of Cyprus. The problem is that the Turkish government refuses to recognize the Republic of Cyprus because of their dispute over the rightful possession and subsequent governance of the island as well as the Northern Cyprus blockade currently in place. The Republic of Cyprus has been a member of the EU since 2004 and, as a result, many EU countries have banded together in support of that entity. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is recognized by the international community, including the EU, as an "occupied part of the Republic of Cyprus."[33] Turkey does not recognize the ethnically Greek Republic of Cyprus. EU nations such as France and Germany have unequivocally said to the Turkish government that they need to treat Cyprus the same as any other EU member state, starting with recognizing them as a sovereign nation. However, leadership from Ankara is standing its ground firmly in refusing to make such acknowledgments, even if it means possibly terminating their chance at joining the EU.[34]

France has played a lead role in impeding Turkey's accession in recent years. The French government led the effort in 2006 to suspend the negotiations after Turkey refused to recognize the Republic of Cyprus. France vetoed 11 out of the 35 chapters, which caused the accession talks to virtually halt (only eight remain suspended as of early-2013).[35] Relations rapidly deteriorated when the French Senate approved a bill that would punish those who deny internationally recognized genocides. Turks saw this legislative measure as an explicit reference to their denial of the Armenian genocide in 1915.[36] Many Turkish officials argued that the bill was a campaign strategy by then French President Nicholas Sarkozy aimed at recruiting votes from the Armenian population in France.[37]

In retaliation to the proposed bill, Turkey imposed immediate political, military, and economic sanctions. For example, Turkey did not renew permission for French military planes to use Turkish airspace.[38] These sanctions were quickly lifted and a French court eventually negated the bill, but relations between the two countries remained cold throughout the Sarkozy presidency.[39] However, since Sarkozy left office in 2012, France has had a revamped policy regarding Turkish accession. President Hollande has openly stated his support for Turkey's becoming an EU member at some point.[40] Following his election in 2012, his administration advocated opening some of the eight chapters of the accession talks that were closed.[41] In February 2013, Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius told his Turkish counterpart Ahmet Davutoğlu of his willingness to open Chapter 22 of the *acquis* regarding

"Regional Policy and Coordination of Structural Instruments."[42] According to the European Commission, this chapter consists:

> mostly of framework and implementing regulations, which do not require transposition into national legislation. They define the rules for drawing up, approving and implementing Structural Funds or Cohesion Fund programs reflecting each country's territorial organization. . . . Member States must have an institutional framework in place and adequate administrative capacity to ensure programming, implementing, monitoring and evaluation in a sound and cost-effective manner from the point of view of management and financial control.[43]

This was followed by Angela Merkel's trip to Ankara in late-February 2013, where she not only supported the opening of Chapter 22, but also suggested potentially opening other chapters to advance the accession talks.[44]

Germany's backing of France in welcoming the resumption of accession talks between Turkey and the EU was a major shift for Berlin. Germany has long been an opponent of Turkish accession despite having one of the largest Turkish populations outside of the native country. Chancellor Merkel was the first to propose a "privileged partnership" between Turkey and the EU as an alternative to full membership. Many Germans have long held a position of not wanting

Turkey to become a member state, despite its booming economy and critical geographic location. Other EU officials have expressed concerns about the EU needing Turkey more than vice versa due to Turkey's more dynamic economy and increased foreign policy options. German officials have also adopted a more positive attitude toward Turkey's accession drive. In 2012, German Foreign Minister, Guido Westerwelle, said that:

> We, the Europeans, should open chapters to negotiations with Turkey in the first half of 2013. Otherwise, in the upcoming term, our interest in Turkey may be greater than Turkey's interest in us.[45]

Gunther Oettinger, Germany's EU commissioner, said that the EU could eventually "crawl to Ankara on its knees to beg the Turks to join the EU."[46]

Meanwhile, Turkish officials are maneuvering, such as by threatening to abandon the EU and seek membership in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), to give Ankara more leverage in the accession negotiations. On October 12, 2011, the EU Commission released a "Positive Agenda" document that listed and rated progress being made between Turkey and the EU. It offered favorable conclusions regarding Turkey's political reforms in key areas. The new EU approach is seen as a complement rather than a substitute for EU membership, since it could impart new momentum to the accession process as well as prepare Turkey better for it. The positive agenda includes eight areas of joint interest: political reforms in Turkey, visas, the EU *acquis*, migration, energy, trade, foreign policy dialogue, counterterrorism, and further participation of Turkey in EU programs. Joint EU-Turkish Working Groups have been formed to see how progress can be made regarding these issues. The newly created EU External Action Service has established a special Turkey team to support this process.

Turkey's excellent economic performance during the past decade, contrasted with the overall economic weakness within the EU, has made Ankara a more attractive partner for the

Union. In fact, former Turkish Foreign Minister Yaşar Yakış has expressed the opinion of many Turks when he argued that Turkey should delay negotiating with the EU over accession since Turkey's bargaining position will improve as the Turkish economy continues to perform much better than the EU average. Turkey's economy is projected to grow for the next decade at an average rate of 6.7 percent per year.[47] It would already rank as the sixth largest among EU members. Turkey's geography also makes it a natural conduit for EU trade and investment flowing eastward to Eurasia and the Middle East, and oil and gas from the Caspian Basin entering the EU.[48]

As a partial EU member, Turkey offers a large market for European goods and simultaneously acts as a gateway to markets in the Middle East and North Africa.[49] For Berlin, this is especially crucial, given that Germany sustains its economy through exports.[50] Conversely, Ankara's continued interest in joining the EU results in part from Turkey's economy still being oriented toward Europe. Although the percentage of Turkish trade involving the EU has continued to decline over time, some 38 percent of its imports originated from the EU in 2011, whereas 46 percent of Turkey's exports go to EU members.[51] Those shares amounted to $85 billion and $58 billion, respectively.[52] These trade volumes have kept increasing despite the current Euro crisis and the more rapid growth of Turkey's economic links with Russia and many other countries. Turkey's imports from the EU increased by 35.1 percent and 19.8 percent in 2010 and 2011, respectively, while exports grew 18.4 percent and 12.7 percent in those same years. Approximately two-thirds of Turkey's foreign direct investment still comes from the EU.[53]

But one might wonder how long Germany will hold this more flexible position. Merkel's encouraging approach toward Turkish accession was partly due to the forthcoming German national elections in 2014. In the 2009 election, the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) eased its anti-Turkish position in order to appeal to the 690,000 Turkish voters[54] and 3 million residents of Turkish origin living in Germany.[55] The CDP might be preparing for a similar electoral gambit on this occasion. In addition, although Germany has now come out in favor of opening of a new chapter in negotiations, the German government has conditioned expanding the renewed EU-Turkey talks to cover additional chapters to Turkey's applying its Ankara Agreement to the Republic of Cyprus.[56] By enunciating this condition, the Merkel government has indicated its willingness to engage more with Turkey in the field of European integration, but stands firm on the matter of its accession to the EU. Indeed, the chapter opened is relatively minor and not subject to much controversy, unlike the chapters concerning human rights or Cyprus. Hence, Merkel's change of position is more symbolic than significant.

Many other EU leaders naturally want to focus on addressing the EU's internal problems before seriously discussing Turkish accession.[57] Germany's reaction to the recent thaw between France and Turkey is further complicated by the differing views among parties within Germany. Merkel's CDP is much less favorably disposed to accession than the Free Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party, which both officially favor full Turkish accession into the EU.[58] The CDP prefers granting Turkey only partial membership in order to maintain good relations with one of Germany's biggest economic partners.[59] Even though Merkel reassured Turkey about the accession process, she did not promise full accession.[60] Finally, despite the political pivots made by Germany and France, Turkey still faces many hurdles in the accession process. For example, France is still blocking four Chapters, while Cyprus is blocking another six, making full accession improbable in the near future. [61]

TROUBLED TRIANGLE: NATO, THE EU, AND TURKEY

Despite the difficulties with making progress in the EU admission process, European leaders are aware that Europe's security cannot be separated from Mediterranean security, and there have been various attempts to establish a sustainable relationship between EU and Turkey. The task of redefining a security relationship between EU and Turkey has proved difficult, mostly because of EU's internal problems with defining the limits of integration and responsibility within defense and security policy. As a result, it will most likely continue to be in Turkey's interest to maintain NATO as the most powerful institution for defense and security in Europe even while Turkey continues to participate in military and civilian ESDP missions. Indeed, Turkey has been the most active participant in ESDP missions among countries outside of the EU, and more active than many EU-states as well.[62]

In 1992, Turkey was granted associate status in the Western European Union (WEU) as a means to allow for an EU-Turkey security partnership to develop even without granting Turkey full membership in the EU. Turkey was directly involved in planning and preparing WEU operations in which NATO assets and capabilities were to be used, thanks to Ankara's status as one of the six "associate members" (Turkey, Hungary, Iceland, Norway, Poland, and the Czech Republic) that had membership in NATO and the WEU. Turkey could attend its bi-weekly ambassador-level meetings, send officers to the WEU defense planning cell, and have Turkish parliamentarians attend the sessions of the WEU Assembly. Turkey also had the right to participate fully in WEU decisions when they involved collective NATO assets.[63] But Ankara lost this favorable situation when the EU decided to end the WEU's role in the ESDI and develop the ESDP wholly within the EU instead. Turkey subsequently found itself marginalized in the European security system and feared that the EU could potentially operate in its areas of interest without Ankara's having any input to the decision.[64]

NATO and the EU have sought to cooperate more effectively to address European security challenges. This collaboration has included sharing high-value but scarce assets, developing mutually profitable divisions of labor, and conducting joint operations, as in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and against Somali pirates. A priority is to avoid the creation of gaps, needless redundancies, institutional rivalries, or tensions between countries belonging to one but not the other— such as Turkey and the United States. After decades of informal talks between their officials and member governments, NATO and the EU established formal institutionalized relations in 2001 in response to the EU's expanding range of security and defense activities, as manifested in its ESDP. (Technically, it is the ESDP rather than the EU per se that has institutional ties with NATO).[65] The 1992 Maastricht Treaty had designated the WEU as the EU's defense component. Its main responsibility was to undertake the "Petersberg tasks" (humanitarian missions, search and rescue operations, crisis management, peacekeeping, peace enforcement, and environmental protection). Maastricht also established an intergovernmental Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). NATO and the WEU had developed extensive cooperation over the preceding decades. Welcoming potential EU contributions for the Petersberg tasks despite NATO's also performing the same types of missions, NATO governments agreed in 1994 that the WEU could use NATO collective assets, following the approval of the North Atlantic Council (NAC), for Petersberg-type missions under the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy. The Alliance likewise approved the concept of Combined Joint Task Forces, whose "separable but not separate"

deployable headquarters could be used for EU as well as NATO-led operations. In June 1996, the NATO foreign ministers meeting in Berlin sought to promote an ESDI within the Alliance in an effort to encourage European members to assume more of NATO's roles and responsibilities by strengthening their defense capabilities. Under what became known as the "Berlin Plus" agreement, the ministers further agreed to make NATO assets available for WEU-led crisis management operations.

Meanwhile, European governments also took steps to strengthen the EU's security and defense role independent of NATO. At their December 1998 summit in St. Malo, France, the British and French governments issued a joint statement that affirmed the goal of establishing an ESDP within the EU. The following December, however, the European Council meeting in Helsinki, Finland, transferred the EU crisis management role from the WEU to the EU. At the November 2002 Prague Summit, the NATO members consented in principle to making NATO assets and capabilities available for EU-led operations in which the Alliance was not militarily engaged. The EU-NATO Declaration on ESDP issued in December 2002 defined the political principles that would govern their relationship: effective mutual consultation; equality; institutional decisionmaking autonomy; respect for member states' interests; and the coherent, transparent, and mutually reinforcing development of their military capabilities.[66] The declaration affirms NATO's continued role in crisis management and conflict prevention (as well as collective defense), while stating that the EU's growing activities in the first two areas will contribute to their common goals.

In March 2003, NATO and the EU finalized adoption of the Berlin Plus agreements that allows the EU to use NATO's collective assets and capabilities for EU-led crisis management operations, including NATO's command arrangements, logistics assistance, and assistance in operational planning, when NATO as an institution is not involved in the operation. Only EU members that are either also NATO members or that have joined NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) Program, and thereby established a bilateral security arrangement with NATO, are eligible to use these NATO assets.[67] At the end of that month, the EU began its first Berlin Plus operation when its Operation CONCORDIA replaced the NATO-led Operation ALLIED HARMONY in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. After the transition, some NATO assets supported the EU-led follow-on operation.[68] Another Berlin Plus operation began in late-2004, when the EU's Operation ALTHEA replaced the NATO-led Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[69]

As originally formulated, the Berlin Plus agreement Arrangement between NATO and the EU meant that the non-EU European NATO allies could contribute to EU-led operations without participating in the decisionmaking process regarding these operations. Consequently, Turkey decided to use its decisionmaking powers in NATO to stall implementation of Berlin Plus agreements to force the EU to accept a more favorable arrangement from Ankara's perspective. In December 2001, Turkey, the UK, and the United States signed the Ankara Document, which guaranteed that NATO members not in the EU could participate in ESDP decisions when contributing to them. The EU heads of state and government adopted the document during their Brussels Summit in October 2002 as the "ESDP: Implementation of the Nice Provisions on the Involvement of the non-EU European Allies." This Nice Implementation Document served as the basis of the December 2002 NATO-EU Joint Declaration that was adopted by the North Atlantic Council on December 13, 2002, and the decision of the December 2002 European Council session in Copenhagen, Denmark, that the Berlin Plus agreements would apply only to EU members that also

belonged to NATO or had joined its PfP Program. The Copenhagen Summit also agreed that Turkey could participate in EU-led operations in its geographic vicinity if Ankara wanted to do so.[70]

Turkey has since become the largest contributor to ESDP missions of any non-EU country and has even contributed more than some EU members. According to many Turkish officials, however, the EU failed to live up to this commitment, resulting in Turkey being asked to contribute to ESDP operations that Ankara had little input in planning or initiating. In December 2002, the EU issued a declaration of intent to establish nine 2,000-troop battle groups by 2007 as rapid reaction units for foreign crises. The EU has had two battle groups on permanent standby since 2007, but the failure of EU member governments to agree regarding how, when, and where to employ them has prevented them from ever being used.[71] In November 2004, the Turkish government declared its intent to contribute forces and capabilities to the battle groups, but in June 2007, Ankara withdrew its air and naval contributions due to its exclusion from ESDP decisionmaking structures.[72] Further use of the Berlin Plus agreements has been limited due to their inapplicability to the short time frames intended for many EU crisis-response operations as well as their political and structural complexity.[73] By contrast, in the ground operations in Kosovo and Afghanistan, as well as in the maritime counterpiracy mission off Somalia, when EU and NATO missions have overlapped, the EU and NATO have established various ad hoc command and communications arrangements for these parallel operations.[74]

Since 2007, NATO and the EU have had some two dozen common member countries. But since both institutions decide many important security and defense issues by consensus, countries that have membership in one organization but not the other can exert substantial negative influence on the level of cooperation between the institutions. At present, NATO members Canada, Iceland, Norway, Turkey, and the United States are not EU members, while the traditionally neutral or nonaligned EU members Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Ireland, Malta, and Sweden are not NATO members, though four of the five (Malta since April 2008 but still not Cyprus) have joined NATO's PfP, which allows for institutionalized cooperation between members and partners in support of NATO goals. All these countries participate in official NATOEU meetings. With Malta's entry into PfP in 2008 and France's re-entry into NATO's Integrated Military Command in 2009, Cyprus has become the main outlier within the NATO-EU partnership. Cyprus is not a PfP member and, partly due to a Turkish veto, does not have a security agreement with NATO for exchanging classified documents. As a result, it uniquely cannot participate in official NATO-EU meetings, though informal meetings including Cyprus do occur. The row has led Greece and Cyprus to object to any Turkish participation in the development of the ESDP while Turkey has blocked the Greek Cypriots from joining EU-NATO meetings and from taking part in ESDP missions using NATO intelligence and resources.

Turkish objections to sharing sensitive NATO military information with the government of Cyprus, which joined the EU in May 2004 despite its failure to adopt a UN-backed political settlement with the island's Turkish minority, has limited formal NATO-EU intelligence sharing since then.[75] The Cyprus government, sometimes assisted by Greece and other EU members, has retaliated by blocking Turkey's participation in certain EU defense activities, such as the work of the European Defense Agency. A recurring justification is that Turkey has not complied with its obligations under its accession negotiations to open its ports and airports to Cypriot-registered ships and aircraft.[76] The dispute has impeded a range of

possible EU-NATO cooperation. The various EU-NATO institutional arrangements and meetings in Europe have been constrained by an inability to hold formal sessions with an agreed agenda or the authority to reach substantive decisions.[77] These mutual antagonisms have also disrupted the joint NATO-EU security missions in Afghanistan, Kosovo, and in the Gulf of Aden off Somalia. Thanks to its full membership in NATO, Turkey has the ability in principle to deny the use of any NATO collective assets for any future EU-led mission.

When the December 2000 EU Summit in Nice, France, decided to exclude non-EU-NATO members from the EU's security and defense decisionmaking mechanisms, Ankara's national security community worried that it could have little impact on EU policies that could affect Turkey's security. It also anticipated that the EU would therefore pay less attention to Turkish concerns than would the WEU and NATO. More generally, Turkish policymakers were concerned about the EU's lack of will and ability to defend Turkey. In addition to the often grudging support for Ankara against the PKK terrorists and periodic denunciations of an "Armenian genocide" that many Turks deny ever occurred, many West European governments proved reluctant to render Turkey military assistance during the 1991 Persian Gulf War with Iraq. Due to its persistent capabilities-expectations gap, moreover, the EU did not (and still does not) look like it would soon develop more robust military assets comparable to those available to NATO, thanks largely to its U.S. membership. Conversely, there was the theoretical possibility that, in a confrontation between Turkey and Greece, the WEU would be obliged to side with Athens simply due to its EU membership.[78] Finally, some Turkish policymakers resented that, due to the barriers placed on Turkey's desired accession to the EU, the former Soviet bloc countries that would soon join the EU would have more influence on the organization's European security policies than Turkey, a long-standing Western ally within NATO.[79]

Turkey aspires to a leadership role in the Alliance, but Turkey's contributions risk being overshadowed by its petty efforts to limit NATO's ties with Israel and the EU. Turkey's love-hate relationship with the EU is a major complicating factor for Turkey's NATO relationship. Even setting aside its frustrated EU membership ambitions, Turkey's security relationship with the EU remains so problematic as to threaten its ties with NATO. The most immediate problem is the paralyzing effects of the Turkey-Cyprus dispute on institutional cooperation between NATO and the EU. The dispute with the EU, along with those with France and the United States in recent years, helps explain why opinion polls show that popular support for NATO is lower in Turkey than in any other member country. Turkish diplomats initially refused to allow EU leaders to attend NATO's May 2012 heads-of-state summit in Chicago on the grounds that the EU was making no greater contribution to NATO than the 56-member Organization of Islamic Conference, then led by Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, a Turkish national, and other international organizations. In the end, the EU leaders were allowed to attend some NATO sessions but not others.

Turkey's relations with NATO have also suffered from various other problems, including *de facto* Turkish-Russian collusion to limit NATO's presence in the Black Sea, diverging threat perceptions regarding Iran, and Ankara's opposition to the appointment of Rasmussen as NATO's Secretary General due to his stance, when head of the Danish government, on the Danish cartoon portrayal of the Prophet Muhammad. Nonetheless, Turkish policymakers definitely preferred having a transatlantic institution of which Ankara was a core member dominate European security than having EU structures potentially displace it.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Turkey's geostrategic position between Europe and the Middle East has made the country an important NATO ally and an essential partner for both the United States and European countries. With its secular values, it has been important for Turkey to preserve its Western ties. Although Turkey has never ignored its proximity to the Middle East, Ankara tended to collaborate the most with Iran, Israel, or other non-Arab states. But during the past decade, Turkey broke with Israel and reengaged in the Arab world after years of estrangement.[80] In Washington and Ankara, expectations were high that Erdoğan's successful "Turkish Model"—a moderate Sunni government with a dynamic economy tied to the United States--could be exported.[81]

The Obama administration assigned Turkey an important role in advancing U.S. interests in the Middle East while allowing Washington to stay in the background in a component of a "lead from behind" foreign-policy strategy.[82] For both Turkey and Washington, trying to manage the difficult political transitions in the Middle East has become the primary issue in the Ankara-Washington relationship.[83] This partnership has seen both progress and setbacks. With fresh self-confidence, the government in Ankara tried to meet these expectations using the soft power of its model along with skillful diplomacy. Of course, given the situation in the region today, the "zero problems" phrase has become something of a joke for Ankara. Following some transient improvements, Turkey's relations with Iraq, Iran, Syria, Israel, Egypt, and other Middle Eastern governments have regressed to their troubled mean and sometimes even worse. Ankara is the only government not to have an ambassador in Cairo, Damascus, and Tel Aviv simultaneously. At the cost of some popularity, Erdoğan is seen as the champion of radical Sunni policies in the Middle East rather than a renewed Ottoman leader. Turkey's troubles with its neighbors have helped drive Ankara back toward the United States, which has the hard power even if it chooses not to use it, but Turkish-U.S. differences regarding many Middle Eastern issues are acute.

Syria

Since the Syrian crisis began, Turkey and the United States have been effectively coordinating their policies. They first sought to induce Bashar al-Assad, whom Washington was trying to wean away from Iran, to introduce reforms demanded by the moderate protesters. But after Assad only made fig-leaf reforms designed to divide the opposition and reduce foreign resistance, Washington and Ankara demanded a change of regime in Damascus. They have since imposed various sanctions on the Syrian government, but these measures have been challenged by China, Iran, and Russia. Although Turkey and the United States have followed similar paths regarding Syria, the journey has proven far costlier to Turkey. Bilateral trade between Turkey and Syria reached $2.5 billion in 2010, making Turkey Syria's largest trading partner, but has since collapsed, as have various Turkish visions of establishing a free trade agreement, a customs union, or other region-wide economic structures. In addition, Turkey has accepted more than 600,000 refugees from its neighbor in accordance with Ankara's "open door" policy to those fleeing the civil war.[84] Additionally, both the Syrian National Council and the Free Syrian Army have used Turkey

as a base for organizing their resistance against Assad's forces. Turkey has also supported the war against Assad by quietly allowing the passage through its territory of volunteers from Muslim countries to fight in Syria. In addition, some sources claim that the Syrian rebels have received weapons and other military support transported through Turkey and funded by Qatar and Saudi Arabia. The Turkish government has denied this claim on several occasions.[85] Even so, the confrontation with Syria has contributed to negating Turkey's "zero-problems" policy toward its neighbors. In contrast, the United States had few economic or diplomatic ties with Assad's regime, so lost little in calling for his removal and imposing sanctions on his country.

It is easy to forget that the relationship between Turkey and Syria significantly improved after the AKP came to power in November 2002. When Prime Minister Erdoğan and Foreign Minister Davutoğlu began their intense effort to improve the relations with the country's neighbors, Syria became one of the most important targets. The Turkish effort to strengthen relations with Syria resulted in frequent meetings between Erdoğan and Assad bolstered by growing diplomatic and commercial ties between the two countries. On December 22, 2004, Turkey and Syria signed a free trade agreement (the Association Agreement) in Damascus, which entered into force in January 2007.[86] In many ways, Syria became a showcase symbol of Turkey's new foreign policy strategy of zero problems with neighbors. But Erdoğan misjudged when he believed he could persuade Assad to accept needed reforms.[87] As the situation in Syria became worse during the summer of 2011, Davutoğlu went to Damascus to encourage Assad in person to end his repressive policies. The mission failed. Following Assad's continuing use of violence against his own people, Turkey drastically changed its policy toward Syria. Both countries withdrew their diplomatic representatives and suspended the Association Agreement.[88] Erdoğan became one of the first leaders to call for Assad to leave power.[89]

Since the outbreak of the Syrian civil war and Turkey's willingness to harbor Syrian rebels and refugees, Turkey has been subjected to a series of cross-border attacks. In an April 2012 incident, Syrian soldiers opened fire on Syrian rebels and refugees in the Turkish town of Kilis, killing two Syrian refugees and wounding some two dozen people.[90] The downing of a Turkish fighter plane over Syrian air space in June 2012 was but the most prominent of several incidents of the deteriorating security situation between the two countries.[91] Following the incident, the Turkish government decided, with Washington's encouragement, to request assistance only under Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which provides for urgent consultations if a NATO member considers its security interests threatened.

Turkey did not seek Article 5 protection, which calls for collective defensive actions to counter threats, because few NATO members want to employ military force against Syria. The Alliance justified deploying Patriot air defense missiles in southern Turkey as a purely defensive "precautionary measure" to counter any threat emanating from Syria.[92] NATO's Patriot Advanced Capability-3 (PAC-3) Missile Interceptor Batteries are some of the most sophisticated air and missile defense systems in Western inventories. Combined with the high accuracy of their radar sensors and targeting systems, the Patriots can intercept foreign warplanes and short-range ballistic missiles as far as 100 kilometers (km) away, allowing them to command an area well beyond the Turkish-Syrian border—all of northern Syria to include the embattled towns of Aleppo and Homs.[93]

While the earlier 1990 and 2003 Turkish requests for Patriots from NATO provoked major intra-Alliance divisions, on this occasion the NATO decisionmaking process went more smoothly. Davutoğlu and other Turkish diplomats engaged in lengthy and

comprehensive consultations with the other NATO governments even though only Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States have the PAC-3s.[94] NATO largely has remained aloof from the Syrian crisis, but with the Patriot systems have come hundreds of NATO troops to operate, maintain, and protect the Patriot interceptors, their radars, and their other support elements. In effect, the NATO personnel have become a "trip wire" that makes NATO military intervention more likely following future Syrian-Turkish border clashes. This tactic has seemingly worked. Since the missiles arrived, there have not been any further major airstrikes against Turkish territory. The Syrian military has likely been more cautious in its operations near the Turkish border. Even so, NATO has not tried to use its Patriots to establish a no-fly zone over Syrian airspace, which the systems have the capacity to do. Such a step would make it easier for the guerrillas to establish camps and troop concentration across the border in Syrian territory.

Some Turkish officials and commentators have called for Turkish military intervention to protect Syria's civilians or Ankara's economic and security interest.[95] The Turkish government has reinforced its border and authorized more flexible rules of engagement for the TSK to respond to potential threats from Syrian forces approaching the Turkish border. Turkey has experienced numerous cross-border attacks by Syrian government forces, terrorist attacks by groups linked to the Assad regime, and a surging number of Syrian refugees taking up residence in Turkey—whose numbers have exceeded by several orders of magnitude the burden Turkish leaders said at the beginning of the war they could tolerate. If Turkey does intervene militarily, the Obama administration would likely again follow its "lead from behind" strategy and, as in Libya, provide primarily low-profile intelligence and logistics support for the Turkish military. Washington has been concerned that the failure to uphold its perceived "red lines" in Syria will decrease U.S. credibility and encourage Iran, North Korea, and other countries to challenge other declared U.S. red lines. But although Ankara and Washington have had their opportunities to intervene more directly in the Syrian conflict, they repeatedly have declined to exploit possible pretexts for employing their armed forces to remove Assad.

Neither Turkey nor the United States wants to intervene militarily in the Syrian war. Ankara has declined to exploit several opportunities that would have served as pretexts, including cross-border shootings and shelling against refugees fleeing into Turkey. On paper, the TSK should be able to defeat the divided and weakened Syrian military, but the Turkish military has fought only irregular PKK guerrillas for the past few decades and lacks experience in invading and occupying a foreign country. An invading Turkish military might be welcomed as liberators by Syrian Sunnis, but the country's Kurds and Alawites would more likely respond negatively to a Turkish occupation force and perhaps even respond with an anti-occupation insurgency such as those that harassed the U.S. Army in Iraq and Afghanistan. Perhaps the main Turkish concern is that, once Turkish forces occupy Syria, they will become bogged down trying to suppress the fighting among the various factions.

The Syrian regime is not without means to retaliate for whatever measures Turkey and the United States adopt in support of Assad's opponents. In partnership with Iran, the Syrian government could resume its pre-1998 practice of providing extensive support for the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). Many PKK operatives were born or based in Syria. The recent upsurge in PKK attacks against Turkish targets may be a Syrian-Iranian warning to Ankara to moderate its pressure on Assad. Even excluding the PKK factor, a Turkish decision to intervene on behalf of Assad's opponents risks labeling Turkey as a regional champion of

Sunni Arabs, despite Turkish efforts to define the Syrian crisis as a humanitarian issue rather than a sectarian one. Although Turkey and the United States have called for Assad's removal, the incumbent president is not the center of gravity, in Clausewitzian terms, of the war, as Maummar Qaddafi was in Libya. Whereas Qaddafi's death ended his unique regime, in Syria the regime's power resides with the security, business, and political elites. This system of collective rule, which has a sectarian orientation due to the large numbers of minority Alawites among the elite, could easily result in a continuation of Assad's policies even if the incumbent president leaves office.

The Turkish authorities have allowed members of the opposition Syrian National Council and the Free Syrian Army to organize on Turkish territory, but the disunity of the Syrian opposition factions remains a problem. Even many Syrians are reluctant to embrace these opposition bodies for fear that they will become dominated by Sunni extremists. Although Turkish and U.S. officials have sought to purge al-Qaeda operatives from their ranks, the Turkish authorities have proven less sensitive to the concerns of Syria's non-Sunni ethnic and sectarian groups. Turkish and U.S. officials have long been considering the option of establishing a border buffer zone or safe areas deeper inside Syrian territory, where refugees could find safe shelter without entering Turkish territory. But the experience in the Balkans in the 1990s made clear that, unless backed by air strikes and robust ground forces, the adversary will not respect these safe havens.

Both governments would like to avert further civil strife and achieve a rapid transition to a stable and prosperous Syria under a new government. They also want to prevent extremist groups from exploiting the chaotic situation to break Syria apart or transform the country into a terrorist safe haven. U.S. officials share Turkish worries about the adverse regional repercussions for Kurdish autonomy in Syria. If Assad is overthrown and the Syrian state disintegrates, then the Iraqi government and state might soon follow, creating the possibility of greater ties among Kurds in Syria, Iraq, Turkey, and potentially Iran. Turkish leaders note that a continuation of the Syrian fighting, which has already spread to parts of Lebanon, risks provoking a wider sectarian war that will hurt Turkey even if its troops refrain from directly intervening in Syria. Meanwhile, the Kurds in Syria are gaining the kind of autonomy enjoyed until now only by the Kurds of northern Iraq. In order to concentrate Syrian forces elsewhere, the regime has withdrawn its troops from Kurdish-dominated towns in northern Syria and allowed a major Syrian Kurdish movement, the Democratic Union Party (PYD), to take charge of municipal administration to prevent the Syrian Free Army from seizing the region.[96] Turkish officials suspect the PYD of having links with the PKK. Erdoğan warned that, "We will not allow the terrorist organization to pose a threat to Turkey in Syria; it is impossible for us to tolerate the PKK's cooperation with the PYD."[97] U.S. officials are also worried about the adverse regional repercussions for Kurdish autonomy in Syria. If Assad is overthrown and the Syrian state disintegrates, then the Iraqi government and state might soon follow, creating the possibility of greater ties among Kurds in Syria, Iraq, Turkey, and potentially Iran. U.S. officials join Turks in asserting that:

> we are equally clear that we don't see for the future of Syria an autonomous Kurdish area or territory; we want to see a Syria that remains united . . . any movement towards autonomy or separatism . . . would be a slippery slope.[98]

Given the reluctance to employ direct military force against Syria, the Turkish and U.S. governments favor less costly options that nonetheless go beyond the current sanctions. The United States and several European governments have been providing communications equipment, training, and other forms of nonlethal assistance to the guerrillas. Some Gulf countries reportedly are supplying weapons as well as fighters and trainers. As a result, the Assad regime has remained in power thanks to even greater support from Russia, Iran, and Lebanon's Hezbollah, whose decision last year to send large numbers of armed fighters to Syria saved Assad at a critical time in the war. The Syrian regime has skillfully polarized the conflict to exploit popular fears that an insurgent victory would result in Sunni extremists dominating the new regime, which would suppress Syria's non-Sunni minorities and transform the country into a Taliban style regime and an al-Qaeda bridgehead.[99] The opposition has been divided into feuding political leaders and indeed depends on al-Qaeda-affiliated groups for its best fighters. Since neither Turkey nor the United States is prepared to send large numbers of ground forces to Syria to attain these goals, they are increasing the likelihood of post-Assad civil strife in Syria, with adverse consequences for neighboring countries.

The Syrian conflict has had an ambiguous impact on Turkish-U.S. relations. It has directed their policymakers to focus on strategic issues at a time when both sides are eager to diversify the partnership. Since the Syrian Civil War, Ankara and Washington have been preoccupied with harmonizing their Middle East and Syria policies. The conflict presents both countries with the prospect of relying on a weak, divided, and increasingly extremist guerrilla force, or using their own forces directly in Syria, which would entail a difficult post-conflict stabilization and probable state-building missions. For the past few years, Turkey and the United States have undertaken many limited measures designed to remove the Assad government, but none have succeeded. They have pursued the relatively low-cost policy option of seeking to induce Assad to give up voluntarily in some form of managed political transition to a broader and more representative regime. Yet their efforts to organize a credible Syrian government-in-exile have been frustrated by divisions and jealousies among Assad's opponents. With extensive Turkish backing, the military opposition has grown stronger, but has proved unable to achieve decisive victories. If anything, the military balance has shifted in favor of the Syrian government, though Assad's forces lack the strength to win the war quickly.

Neither the Turkish nor the U.S. governments have considered Assad's removal a sufficiently vital national interest as to warrant the use of their own troops in Syria. Turkey would like the Pentagon to do it, but U.S. policy has focused on keeping the conflict largely contained within Syria, which has succeeded thus far, and more recently securing the elimination of all its chemical weapons. U.S. policymakers have increasingly recognized the dangers of repeating past policy failures in Syria. As in 1979, the United States risks replacing an odious dictator who nonetheless has not threatened core U.S. national security interests with an extremist religious regime whose members would be ideologically prone to attack the United States and its regional allies in Israel, Jordan, and Lebanon. As in the 1980s when Washington inadvertently allowed al-Qaeda to exploit the war against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan to develop a powerful regional base and network, in Syria the United States risks the transformation of a popular uprising against an unfriendly regime into a Sunni-defined jihad that could easily extend against American and other Western targets.

At worst, a Taliban-like regime will take power in Damascus and encourage the new al-Qaeda linked network of Syrian fighters and their foreign supporters to extend their guerrilla campaign to neighboring countries. Removing Assad is also not a critical vital interest for the United States. Washington has lived with the Assad dynasty for decades and can probably continue to do so. Assad's removal could weaken Tehran's influence in the Middle East, but would neither prevent Iran's acquiring nuclear weapons nor necessarily facilitate an Arab-Israel peace agreement. The Assad regime may miscalculate and finally force Ankara's or Washington's hands, but the most likely scenario for the next few years is a continuation of the current crisis, with the possibility of a renewed Ankara-Washington rift.

Turkish leaders would have liked to see more vigorous actions by the Obama administration against the Assad government. In an interview with *The Washington Post*, President Abdullah Gül stated that he did not see the U.S.-Russia framework agreement on eliminating Syria's chemical weapons as leading to a comprehensive solution to the crisis. He also implied that dealing with Assad to secure their elimination was immoral, given Assad's crimes; only his overthrow would bring an enduring solution to the country's security threats.[100] That the United States and Russia reached the Syrian agreement without Turkey's participation, let alone consent, likely reinforced Turkish animosity to the agreement. In a reversal of the Iraq situation a decade ago, the beleaguered Turkish government has increasingly pressed the United States to adopt a more assertive stance in a neighboring Arab country. Turkish officials have called for arming the rebels, establishing no-fly zones to negate the devastating effects of Syrian air power, and making a greater effort to deny foreign arms shipments to the Syrian government.

In contrast, Washington remains uncomfortable regarding the skills and ideological inclinations of the Syrian insurgents, and tensions have grown between Washington and Ankara over how to handle the extremist element of the Syrian resistance. Although opposed to al-Qaeda, whose affiliates have conducted terrorist attacks inside Turkey against Western and other targets, the Turkish government has allowed Sunni militants a free hand in using its territory to train and equip fighters for the Syrian campaign. Ankara has also permitted Qatar and Saudi Arabia to provide lavish funding for the most extremist factions within the resistance. The narrative advanced by these Gulf monarchies—that what is occurring in Syria is an oppressed Sunni population finally overthrowing an oppressive Iranian-back regime—resonates well among the Sunnis of Syria, Iraq, and even many Turks. Sunni militants in Syria are some of the most effective as well as dogmatic opposition fighters. Iraq's own Sunni militants are obtaining weapons and combat training that they will likely later use against the Baghdad government. Their hope is that, if Assad falls and a Sunni-led regime takes charge in Damascus, then the Iraqi Sunnis will receive even more assistance since they could benefit from the direct support of the new Syrian government as well as the assistance of many returning Syrian veterans and renewed enthusiasm for Sunni-based insurgencies.

Turkish officials continuously have denied the claim that they have supported radical groups like Jabhat al-Nusra, but, until recently, the government in Ankara has turned a blind eye to the issue. An affiliate of al-Qaeda, Jabhat al-Nusra is a Sunni jihadist faction that fights alongside the more moderate Free Syrian Army against the Assad regime. Many of its members are foreigners who are primarily from Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan.[101] However, international pressure combined with fears of domestic blowback has led the government to adjust its strategy toward Syria's extremist groups. For example, the arrests of suspected al-Nusra members in Turkey were followed by

deadly car-bombings in Reyhanli.[102] Gül has since stated that these radical groups threatened Turkey's security.[103]

Ankara is especially concerned with the growing presence near its borders of Jabhat al-Nusra and other fighters connected with the al-Qaeda linked Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS).[104] A related concern is that the radicals will gain the military upper hand in Syria and attack the moderate opposition, weakening its international support and legitimacy.[105] Turkey has now begun a stricter border control and a more sensitive evaluation of which opposition groups to support. The authorities have been taking measures to prevent Turkish youth from joining radical Islamist groups.[106] The United States should continue to support these efforts, presumably with low-profile Central Intelligence Agency and other intelligence assets.

U.S. officials have parried Turkish proposals to consider the option of establishing a border buffer zone or safe areas deeper inside Syrian territory, where refugees could find safe shelter without entering Turkish territory. Turkey created a similar zone in northern Iraq in 1991, which allowed more than a million Iraqi Kurds to escape Saddam Hussein's expected retribution for their failed 1991 uprising after the Kuwait war. Ankara and Washington could also apply the model used in Iraq and the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s and create no-fly zones, safe havens, and humanitarian corridors to protect Syrian civilians and accelerate the disintegration of the Syrian army by enticing more military defectors, who could flee to the zone with their families. At one point, Davutoğlu reportedly expressed interest in establishing such a corridor that would extend from the sea, perhaps even to Cyprus, rather than near the Turkish border. But the lesson of the 1990s is that, unless backed by air strikes and robust ground forces, the adversary will not respect these safe havens. Assad's military is considerably stronger than Qaddafi's, so any no-fly zone would need to be robustly enforced. It would need to begin with a preemptive strike against the Syrian military to destroy its planes and helicopters, degrade its ground forces and command and control networks, and weaken the morale of the Syrian forces. Then it would resemble the no-fly zone established over northern and southern Iraq after 1991 by the United States and other NATO governments, which required repeated strikes against Iraqi targets (such as air defense units) to prevent Saddam's forces from re-grouping. It is doubtful that Chinese and Russian governments would provide UN authorization for any such enforcement measures, so the Turkish and U.S. governments would need to justify the measures on the basis of self-defense. U.S. officials point to significant differences between the Libyan and Syrian situations, notably the lack of an authorizing UN resolution as well as greater divisions within the Arab League and NATO about the wisdom of intervening. In the absence of more universal regional support or a more sold backing in international law, U.S. officials are more reluctant to employ force in Syria.

Iraq

Turkey has several core interests in Iraq: cultivating ties with the various Iraqi factions; preventing the PKK from using northern Iraq as a base of operations; balancing the influence of Iran; securing access to Iraqi oil and other economic opportunities; and generally seeking to promote stability in a key neighboring region. In particular, a mixture of defensive and offensive motives has been driving Turkish policy toward Iraq. The defensive consideration is

the conviction among Turkish leaders that Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's divisive policies, designed to weaken his rivals for power and rally Shiite partisans behind him, are leading Iraq back toward sectarian civil war. They fear that renewed confrontation could undermine Turkey's economic interests in Iraq, present Ankara with yet another humanitarian crisis on its border, and undermine Turkey's carefully crafted policy of containing Kurdish nationalism in Iraq within tightly constrained limits. Another defensive goal of Turkey is to keep Iranian influence in Iraq limited. Although Ankara has sought to develop better ties with Iraq's Shiite majority, Turkey generally has sought to balance Tehran's use of some Iraqi Shiites as its main local proxies by supporting various Sunni and Kurdish leaders in Iraq. Ankara does not want to wage a proxy battle with Iran on Iraqi soil, but it wants to ensure that a coalition government in which Turkish interests are represented rules Baghdad. Turkish leaders also aim to ensure that Iraqi Kurdistan is governed by leaders that will take Ankara's economic and especially security interests into account. Al-Maliki naturally resents what he sees as Turkish efforts to contain his power and divide and rule parts of Iraq. The Turkish government has employed several tools in pursuit of these goals in Iraq—diplomatic initiatives, economic ties, and, when necessary, military power.

Turkey suffered security and economic problems as a result of the 2003 Iraq War, but the conflict did enhance Ankara's regional influence by deepening the power vacuum that had emerged after the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The AKP government has filled this vacuum by extending its influence in many neighboring countries in what some observers describe as a "neo-Ottoman" policy, a label rejected by AKP leaders. Turkey's influence in Iraq has grown considerably in recent years as Turkish policymakers have adopted more inclusive policies and as economic and cultural intercourse between Iraqis and Turks has grown. But sources of tension do exist in the relationship. The Turkish military regularly violates Iraqi sovereignty by attacking PKK targets in northern Iraq, sometimes through large cross-border ground invasions. Some Iraqis still suspect that Turkey would like to establish *de facto* control over northern Iraq, which used to belong to the Ottoman Empire. If the situation in Syria stabilizes, then that country rather than Turkey could provide the main oil pipeline conveying Iraqi crude to European markets. Turkey and Iraq have regularly disputed access to water and the management of shared waterways, with Iraqis objecting in the past to various Turkish dam projects that could reduce the flow of water to downstream countries like Iraq and Syria. Should Iraq ever come under the control of a government hostile to Turkey, Ankara could use the KRG as a buffer to shield Turkey from Baghdad as well as a means to exert pressure on Iraqi policies. But Turkish officials have been careful to refrain from discussing such an option for fear of exacerbating worries that Ankara's real objective is to recover northern Iraq, the former Ottoman vilayet of Mosul.

The United States and some Arab governments have generally encouraged Turkey to expand its presence in Iraq. Not only does Turkey help dilute Iranian influence, but Turkish business activities also generate economic growth and jobs in Iraq, helping the country recover from decades of war and civil strife. Further- more, many U.S. leaders still see Turkey's Islamic- influenced, but essentially secular, political system as a model of the type of political and social system that could work well in Iraq, with its large Sunni minority and secular tradition, or at least as offering a superior alternative to that of an Iranian-style Shiite autocracy. Even religious Turks such as AKP leaders espouse a moderate form of Sunni Islam that exudes tolerance toward Shiites and other Islamic minorities. This trend is likely to continue as U.S. influence in Iraq declines further in coming years with the withdrawal of

U.S. troops and the natural deeper integration of Iraq into mainstream Middle East politics. By helping keep Iraq out of Tehran's orbit and linking Baghdad to the West, Ankara increases its own regional influence and enhances its value as a strategic partner of Washington and Persian Gulf governments.

The nadir of Turkish influence in Iraq occurred after the Anglo-American invasion of March 2003. Despite the offer of billions of dollars of U.S. aid, the Turkish parliament voted against a reluctant proposal by the new AKP government to allow the U.S. military to attack Iraq through Turkey's southeast border during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (OIF). Instead, the Pentagon had to spend considerable time repositioning its troops to enter Iraq through its southern border. The George W. Bush administration partly blamed the Turkish parliament's decision for the subsequent emergence of the anti-Western insurgency in Iraq. In 2005, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld claimed that, "If we had been able to get the 4th infantry Division in from the north through Turkey . . . the insurgency would have been less."[107] By then, Turkish public opinion had turned solidly against Washington's Iraq policies. Turks perceived the U.S. promotion of an autonomous Kurdish quasi-state in northern Iraq, the Kurdistan Regional Government, as inspiring Kurdish separatism in Turkey and providing a *de facto* sanctuary for PKK terrorist attacks on Turkish civilians, which escalated following the Anglo-American invasion. Another source of concern was how Turkey's exclusion from the occupying coalition combined with the tensions between Ankara and Washington had minimized Turkish influence in post-Saddam Iraq.

Since 2007, the Turkish and U.S. Governments have cooperated more effectively with the Turkish military to counter PKK activities in northern Iraq. Before then, Ankara had complained repeatedly that Washington was paying insufficient attention to Turkey's security interests in northern Iraq, especially PKK activities in the KRG. But the deaths of 13 Turkish soldiers in a border clash in October 2007 led the United States to provide intelligence and other assistance to the Turkish military, which conducted air and ground attacks against PKK targets in northern Iraq. The more precise Turkish attacks minimized Kurdish civilian casualties and therefore KRG complaints.[108]

Since then, in line with the AKP's "zero problems" with neighbors policy, Erdoğan, Gül, and other Turkish policymakers have sought to balance unilateral military action with the application of soft power means of influence in Iraq, primarily by deepening cultural, education, and business ties with Iraqis. In July 2008, Turkey and Iraq signed a joint political declaration that established a high-level strategic cooperation council aimed at establishing a "long-term strategic partnership." The agreement also calls for joint efforts to prevent terrorists and illegal arms from moving across their border. The council has since served as a discussion forum for the prime ministers and other high-level government officials of both countries. They have met several times a year to improve cooperation regarding energy, security, diplomatic, and economic issues.

The reorientation in Turkey's policy toward Iraq culminated in Gül's March 23-24, 2009, trip to Iraq, the first official presidential-level visit to the country in 33 years. The trip also resulted from a sustained Turkish campaign to improve ties with the KRG. In 2009, Turkey opened consulates in Erbil (the KRG capital), Basra, and Mosul—major regional centers of Kurdish, Shiite, and Sunni influence, respectively—in a tangible display of support for a unified Iraq.[109] Within Iraq, Turkish leaders first developed extensive ties with Iraq's Sunni minority, which until Saddam Hussein's overthrow in 2003 ruled over Iraq's other minorities as well as its Shiite majority. Turkey then improved relations with the leaders of Iraq's

Kurdish minority, who prudently distanced themselves from the PKK and embraced the economic opportunities offered by the Kurds.

In addition to reaching out to Iraq's Sunni and Kurdish minorities, the AKP has also attempted to develop ties with Iraqi Shiites, including reaching out to populist Shiite cleric, Moktada al-Sadr, by training lawmakers belonging to al-Sadr's party in parliamentary protocol. In addition, a Turkish consortium participated in an $11 billion renovation project in Sadr City, Baghdad's largest Shiite neighborhood. In October 2009, Turkey opened a consulate in Basra, a Shiite dominated southern port city and Iraq's only large seaport in a major oil-producing region. To further signal his government's desire to reach out to Iraqi Shiites, Erdoğan became the first modern Turkish leader to attend the Shiite commemoration of Ashura (in December 2010) and visit Imam Ali's tomb in Najaf (in March 2011), one of the most important Shiite sites in Iraq.

During Iraq's March 2010 national elections, Turks generally supported the more secular Iraqi National Movement bloc led by Ayad Allawi rather than the Shiite-dominated State of Law Coalition led by alMaliki. Turkish officials view al-Maliki less as an Iranian puppet than as an ambitious strongman who has exploited the post-war weakness of competing Iraqi political and social institutions to accrue and exercise near dictatorial powers. Turkish policymakers are also concerned that the new Iraqi government and military are too weak to govern the fissiparous Iraqi state effectively. Turkish policymakers want an Iraqi regime that can keep "peace at home, peace in the world," and not fall under the control of another foreign government, in this case Iran.

The governments of Saudi Arabia and the other conservative Persian Gulf minorities consider Turkey a useful ally for promoting moderate Sunni causes in Iraq against either Sunni extremists belonging to alQaeda or Shiite militants backed by Iran. Turkey's relations with many Arab governments have improved in recent years as Turkey has moved toward mainstream Arab positions regarding Israel and other issues. Al-Maliki and his allies naturally disliked Ankara's interference in their domestic affairs, though Turkey's financial and other support to al-Maliki's opponents was considerably less than that provided by some Persian Gulf monarchies.

Pressure from Turkey, the United States, and other foreign governments during the coalition formation talks did succeed in inducing the Iraqi rivals to form what looked to be a nominally multiparty government in which power is divided between al-Maliki, Allawi, and other Iraqi leaders. But al-Maliki exposed the fractures within the Iraqi government and shattered the facade of unity by trying to arrest Vice President Tariq al-Hashimi, the highest-ranking Sunni official in the Iraqi government, on charges of running a terrorist death squad. Al-Maliki then threatened Kurdish leaders after they provided al-Hashemi, who enjoys good ties with Turkey, with sanctuary in the KRG on the grounds that he would not receive a fair trial in Baghdad.[110] Alarmed by the prospects of renewed civil war and Iraq's possible break up, Erdoğan called al-Maliki by phone on January 10 and urged him to reconcile with his colleagues in order to avoid the "irreversible chaos" that would result from renewed ethnic and religious wars among Iraqis, which could engulf other Muslim countries. In response, al-Maliki told the U.S. sponsored al-Hurra Television network on January 13 that, "Turkey is playing a big role that might bring disaster and civil war to the region, and Turkey will suffer because it has different sects and ethnicities."

The two governments summoned each other's ambassadors to complain about their respective country's behaviors.[111] Later several rockets were fired at the Turkish embassy in

Baghdad.[112] No one was hurt, and no one claimed responsibility, but the Turks naturally suspect the incident was a warning orchestrated by al-Maliki's forces. Relations worsened after Turkey gave refuge to Iraqi Vice President Tariq al-Hashimi, who arrived on April 9 and has taken up indefinite residence in a luxury apartment in Istanbul, where he continues to denounce al-Maliki while undergoing medical treatment and enjoying round-the-clock police protection and elite patronage.[113]

Al-Maliki's harsh rhetoric regarding Turkey was partly motivated by his suspicions that Turkey was colluding with his enemies in the United States and various Arab governments against him. His rhetoric about Turkey sharply escalated after Davutoğlu and U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton expressed their unease at the situation in Iraq in a February 13, 2012, joint press conference. Clinton stressed that it was important "that the Iraqi Government be an inclusive one in which all Iraqis believe that they have a stake in the future of a united Iraq." She went on to add that:

> the foreign minister and I had a good discussion about Iraq and how we can work together to strengthen their democracy, help to settle political differences between various factions.

Clinton pointedly added that:

> We encourage Turkey to continue to play an important role in trying to reach out to Baghdad, to many different personalities within the political system, and we've encouraged other nations in the region to do the same. We think Turkey's played a very constructive role. But we share the concern about the need to demonstrate unequivocally a commitment to an inclusive Iraqi Government that represents all Iraqis.

Davutoğlu replied that:

> Iraq is the backbone of the stability in our region. If there is no stability in Iraq, there cannot be stability in our region. We have been always saying Iraq is like a small Middle East. We have all sectarian, ethnic communities, religious communities in the Middle East we have in Iraq.

But Davutoğlu went on to insist that:

> The welfare of all Iraqis, regardless of their ethnic or sectarian background, that is the only demand of Turkey. . . . We see all Iraqis as our eternal neighbors, brothers and sisters. Their welfare is our welfare. If they have any problem, any pain, it is us, we feel the pain.

Davutoğlu added that the Iraqi constitution requires power sharing among its communities, and that Turkey considers that principle essential for the "success of the Iraqi democracy," adding that, "If there is a successful Iraqi democracy, that will be a good model for other countries as well."[114]

The PKK issue has also contributed to the general deterioration in relations between Ankara and Baghdad. Turkish leaders have complained that security along the Iraq-Turkish border has declined and that the PKK has been exploiting this opening to intensify attacks against Turkey. Dozens of Turkish security personnel died in the summer of 2011. On

October 29, 2011, the PKK launched its most successful attack to date, killing 24 Turkish soldiers and wounding many more, in an ambush in Hakkari province. In response, around 10,000 Turkish security personnel, including elite special forces units in addition to regular conscripts, engaged in a major military operation in the border region against the PKK. Although most Turkish forces stayed inside Turkish territory, some 2,000 Turkish troops crossed into northern Iraq to search for and destroy PKK units and facilities. Gül told visiting U.S. Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta on December 16, 2011, that Turkey feared its border security situation would worsen now that all U.S. troops were leaving Iraq.[115] Ankara has sought to minimize its costs and rely on Iraqi forces to deal with the PKK fighters inside Iraq. The leaders of both the Iraqi central government and the KRG in northern Iraq have denounced the PKK attacks and not resisted Turkish military operations on their territory, but they lack the means to eliminate the PKK forces in Iraq themselves.

Meanwhile, the Turkish government has encouraged the expansion of Turkish-Iraqi economic ties. In addition to commercial considerations, Turkish officials have sought to make Iraq's economic health depend more on its sustaining good relations with Turkey, which increases Ankara's leverage over Baghdad's policies. Most of Iraqi Kurdistan's trade and foreign investment involves Turkish firms, but even Iraqis located elsewhere understand that Turkey is the most prosperous and industrialized of Iraq's neighbors, offers routes to and from Western markets, and provides an exit to the Mediterranean Sea for Iraqi hydrocarbons.[116] Furthermore, economic exchanges with Iraq especially benefit southeastern Turkey, where Turkey's discontented Kurdish population lives. One means of reducing their dissatisfaction is to improve their standard of living.

Between 2003 and 2011, overall yearly bilateral trade between Iraq and Turkey increased from $940 million to $11 billion.[117] Iraq has become Turkey's second largest trading partner, after Germany. More than half of Turkey's trade with Iraq involves the KRG.[118] Turkey's main exports to Iraq include materials, machinery, and construction products, basic food and cleaning materials, and electrical and electronic products. In contrast, about the only items that Turkey imports from Iraq are hydrocarbon products such as crude and fuel oil. In 2009, Turkey began importing oil directly from the KRG after Iraq's central government could not agree on a new oil law due to disputes over revenue sharing and other issues. On August 7, 2007, Turkey and Iraq signed a memorandum of understanding that Iraqi natural gas would be supplied to Turkey and via Turkey to Europe.[119] After Baghdad, politicians failed to agree on a new oil law, Turkey began importing oil directly from the KRG in 2009. The oil pipeline that runs from Kirkuk in Iraq to Ceyhan in Turkey transports one-fourth of Iraq's crude oil exports. The flow assures the authorities in both Kurdistan and beyond considerable revenue, while helping secure Turkey's position as a major energy bridge between the Middle East and Europe. Meanwhile, Turkey is helping Iraq meet its own energy demands. Turkish firms have invested in oil and gas exploration and production projects throughout Iraq. Even excluding the oil sector, Turkey has become Iraq's largest commercial investor. Turkish firms have invested in hotels, housing, and the energy sector in Iraq. These companies provide manufactured goods and other products. By early-2012, 740 Turkish firms had negotiated $2.5 billion in construction contracts in the KRG alone.[120] Altogether, more than 1,000 Turkish companies had invested in Iraq, concentrated in the construction, irrigation, solid waste management, pharmaceutical, agriculture, and tourism sectors.[121] Turkish firms had undertaken more than $11 billion worth of construction projects in Iraq since 2003.[122]

Hundreds of Turkish contractors in Iraq are working on approximately $16 billion worth of projects.[123]

Turkey has sought to exert influence in Iraq by means other than force, economics, and energy. Turkey has been utilizing "soft power" and projecting an image of pop culture over its border.[124] In addition, Turkey helped double the number of out-of-country training opportunities that NATO could offer Iraqis in 2010 for internal security training.[125] In December 2005, Turkey encouraged efforts in Iraq to bring together the Sunni Arab Party representatives and U.S. ambassador in Istanbul, in an effort to head off the burgeoning Sunni-led insurgency.[126] Turkey also hosted programs to train hundreds of Iraqi politicians in democratization for all of Iraq's various ethnic and sectarian political parties.[127] In August 2009, Davutoğlu unsuccessfully sought to mediate between Iraq and Syria after Iraqi officials blamed the Syrian government for helping several massive bombings in Baghdad's Green Zone. Nonetheless, the recurring Turkish military interventions in northern Iraq under- score that Turkey still relies on military power as its ultimate security guarantee in northern Iraq.

Kurdish Connections

In their conflicts with Baghdad, Turkish policymakers have had what a few years earlier would have been a surprising ally: Iraq's Kurds. Turkey enjoys considerable support and influence in northern Iraq due to its deep cultural, education, and especially business presence there. Previously Ankara refused to deal with the KRG, but now Turkish officials strive to cooperate with it. One senior Turkish Foreign Ministry official argued that:

> Turkey has no problems with Iraq and Syria, but has problems with al-Maliki and al-Assad's policies. Our relations with the rest of the region and with many partners are in their best state for years.[128]

Although Turkey's outreach effort has failed to make much progress with respect to Iraq's Sunnis, Ankara has become the dominant actor in northern Iraq. The year 2009 saw a major change in Turkey's approach to the KRG. Before then, Turkey had eschewed official contact with the KRG based in Ebril and sought to constrain its autonomy and regional influence. Ankara feared that the KRG's emergence as a quasi-independent state would encourage separatist tendencies among Turkey's own Kurdish minority, estimated to number as much as 20 percent of the population. Instead, the Turkish authorities pursued their interests within Iraq primarily by engaging with the occupying powers and, as it gained more influence, Iraq's central government in Baghdad. This latter approach was similar to how Ankara worked in the past with Iraq to contain Kurdish influence. But this strategy, while yielding gains in the 1960s and 1970s, has proved less effective since the 1991 establishment of a Kurdish autonomous region and especially since 2003 due to the decentralized nature of political authority in post-Saddam Iraq.

Attempts to use the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITC), established in 1995 to consolidate several smaller political parties and therefore strengthen the influence of Iraq's Turkmen minority, as a local proxy also failed to yield major benefits. Ankara has backed Turkmen objections to the incorporation of the city or region of Kirkuk into the KRG since having control of the area's oil resources would bolster the KRG's wealth and autonomy, and perhaps embolden its

leaders to declare independence.[129] Although the local Turkmen are eager to partner with Ankara, Baghdad, and Iran (many are Shiites) to contest Kurdish influence in Kirkuk and other areas, they lack much political strength and have been able to elect only a couple of members to the Iraqi national parliament in each election. As a result, Ankara found itself with little influence in northern Iraq despite that border region's vital importance to Turkey's security.

In 2009, the Turkish government reversed course and adopted a more flexible and embracing policy toward the KRG as well as its own Kurdish minority. After having for years avoided direct contact with the KRG, whose existence Turkish nationalists feared would encourage separatist sentiments among their own Kurds, Turkey now engages directly with the KRG, which still enjoys considerable autonomy but whose leaders have committed to remaining part of a unified Iraqi state and to suppressing PKK operations in their area of control. KRG pressure reportedly contributed to the PKK's decision to declare a ceasefire in August 2011.[130]

For their part, Turkish officials currently prefer a strong KRG that has the power to control its border and internal security, promote economic development that provides opportunities for Turkish traders and investors, and provides Kurds with an alternative successful model to that of supporting the PKK. Many Kurds in Turkey as well as Iraq support the KRG as their best means of achieving limited autonomy in a situation in which Kurds cannot establish an independent country. Turkey's 2010 opening of a consulate in Erbil signified Turkey's new approach by recognizing the KRG as a core constituent element within the federal state of Iraq. Turkish officials have also developed ties with moderate Kurdish leaders such as Iraqi President Jalal Talabani and KRG President Massoud Barzani, who regularly visit Ankara as honored guests. Ankara's elevated role in the KRG has also enhanced Turkey's influence in Baghdad since Turkey has become the most powerful foreign actor in a region of vital importance to the Iraqi government.[131]

Although Turkey's overall economic exchanges with Iraq have increased considerably in recent years, its economic presence has become particularly prominent in Iraqi Kurdistan, especially its trade, energy, and construction sectors. In the KRG, 80 percent of goods sold are imported from Turkey.[132] The border between Turkey and Iraqi Kurdistan has never been more open, as 1,500 trucks daily pass through the 26lane main border crossing of Ibrahim Khalil. A few years ago, the main Turkish presence in northern Iraq was military. Although some Turkish troops now quietly remain in northern Iraq, Turkey's most visible presence is its pop culture, especially cinema, and Turkish goods. Turkish clothes, furniture, toys, building materials, and other products flood the malls and shops throughout Iraqi Kurdistan.

Turkish investment is also flourishing, with more than half the registered foreign firms operating in Iraqi Kurdistan—almost 800 of the 1,500 registered foreign companies—being Turkish.[133] Many Turkish business leaders see Iraqi Kurdistan as both an area of economic opportunity in itself as well as a transit zone for increasing Turkish trade with more distant regions in the Middle East. If the KRG were a separate country, then it would rank among Turkey's top 10 trading partners.

Turkish political leaders want to strengthen their border security by working with Iraqi Kurdish authorities against the PKK. They also hope that the increased economic exchanges across the border will bring greater prosperity to the traditionally economic backward regions where many of Turkey's Kurds, which constitute one-fifth of Turkey's population, reside. Iraqi Kurds appreciate that their economic development depends heavily on attracting Turkish

investment, as well as being able to trade with Turkey and beyond, by means by transiting Turkish territory. The KRG is landlocked, and Turkey offers the optimal connecting route to European markets. During a June 2010 trip to Turkey, Barzani observed that, "Turkey is a gateway for us to Europe as we are a gateway for Turkey to Iraq and the Gulf countries."[134] Kurds attribute several Turkish advantages, including lower prices and more flexible contract terms than other foreign sellers.[135]

Ironically, Kurdish nationalism now has also been encouraging Kurdish-Turkish reconciliation. Iraqi Kurds appreciate that, under current conditions, they can best deepen ties with Turkey's Kurds by having good relations with Turkey. At least for the time being, the possibility of establishing a unified Kurdish political entity is excluded, so keeping the borders as porous as possible is their best option. However, as long as the PKK insurgency persists, it will remain an impediment to deeper cross-border economic and political ties among Kurds and with their neighbors.

Turkey's counterinsurgency operation on both sides of its border with Iraq highlights the recurring problem confronting Turkish governments and military in their fight against Kurdish terrorists: the insurgents' area of operations, like the Kurdish population itself, straddles across Turkey's borders with other countries—namely Iraq, Iran, and Syria. The governments of all four countries share an interest in suppressing Kurdish separatism and violence, but they have also found Kurdish terrorism useful tools to pressure the other countries. These transnational ties mean that, despite their large scale, Turkish military operations cannot suppress the insurgency for long. Its vigorous nature might at best deter further foreign backing for actions by the PKK against Turkey as well as provide the maneuvering room the Turkish government needs to make the concessions required in the new constitution to address Kurdish grievances—but it remains unclear whether the ruling AKP will so use this opportunity.

Iran

The relationship between Turkey and Iran is fraught with baffling contradictions. One might expect the inherent religiosity of both the AKP and Iran, despite Sunni-Shite theological differences, to sustain good ties, but the contrasts between the Islamic Republican and the "Turkish Model" have resulted in an acute rivalry during the Arab uprisings, as both have held themselves out as a paradigm of Islamic democracy. At first, the presence of two overtly Islamist parties in charge of Ankara and Tehran encouraged a Turkish-Iranian reconciliation, but then their religious orientations became a source of their divisions. Turkey's secular political parties and national security establishment, which dominated Turkey's foreign policy until a decade ago, generally perceived Turkey's Islamic neighbors, Iran and Syria, as potential threats, and sought to develop security ties with Israel, the other important non-Muslim state in the Middle East.

The Islamic orientation of the ruling AKP has meant that current Turkish and Iranian leaders now share a common devotion to Islam and animus toward Israel's treatment of the Palestinians. However, the religious element, which had previously buoyed the relations between the two, became a source of division as Erdoğan began to displace President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and other prominent Iranians as the most popular Muslim leader among the Arab masses due to the AKP's public attacks on Israel and their support for

various pro-Palestinian initiatives such as the controversial "freedom flotillas" seeking to defy Israel's blockade of Gaza.[136] During his triumphant tour to Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia in September 2011 and at other times, Erdoğan recommended that the new regimes in the Arab world follow Turkey's secular democratic model, whereas Iranian government representatives have told them to establish an Islamic Republic, as in Iran.[137] Since then, their religious devotion has become an even more direct source of tensions as Turkish leaders have backed Sunni opponents of Shiite governments (as in Iraq and Syria) and Sunni governments facing mass Shiite opposition supported by Iran (as in Bahrain).[138]

The AKP deviated from Washington's policy regarding Iran's nuclear program, though its approach has corresponded to the mainstream international view. While Turkish officials do not want the Islamic Republic to obtain nuclear weapons—members of Turkey's still influential military establishment have suggested that Turkey would rapidly follow Iran in acquiring nuclear weapons for reasons of security and prestige—Turkish officials do not object to Iran's pursuit of limited nuclear energy activities under appropriate international monitoring. The current Turkish government insists that any country should have the right to engage in all civilian nuclear activities, including uranium enrichment and the other phases of the cycle needed to produce nuclear fuel, provided it applies traditional IAEA safeguards and complies with other nonproliferation norms.[139]

In contrast, most of Turkey's NATO allies remain adamant that Iran must cease enriching uranium or engaging in other sensitive nuclear activities until Tehran convinces the international community that its nuclear program has only peaceful purposes. Turkish leaders have sought to mediate the nuclear dispute between Tehran and the West. In 2010, they worked with Brazil to achieve a confidence-building exchange of enriched uranium between the parties. Months of diplomatic efforts by Erdoğan and President Lula Inacio da Silva of Brazil to mediate the Iranian nuclear dispute appeared to achieve results when they announced an agreement in Tehran on May 17. In their trilateral statement, the three governments declared that Iran was prepared to "deposit" 1,200 kilograms (kg) of its low-enriched uranium in Turkey in return for the delivery within 1 year of 120-kg of uranium enriched to the higher level needed for Tehran's medical research reactor.[140] After the West rejected that proposal, Turkey's initial reaction was to stand behind the Tehran accord. Turkish officials claimed that Obama and other U.S. officials had earlier supported their initiative, though in retrospect they may have failed to give it proper attention due to an expectation that it had little chance of success.[141]

In the months of recriminations that followed, Turkish officials denounced what they described as the hypocrisy of Western governments in approaching nonproliferation issues. They said that these countries repeatedly have sought to sanction Iran despite its government's signing the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) and the absence of any concrete proof that Iranians are seeking nuclear weapons.[142] In addition, they have made special deals with India despite the Indian government's refusal to adhere to the NPT. Erdoğan was especially incensed by what he saw as the West's deliberately overlooking Israel's nuclear weapons program. Turkey wants to prevent other countries, such as Israel, from employing—or threatening to employ—force against Iran to attack its nuclear facilities. Turkish officials consider counterproductive the "dual-track" approach adopted by Western countries toward Iran—combining offers of cooperation with threats of attack and sanctions. Instead, they argue that the best way to prevent Iran from seeking nuclear weapons is to address the underlying sources of insecurity that might induce Tehran to seek them. Rather than rely on

threats and sanctions, they want to offer Iran security pledges in return for reciprocal Iranian guarantees that Tehran will not use its nuclear activities for military purposes.

Accordingly, Turkish officials have generally opposed sanctioning Iran.[143] First, Iran is Turkey's second largest supplier of natural gas.[144] Turkey is not blessed with sufficient energy resources to meet its needs and cannot afford to cut trade ties with one of its most significant energy partners. Turkish policymakers have felt obliged to accept the mandatory sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council, but they have tried to resist applying the supplementary sanctions adopted by Western governments, which include not purchasing Iranian energy or selling Iran precious metals.[145] Turkey currently imports about 25 million cubic meters of natural gas per day from Iran through a direct pipeline.[146] This flow amounts to almost one-third of Turkey's total annual gas consumption and helps balance Turkey's energy dependence on Russia, which provides Turkey with most of its gas, some oil, and is building Turkey's first nuclear power plant.

Second, the people of Turkey and Iran have a broad cultural and historical relationship. One-third of Iranians are Azeri Turks, and Tehran is the second-largest Turkish-speaking city in the world. Turks are therefore reluctant to support sanctions that harm the Iranian people.[147] In the absence of convincing evidence to the contrary, Turkish officials had reservations about imposing economic and other sanctions against Iran by the UN Security Council or by individual countries, which severely hurts Iran's neighbors and key economic partners, including Turkey. Rather than rely on threats and sanctions, Turks urge the United States and its allies to offer Iran security pledges in return for reciprocal Iranian guarantees that Tehran will not use its nuclear activities for military purposes. These Turkish-U.S. differences, currently overshadowed by Turkish-Iranian divergences over Iraq and especially Syria, could become more serious in the future. Turkey might also change its benign nuclear weapons policies in coming years. Most obviously, unambiguous evidence could arise that Iran is pursuing nuclear weapons, which some Turks have said would require Turkey, refusing to accept military inferiority regarding Iran, to do likewise. Turkey's plans to expand its domestic nuclear energy program would, for the first time, provide its government with the scientific, technical, and industrial foundations to pursue genuine nuclear weapons options, as Iran's own development of the capacity to make nuclear weapons has demonstrated to Ankara and others.

In September 2011, Turkey committed to host a U.S. AN/TPY-2 ballistic missile defense (BMD) early warning radar at Malatya as part of NATO's defense against Iran's growing missile capabilities. Turkey made the controversial decision to reinforce Ankara's security ties with the West despite Iranian objections. The decision was both presented and facilitated by the restructuring of the U.S. missile defense architecture in Europe by the Obama administration, which relocated the initial U.S. deployments out of East Central Europe and toward the Balkans, Black Sea, and eastern Mediterranean regions. The new structure, with the interceptor missiles based in Romania and on nearby U.S. warships, offers Turkey greater BMD coverage as well as the opportunity, though publicly unsought, to play a major role in that architecture. Despite Turkish lobbying not to identify Iran as the main target of the NATO BMD network, Iranian leaders and media clearly consider the decision to host the radar in the face of Iranian and Russian opposition an unfriendly act.[148] But the decision has proven useful in silencing Western critics of the AKP's Eastern orientation and has been overshadowed by the more serious differences between Ankara and Tehran regarding Syria.

The same pattern of initial reconciliation followed by renewed divisions has occurred with respect to other regional security issues. In addition to renouncing security ties with Israel, the AKP pleased Iran by seeking to reconcile with its Syrian ally, President Bashar al-Assad. In the process, the new leaders in Turkey managed to dampen Syrian support for the PKK, a policy that Tehran soon followed. Turkey and Iran each have large Kurdish minorities (some 14 million Kurds live in Turkey and approximately 5 million live in Iran) whose members sometimes are so dissatisfied with the policies of their central governments that they engage in anti-regime terrorism. Turkey and Iran each face major Kurdish terrorist groups based in Iraq. Besides the anti-Ankara PKK, the Free Life Party of Kurdistan (PJAK) has attacked Iranian targets from its strongholds in Iraq's Qandil mountain range.

A few years ago, Turkish and Iranian authorities began exchanging counterterrorist intelligence and coordinating military strikes against Kurdish terrorists in northern Iraq.[149] But more recently, the AKP has supported Assad's opponents, irritating Tehran in the process.[150] Although a few years ago the AKP was able to overcome decades of confrontation and develop good ties with the Syrian government, the regime's brutal killing of thousands of protesters has led the AKP officials to support Syrian opposition forces seeking to change the current regime.[151] Iranian leaders have complained about Turkey's becoming the main regional backer of the armed opposition seeking to overthrow Assad. Iranians consider preserving a friendly regime in Damascus a vital national interest for Iran.[152]

A more recent dispute has been Turkey's successful appeal in November 2012 that NATO deploy Patriot air defense systems on Turkish soil to defend Turkish territory against Syrian air and missile strikes. Iranian analysts fear the Patriots could serve as the basis of a no-fly zone that would deprive the Assad regime of one of its few advantages over the insurgents. Ahmadinejad canceled a planned visit to Turkey that December, which the Iranian media said was in protest to the deployments.[153] Turkey has also declined to send high-level officials to events in Iran, such as the 2012 Non-Aligned Movement Summit in Tehran.

Furthermore, it seems that some Iranian support has resumed to the PKK, which also receives help from Assad's regime. PKK military leader Cemil Bayik, who has close ties to Iranian hardliners, has been one of the most vocal opponents of peace talks with the Turkish government. He has pledged to defend Iran and Syria from alleged Turkish plots to change their regimes. Earlier media reports claimed that Iranian authorities had briefly "detained" PKK leader, Murat Karayilan, when Iranian officials learned of impending Turkish air strikes against his PKK camps. The Iranians supposedly then released Karayilan when the bombing ended rather than remand him to Turkish custody. Turks speculated that Iranian authorities wanted to keep Karayilan and the PKK active as a potential source of leverage or a bargaining chip with Turkey.[154]

Turkish-Iranian differences regarding Iraq have also become a major source of bilateral tension. Most Turkish officials do not want Iran to dominate Iraq. They fear that Iranian leaders seek a weak and divided Iraq that is unable to contest Tehran's drive for regional primacy. They also perceive Iran as wanting a subservient Shiite coalition to rule Baghdad that would not resist Iranian political and economic control over Iraq. In contrast, Turkey favors a strong but democratic Iraqi state ruled by a coalition of political forces that can maintain domestic stability as well as contribute to regional security.[155] These conditions would be favorable for reviving Iraq's hydrocarbon production, which would benefit Turkey as a key transit state for Iraqi oil and gas, and restoring Iraqi economic growth, which would support Turkish investors and traders.

These different strategic visions have seen Turkish and Iranian groups often back opposing political forces in Iraq. Even the nuclear issue has lost its ability to sustain good Turkey-Iran ties. Ankara gained some credit in Tehran in 2010, when it sought to galvanize a confidence-building agreement between Iran and the West over its nuclear mediation. Turks have since expressed irritation at Iranian ingratitude for their efforts to mediate between Tehran and the West. Iranian carping often includes threats as well as criticisms.[156] Erdoğan has since stopped accepting at face value Iranian pledges never to develop nuclear weapons, telling an American journal that Turkey would feel compelled to seek nuclear weapons, too, if Iran ever acquired them. Iran subsequently proposed Kazakhstan and other countries as suitable hosts for holding future rounds of the Iranian nuclear negotiations, excluding Turkey.[157]

The economic ties between the two are deep, even though Iran has proven to be an unreliable partner and a graveyard of Turkish investment capital. Trade between the two is large—Turkey-Iran trade rose above $10 billion in 2011 and now exceeds $15 billion.[158] The two parties even have agreed to start using their own currencies in their bilateral commerce to help achieve their goal of tripling Iran-Turkey trade to $30 billion within a few years.[159] But trade with Iran is frustrating for Turkish entrepreneurs. Many deals announced with great fanfare never pan out—a pattern one sees in Iran's relations with many other countries. As such, Turkey is making progress in having Azerbaijan, Iraq, and eventually Turkmenistan replace Iran as major suppliers of gas and oil.[160]

Iran's role in the Turkish economy looks set to decline further as Turks deepen their ties with the more dynamic economies in Asia and elsewhere. Turkish and Iranian officials have discussed arrangements whereby natural gas from Iran and Turkmenistan could flow to European markets via Turkey.[161] But U.S. officials have criticized Turkey's energy and economic ties with Iran, which Washington has been seeking to isolate. UN, U.S., and European sanctions forced the Turkish Petroleum International Co. to abandon a $7 billion deal to develop a part of Iran's enormous South Pars field.[162]

Although Turkey consistently has voiced opposition to sanctions against Tehran, the country has at times benefited from those sanctions, which have eliminated competition from other foreign firms that Turkish businesses would have to contend with in a sanctions-free environment. Furthermore, UN sanctions prohibit countries from paying for Iranian goods in dollars or euros, which forces Iran to use any earnings to buy local goods such as food and medicine rather than purchase nuclear-related equipment with hard currency. But the Turkish authorities have tolerated a "gas-for-gold" sanctions-circumventing scheme whereby Iran has used Turkish lira to purchase gold that Iranians can sell elsewhere in exchange for Western currency. The corruption scandal that came to light in December 2013 revealed the Turkish government allowed the state-owned Halkbank to circumvent the sanctions by exploiting the loophole that permitted Turkey to pay for Iranian energy imports with gold.[163]

The renewed Turkish-Iranian tensions of recent years mark a regression to the historic pattern for their relationship. Clashes between the imperial ambitions of the Turkish-centered Ottoman Empire and the Safavid Persian dynasties shaped regional politics for centuries. Relations between Ankara and Tehran were strained even during the 1990s. Turkey's strongly secular leaders accused Iranians of seeking to promote religious fundamentalism in Turkey and other countries; Iranians criticized Turkey's strict rules against religious expression, such as the banning of headscarves in public institutions. Turks opposed the Iranian practice of rule by clerics while Iranians criticized military rule in Turkey. Both governments suspected the

other of promoting terrorist and separatist movements against them. Turkey and Iran also have diverging interests in Central Asia. Both would like to increase their influence in a region where they were the dominant players in previous centuries. Ankara is particularly drawn to the Turkic nations, whereas Iran feels closest to Tajikistan. It has only been in the last decade that Turkey, under AKP rule, has improved its relations with the Iranian government, and some early gains have more recently been reversed.

Iranian leaders have resisted breaking entirely with Turkey. They already have enough potential adversaries and lack any genuine allies, so having a powerful neighbor that opposes using force against Iran is still a great advantage. Turkey and Iran have not fought a war since the 17th century, and the popular mood in both counties is against another bilateral armed conflict any time soon. In public, influential Iranians have been attributing some of their tensions with Turkey to U.S. machinations and Western plots. Iranians want Turkey to continue to refrain from sending their own military forces into Syria. Without them, the Assad regime might survive for years in a stalemated civil war, with the opportunity growing over time that a new Turkish government might come to power.

Meanwhile, Turkey and Iran are establishing a joint university, a joint economic commission, and more transit and border terminals.[164] Even beyond economic ties, Turkish leaders fear that isolating and threatening Tehran could further radicalize Iranian foreign policy, which, at least in regards to Turkey, has been rather pragmatic. An alienated Iranian government might deepen its ties with terrorist organizations, intervene more deeply in Iraq and Afghanistan, and take other actions designed to retaliate against the United States and its allies, like Turkey. A war between Iran and the West would prove disastrous since Turkey's regional interests would severely suffer, as they did during the confrontation between the West and Saddam Hussein's Iraq.[165] Turkey suffered heavy economic losses during the years in which the UN Security Council imposed sanctions on Saddam Hussein's government and then as a result of the Western invasion of the country. The losses from a war today involving Iran would be even greater.

Nonetheless, the Turkey-Iran relationship is primed for problems due to their differing geopolitical and sectarian interests. They have already resumed their historic pattern of eschewing direct wars by competing against one another by proxy in Iraq, Syria, and Azerbaijan. After decades in which one or the other country was clearly dominant, we now have a dangerous equipoise in which both these non-Arab regimes consider themselves rising powers that deserve preeminent say in the region. But by definition, at most only one of them can gain that primacy.

EURASIA

Although many earlier successes of the AKP's zero problems policy have failed to endure, Turkey's relations with Russia, Central Asia, China, and even Afghanistan are still better than a decade ago. Turkey's relations with Russia are generally good despite differences over Syria, the South Caucasus, Turkey's dependence on Russian energy, Moscow's noncompliance with the CFE Treaty, and other issues. Thanks to their ties with NATO and the United States, Turkish policymakers have been able to accept these differences with general nonchalance. Moscow has not become overly irritated by Turkey's

confrontations with Syria, Moscow's main client in the Middle East, or Turkey's support for NATO's missile defense architecture in Europe. Turkey has likewise accepted Moscow's moves to establish a Eurasian economic bloc with surprising nonchalance. Yet, differences over Syria, and now the Crimea, confront Turkey's Russia policy with its most serious challenge in decades. For now, the improved relationship with Russia has also enabled Turkey to better support U.S. goals in Central Asia. Russia no longer fears Ankara's influence in Central Asia and might even welcome a Turkish presence to help counterbalance China's growing presence in the region. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, Turkey has strived to carve out a space for itself in the Central Asian region, among its Turkic brother-nations. Turkish involvement in the region increased tremendously with the War in Afghanistan, which Turkey has supported and participated in with vigor and enthusiasm. Turkey has spearheaded mediation efforts in the region, particularly between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Through the 1990s, Russia countered Ankara's efforts to exert influence in the region, and only in recent years has Turkey been able to expand its cooperation with former Soviet Central Asian nations beyond a strictly cultural context. Turkish firms have begun to dominate in the region in many sectors, from banking, to telecommunications, food processing, and textiles. Erdoğan, having failed to overcome the impasse that currently hinders EU membership, has courted closer relations with the SCO as a means of exercising influence in Central Asia. Turkey has recently attained the status of "dialogue partner," but there are significant obstacles to fuller membership, and major doubts as to the degree to which the SCO, with its limited economic and security capabilities, could replace the EU and NATO.

RUSSIA

The AKP has pursued better Russian-Turkish relations. The two countries have developed a sustained economic and security partnership, centered on growing tourism, energy flows, and overlapping security concerns in their shared neighborhoods of Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Balkans, and the Middle East. Several factors explain the mild Turkish response, limited to declarations of principles and feared consequences. Turkey now receives more than half its natural gas from Russia, as well as large deliveries of oil and support for its planned nuclear energy program. Annual trade now amounts to some $40 billion. Mutual investment has also grown, with Turkish firms helping construct the Sochi Olympics complex in Russia.[166]

During the past decade under the AKP, Turkish and Russian interests converged more than they differed. Both countries have sought to reduce terrorism, increase oil and gas transit through Turkey, and limit disruptive political upheavals in Central Asia and neighboring regions, given the risks of such chaos spilling across their borders. Neither government wants Iran to obtain nuclear weapons, but both Ankara and Moscow do not object to Iran's pursuit of limited nuclear activities under appropriate international monitoring. In addition, Turkey and Russia want to prevent other countries from employing force against Iran to attack its nuclear facilities.

Russian officials no longer evince concern about Turkey's growing economic and cultural presence in Central Asia and, as evidenced by Moscow's low key response to Turkey's decision to host a NATO missile defense radar, no longer consider Turkey a major

military threat. Turkey and Russia largely have set aside their Cold War adversarial mindsets in the former Soviet space. The Kremlin, protective against U.S. and West European intrusions, no longer evinces much concern about Turkey's growing economic and cultural presence in the Turkic nations of the South Caucasus and Central Asia. Russians may even welcome Turkey's growing economic presence in Central Asia as a means of diluting China's growing economic prowess there. Despite Moscow favoring Armenia and Ankara siding with Azerbaijan, Russia and Turkey have managed to keep their differences over the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute under control. Even in the case of Georgia, Turkey has managed to maintain good relations with Tbilisi without antagonizing Moscow, though Turkish efforts to lessen Russia-Georgia antagonisms have largely failed.

The independent policies Ankara pursued toward regional security issues presumably lessened Moscow's concerns about Turkey serving as an anti-Russian stalking-horse for Western interests in the region. Policymakers in both countries have shared the belief that other NATO countries, particularly the United States, have paid insufficient attention to their concerns in these regions. A few years ago, analysts even spoke of an "Axis of the Excluded" between them.[167] Although Turkey has since strengthened its ties with NATO and the United States, Russian analysts still cultivate Turkey as a rising power. It has a dynamic economy, newly flexible foreign policy, and shares with Russia the experience of being physically part of Europe but practically treated as a peripheral country not suitable for membership in core European clubs such as the EU.[168]

The Black Sea region has represented another geographic region of overlapping mutual concern to both Turkey and Russia. In recent years, Russian-Turkish security cooperation in this area has been sufficiently extensive and exclusionary as to worry the West about the two countries establishing a *de facto* condominium in the region, which represents the main route through which Caspian oil and gas reaches Europe. For example, Moscow and Ankara have worked to limit the presence of Western navies in the Black Sea. In particular, they have resisted Alliance proposals to enlarge the scope of NATO's Operation ACTIVE ENDEAVOUR, currently active in the Mediterranean, into Black Sea waters. Russian policymakers do not want NATO to establish a major military presence in another region neighboring the Russian Federation, while Turkish officials also oppose any steps that might lead to a review of the 1936 Montreux Convention, which grants Turkey special privileges as possessor of the Bosporus Straits, including the power to limit the size of warships from nonlittoral states that enter the Black Sea.

Since 2006, Russian warships have been participating in Black Sea Harmony, a Turkey-led multinational initiative launched in 2004 designed to counter terrorism, narco-trafficking, and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) proliferation in the south Black Sea region by tracking suspicious vessels and conducting security checks on ports.[169] The two navies track vessels and exchange data about possible illegal activities. Russian and Turkish government representatives maintain that Black Sea Harmony and other Russian-Turkish maritime security cooperation, such as the annual exercises of the Black Sea Naval Force involving the riparian states since April 2001, obviate the need to bring NATO's ACTIVE ENDEAVOUR or any other NATO naval presence into the Black Sea region. As Gül put it during his joint February 2009 news conference with then Russian President Dmitrey Medvedev in Moscow:

> Russia and Turkey are the two most important countries in the region, which are called upon to make a weighty contribution to ensuring peace, stability, security and cooperation across the region.[170]

Frictions do exist between Ankara and Moscow. Turkey has criticized Russia's decision to suspend implementation of the CFE, whose provisions limit the number of Russian military forces that can be deployed near Turkey and also promote military transparency and restraint throughout the South Caucasus, the scene of one recent war (involving Georgia in 2008) and potentially another (between Armenia and Azerbaijan). Turkish policymakers have sought to maintain "geopolitical pluralism" in post-Soviet Eurasia in general and in the South Caucasus in particular.[171] Preserving "pluralism" involves strengthening the political sovereignty of these countries, countering the growth of Russian influence in the Caucasus (though in a covert rather than overt way), and promoting closer ties between these countries and Euro-Atlantic organizations such as NATO.[172]

In line with its strategy of "making friends" with previously alienated countries, generating opportunities for greater east-west commerce through Turkey, and attempting to avert further instability in the South Caucuses following the Georgia War, the AKP government signed a set of protocols with Armenia in October 2009 that would establish mutual diplomatic relations and reopen their joint border. Pressure from Azerbaijan and its Turkish supporters has generated opposition within the Turkish legislature to ratifying the protocols before Armenia resolves the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, which the Turkish government cited in 1993 as the original reason for closing the border. Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev threatened to stop subsidizing the sale of natural gas to Turkey and seek alternative energy export routes should Turkey adopt the protocols while Armenian forces continued to occupy Azerbaijani territory.[173] The Turkish government rapidly backtracked and resumed insisting on a resolution to the Nagorno-Karabakh issue before the protocols could enter into effect.

The government of Armenia, which set aside previous demands for Turkey to recognize the 1915 massacres as genocide during the signing ceremony, has been unwilling to make further concessions simply to reestablish relations and reopen its border with Turkey. Turkish diplomats have hoped that Russia, an historical ally of Armenia as well as member of the OSCE Minsk Group, would help promote a reconciliation between Turkey and Armenia. When he met with Putin in January 2010, Erdoğan called on Moscow to play a more active role in resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh issue.[174] Yet, Putin declined to commit to exerting any pressure on Armenia, whose parliament must also ratify the protocols, to make concessions regarding Nagorno-Karabakh in order to secure Turkish parliamentary ratification. When asked about the issue at their joint news conference on January 13, Putin argued that linking the Turkish-Armenian reconciliation with the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute would simply delay progress on both. He stated:

> Both the Karabakh and Turkish-Armenian problems are extremely complicated in their own right, and I don't think they should be joined together in a package. Each problem is hard to resolve even taken on its own, and if we lump them together, any hope of their resolution automatically recedes into the distant future.[175]

Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov made similar remarks the following day when he visited Yerevan.[176] Skeptics might suspect that Russian officials are not eager to see a

reconciliation between Turkey and Armenia since, while offering the possibility of drawing Azerbaijan and Turkey closer to Russia, the protocols' adoption could reduce Moscow's influence in Armenia and promote the development of new east-west energy and commercial routes through Turkey that circumvent Russian territory. Armenia suspended the parliamentary ratification process for the protocols a few months later.

Russia's decision to use overwhelming force to defeat Georgia in its August 2008 war shocked Turkish policymakers into realizing that their margin for maneuver in Russia's backyard might be smaller than anticipated due to Moscow's new assertiveness.[177] To prevent further regional disorders, Ankara sought to advance a multilateral regional security framework that would both constrain Russia's assertive impulses as well as revitalize efforts to solve the regional conflicts that might lead to new flareups and further destabilization.[178] Although Turkish leaders traditionally had strongly supported Georgia's territorial integrity and developed strong economic ties with Georgia, Turkish officials restrained their criticism of Moscow's intervention and subsequent dismemberment of Georgia. Turkish representatives instead focused on averting future conflicts by promoting the creation of a Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform (CSCP) that would include Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Russia, as well as Turkey. The CSCP would have supplemented the contributions made by other regional security institutions, such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), whose Minsk Group has sought to address the "frozen conflicts" in the former Soviet republics, and the SCO, with which Turkey is also seeking to develop closer ties. The CSCP also sought to exploit the interests Russia shared with Turkey in promoting sufficient regional stability to allow for a mutually profitable energy corridor between Eurasian energy suppliers and European energy consumers.[179]

In addition to hoping to enlarge Turkey's margin to maneuver in the South Caucasus, Ankara wanted to avoid further conflicts that placed Turkey uneasily between Russia and the Western democracies. Turkey had found it difficult to manage the intense pressure placed on Ankara during the war. In the early days of the conflict, Turkey turned down American requests to send ships through the Turkish Straits into the Black Sea.[180] After Ankara eventually agreed to allow three U.S. ships, as well as some other NATO vessels, the Russian government complained that Turkey was violating the 1936 Montreux Convention, which regulates passage of ships from non-Black Sea states through the Turkish Straits.[181] More generally, Turkish leaders traditionally have sought to dampen tensions between their neighbors, including those in the Middle East, to avoid disputes that could harm the Turkish economy or otherwise negatively redound on Turkish interests. Russian officials endorsed the proposed platform in principle since, by excluding non-regional actors, it would give Moscow and Ankara a leading role in addressing local security problems. But Western and Georgian disinterest led to the initiative's demise.

Another source of Turkey-Russian tension has been the large and persistent trade imbalance in Russia's favor, despite recurring pledges by both governments to work to change the balance and composition of their trade. The imbalance, which does not characterize Turkey's trade with other major economic partners, results from Turkey's heavy dependence on Russian oil and gas, which accounts for almost three-fourths of Turkey's imports from Russia. Turkey has become one of the largest Russian gas importers and natural gas accounts for the largest proportion of Turkey's annual trade turnover with Russia. Turkey's dependence on Russian energy is a cause of concern among officials in Ankara, leading Ankara to seek to diversify its sources of energy to include suppliers in Central Asia,

the South Caucasus, and at times Iran (though international sanctions and U.S. pressure have made this difficult). Turkey is also planning to develop civilian nuclear power, though Turkey has partnered with Russia, which offered the best deal, to develop its first nuclear power plant, which will use a third-generation Russian-made reactor. Russia has agreed to pay most of the costs of this construction and accept repayment out of the revenue from the electricity the plant will generate.

In recent years, Syria has become a major sore point between Ankara and Moscow. While Ankara has been demanding that Assad resign, Moscow continues to support his regime. Turkey's leading role in organizing the anti-Assad resistance, Syria's cross-border attacks against Turkish territory and Ankara's decision to force a Syrian plane wrongly suspected of carrying weapons to land for inspection in Turkey after it had left Russia, have strained ties. However, neither government has been willing to break ties over the issue because the two countries still have strong overlapping interests in other areas. Turkey and Russia have been able to compartmentalize their differences over Syria so that they can continue to pursue other dimensions of their improving relationship.[182]

More recently, the March 2014 Crimea crisis has confronted Turkey with the most serious challenge to its Russian policy since the Cold War. Until losing the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-74, the Ottoman Empire held sovereignty over the Crimea, then dominated by a population of Muslim, Turkic-speaking Crimean Tatars who looked to Istanbul for spiritual and other leadership. Joseph Stalin forcefully changed this ethnic balance by accusing the Tatars of collaborating with the German occupation and sending them into exile. It was not until the last days of the Soviet Union that the authorities allowed many Tatars to return.

Today, the peninsula's 300,000 Crimean Tatars represent some 12 percent of the population. Turkey has provided them with special aid programs, and Turkish officials have affirmed that they will protect the Tatars during the present crisis.[183] The Tartars have opposed the Crimean independence referendum and fear that, as part of Putin's Russia, their rights will again be infringed. Representatives of the millions of Turks of Tartar origin have demanded that Ankara take a strong stand against the illegal territorial transfer.[184] Moscow's proclaimed right to use military force to protect ethnic Russians resembles the pretext Moscow used in more than a dozen wars against the Ottoman Empire, justified by the need to defend Orthodox Christians against Muslim oppressors.

Despite having closer ties with the Crimea than any NATO country, championing the cause of threatened Muslims elsewhere, and being key neighbors and energy partners of both Russia and Ukraine, Turkish officials adopted a surprising low-key response to Moscow's moves against the Crimea. Erdoğan, Davutoğlu, and other Turkish officials have simply called for upholding Ukraine's territorial integrity, sovereignty, and political unity without taking any concrete measures to compel observance of these principles other than call for a coalition government in Ukraine that maintained a foreign policy balanced between Russia and the West. Likewise, though Davutoğlu has warned that Moscow's actions could open a "Pandora's Box" by unfreezing other "frozen conflicts" in the Black Sea region—an allusion to the Armenian-Azerbaijani dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh—Ankara has not launched a new initiative to avert that outcome, as it did after the 2008 Georgia War.

Although the Turkish government has said that it will not recognize the legitimacy of the Crimean referendum, in which the peninsula's residents reportedly overwhelmingly voted to join Russia, Ankara has not followed the United States and the EU in imposing sanctions on Russian officials for backing this maneuver. Davutoğlu has even insisted that Turkey will not

let "another power"—perhaps an allusion to the EU or Washington—create a Russia-Turkey conflict over Crimea, which he insisted was a global crisis that should concern all countries. Searching for ways to de-escalate the crisis, the Foreign Minister has also argued that the West should avoid trying to isolate Moscow and instead should, along with Ukraine, negotiate a mutually acceptable compromise that respected Russian interests.[185]

Diverging domestic considerations have also been paralyzing Ankara's response in the current crisis. The AKP's declining popularity should encourage the government to take a firmer stance toward Moscow to gain popularity among Turkey's nationalists, ethnic Tatars, and Russian-haters. But if Russia retaliated by disrupting gas deliveries and other economic intercourse with Turkey, voters' standard of living would decline at a time when Turkey faces several crucial ballots. In addition, Erdoğan and other Turkish leaders may have viewed the popular revolution in neighboring Ukraine with some unease, given how Turkey has also faced months of unprecedented protests. Putin thus far has been playing Turkey well, keeping Ankara quiet in both the Georgian and Crimean crises, but if he continues to grab former Soviet territories, he may finally drive Turkey to return to its traditional anti-Russian stance, especially in the Black Sea region, just as Ankara has reversed many of the AKP's initially new foreign policies in recent years.

CENTRAL ASIA

Turkey has striven to deepen ties with Central Asia since these formerly Soviet republics became independent countries. Several Central Asian republics have majority populations of ethnic Turkic origin, and all have long engaged in trade and other relations with Turkey. Since these countries gained independence in 1991, the Turkish government has sought to train and educate their people and provide technical, linguistic, and other assistance to their institutions, from their militaries and governments to their businesses and other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Turkish officials also see one of their missions as representing Central Asian interests and views within major international institutions such as the G-20.[186] They therefore encourage Central Asians to convey messages to these institutions' members via Turkey.

To diversify its sources of energy imports further, Turkish officials have been seeking to develop options to transship, and possibly purchase for domestic use, natural gas from Kazakhstan and other Caspian Basin countries. Turkey is interested in serving as a "natural energy bridge" between the supplier countries to Turkey's east and international energy markets to Turkey's north, west, and south. The Central Asian states, desiring to decrease their reliance on Russian-controlled pipelines, have supported this effort. Indeed, Central Asian governments welcome Turkey's growing ties in the region as these times help pursue multivector foreign policies with Western directions, even as other NATO countries reduce their presence in their region.

Turkish analysts and government officials are of two minds regarding future political developments in Central Asia. One group believes that Central Asia is ripe for deep political change through its own version of the Arab Spring. They see the region as the last bastion of one-party authoritarian rule and consider the prospects for its near-term democratization to be high. This group would also welcome a phenomenon like the Arab Spring in the region since

they consider the absence of functioning democracies in most Central Asian countries as a significant problem for Turkish entities. For example, they note that, since all major policies in a dictatorship are determined by a single individual or group, authoritarian governments are prone to make radical changes in policy overnight. In addition, the constraints on most individuals' ability to access information in authoritarian regimes, as well as the legal arbitrariness common in nondemocracies, present major obstacles to domestic and foreign entrepreneurs seeking to run profitable businesses in these countries.

But another group of Turkish experts consider the prospects for Central Asia's near-term democratization to be low because they were more optimistic about these regimes' ability to withstand the kind of political chaos sweeping through the Arab world. They argued that it would take decades for these countries, whose leaders still consist of people who have overwhelmingly developed their political views during the Soviet period, to abandon their Soviet mentality and adopt Western liberal values.

In the view of these Turkish analysts and officials, another constraint on political change in Central Asia was the geographic isolation of these states from other democratic countries as well as their history of authoritarian rule. They argued that Central Asia's democratization would entail a lengthy process requiring the further political and economic evolution of these countries. For example, they believed that these nations' economic development would expand the size of their middle class. In time, these stronger middle classes could provide a foundation for these states' evolution into more democratic regimes, since people having some property want to exert some influence on government policies that could affect these interests. Conversely, this second group of Turkish officials feared that efforts to rush Central Asia's democratization could easily backfire and lead their rulers to adopt even more repressive domestic politics. Instead, they advocated that, for the time being, Western governments focus on promoting the rule of law and human rights in Central Asia, while hoping that economic development and other modernization trends would eventually lead to more democratic governments in the region.

At present, this second group of Turkish officials seems to have the greater influence on Turkey's policies toward Central Asia. But the onset of revolutionary upheavals in this region could easily shift the balance of influence in favor of the first group more eager and optimistic about the prospects for Central Asian democratization. Despite these differences, both groups of Turkish officials maintained that their country could play some role in Central Asia. Neither has thought Turkey sufficiently powerful to compete with Russia directly for regional influence. Turkish officials recognize Russia's political, military, and economic primacy in the region. They also perceive China as a growing economic power in the region. These officials see Turkey's role in Central Asia mainly in cultural terms, encouraging these Turkic people to learn Turkish and acknowledge their historical affinity with the commonwealth of Turkish nations. They also want Turkish businesses to trade and invest in the region. In practice, the few Turkish companies having a major presence in Central Asia concentrate their activities in certain economic sectors such as construction.

Turkey has also been developing ties with the SCO. The SCO has rapidly become one of Eurasia's most influential multinational institutions despite its short history. It is also one of the largest (in terms of geographic size and population) regional organizations, with a most comprehensive agenda. When they established the SCO on June 15, 2001, the six founding states (China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan) adopted a "Declaration on Establishment of Shanghai Cooperation Organization" that emphasized their

adherence to a "Shanghai Spirit" based on "mutual respect for multicivilizations" and other values. The issue of Turkey's acquiring some kind of formal affiliation with the SCO, the dominant multinational institution in Eurasia, has been under discussion for years, but it was not until 2012 that the SCO governments finally decided to offer Turkey some kind of formal affiliation after Ankara had assured them that Turkey would not be a stalking-horse for NATO in Eurasia.

The June 2012 annual meeting of the SCO heads of state in Beijing, China, designated Turkey a formal "dialogue partner" of the organization. The SCO uses the category for countries that are neither full members nor formal observers (like India, Iran, Pakistan, Mongolia, and now Afghanistan). The 2009 Yekaterinburg summit in Russia granted Belarus and Sri Lanka "dialogue partner" status. These partners cannot sign SCO documents or participate in SCO decisions; they can only offer advice in those areas of cooperation specified in a memorandum negotiated between the SCO and the partner. Designating Turkey a dialogue partner makes imminent sense given Turkey's longstanding interest in Central Asia, economic influence in that region, and powerful regional military force. Turkish academies and trainers have been working with the Central Asian armed forces since these countries became independent. Turkey's location astride multiple global hotspots—the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Middle East, etc.—gives it significant geopolitical weight. In addition, allowing a NATO member to affiliate with the SCO helps reduce the concerns of some outsiders that the SCO is seeking to construct an alliance of anti-Western autocracies in the heart of Asia.

By making Turkey a dialogue partner and Afghanistan a formal SCO observer, the SCO now has the most comprehensive set of members to address Afghanistan's regional security and economic integration. Turkey has played a major role in enhancing Afghanistan's security and development. Turkey could also help the SCO realize its aspirations to have greater economic impact. Turkey has considerable assets in such sectors as finance, transportation, energy, telecommunications, and construction. Although not yet in the same class as China, India, and Russia, Turkey's booming economy has already propelled Turkey to the ranks of the G-20. Turkey already has some $11 billion in combined trade and investment in Central Asia, as well as approximately $1 billion in Eximbank loans and some $30 billion in contracts to almost 2,000 Turkish firms.

In a January 2013 TV interview, Erdoğan said that he had told Putin that Turkey, after decades of thwarted efforts to join the EU would join the SCO instead if Putin could arrange it. Explaining his opinion, Erdoğan called the SCO "better and more powerful, and we have common values with them," which include Muslim and Turkic ties with these nations.[187] Erdoğan's remark should not really be seen as a great surprise. The Prime Minister has earlier cited sup- posed Western hostility toward his country and religion. For example, when in Egypt in November 2013, Erdoğan warned his listeners that "all the West wants is to tear the Islamic world to pieces."[188]

Political calculations might also be at work. Polls show that Turks have become increasingly frustrated with the EU, and Erdoğan presumably saw no harm in bashing this unpopular target.[189] Although most Turkish commentators also saw the remarks as a gam- bit to strengthen Ankara's negotiating leverage with Brussels, a few noted that they resonate well with Turkey's' flexible foreign policy which, under the AKP, has moved Ankara away from its previously strongly Western orientation. The comments also reflect Erdoğan's sense that

Turkey belonged to a different "Islamic civilization" rather than an exclusively Christian one.[190]

Last October, Erdoğan's chief adviser, İbrahim Kalın, complained of a growing gap between Islamic and Western values and concluded that "the European model of secular democracy, politics, and pluralism seems to have little traction in the Arab and larger Muslim world," in which he included Turkey.[191] Although many Turks agree that the EU is simply unwilling to accept such a large Muslim-majority country, Erdoğan's critics, including heads of leading opposition parties, complained that Erdoğan was using the religion issue to avoid uncomfortable questions about EU attacks against his government's authoritarian tendencies at home.[192] In addition to reflecting a genuine concern about Turkey's mistreatment by the EU and an effort to gain easy popularity by attacking an unpopular target, Erdoğan and other Turkish leaders see cooperating more with the SCO as an enticing option. Like everyone else, Erdoğan has noticed that, "The economic powers of the world are shifting from west to east."[193]

In addition to Afghanistan, the main security preoccupation of the SCO thus far has been the "three evils" of terrorism, separatism, and religious extremism—all priorities of Turkey's national security establishment. A strengthening of Islamist radicalism in Central Asia could easily redound negatively in Turkey, while Turkish authorities want to delegitimize Kurdish aspirations for a separate state. Turkey's border security is constantly challenged by narcotics and human trafficking from Central Asia since Turkish territory provides the most direct land route to rich European markets. The SCO's preoccupation with fighting Islamist terrorism and ethnic separatism would help the AKP justify its repressive domestic policies, which are claimed to help counter Kurdish terrorism and separatism. Unlike EU governments, SCO members would support whatever repressive means the Turkish authorities deemed necessary.[194]

The SCO provides another means for Turkey to deepen its still modest political engagement with Central Asia, and in a framework acceptable to Russia and other countries that remain wary of neo-Ottoman aspirations regarding the Turkic nations of Central Asia. The Turkish Council, Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic-speaking Countries (TÜRKPA), the International Organization of Turkic Culture (TÜRKSOY), the Turkish Academy and Turkey's numerous student scholarships have never yielded Ankara much influence in these states. The impact of the Central Asian projects sponsored by the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA) has been weakened by the decision to expand its aid recipients to dozens of countries rather than retain its original focus on the newly independent Turkic republics. The educational and cultural outreach efforts sponsored by the Turkish government and various Turkish NGOs have had limited impact building on the shared ethnic, religious, linguistic, and other bonds between Turkey and these nations. Furthermore, Turkey's new status offers Ankara the prospect of participating in SCO-led diplomatic initiatives regarding Afghanistan or Central Asia and the organization's socioeconomic initiatives, which might extend to the energy realm. If the SCO forms an oil and gas club, then Turkey wants to be one of its members.[195]

Meanwhile, Turkey's leverage with Europe, the United States, and elsewhere might also rise through a deeper affiliation with the SCO. Closer ties would also help counter criticism that the AKP's ambitious policy of zero problems with neighbors has failed to attain enduring results. Although Turkey's ties with Syria, Iraq, and Europe have worsened in recent years, the improvements in Ankara's relations with the SCO members have largely persisted.

Deepening ties with the SCO could prove useful for Ankara in promoting its security goals in Afghanistan and Central Asia. And Turkey is now eligible to become a formal observer or full member of the SCO, with enhanced privileges, in the future. Turkish officials have affirmed interest in moving up the membership ladder and becoming a formal observer state of the SCO, though this might not yield any tangible gains in Turkey's involvement in SCO activities given the marginal differences in the rights and privileges of the two categories.[196]

Turkish and SCO officials have since indicated that Turkey could join both the SCO and the EU since they were not exclusive organizations. Nonetheless, joining the SCO would prove easier since there are far fewer parties to convince to grant membership (only the six existing full SCO members); no SCO government has publicly opposed Turkey's accession as a full member, while France, Austria, and Cyprus openly have opposed Turkey's joining the EU; joining the SCO does not require extensive negotiations on specific chapters like the EU admission process; and public opinion within Europe to Turkey's joining the EU is generally unfavorable, while in the SCO, the governments can make decisions without taking their public opinion into account.

But Turkey also will find it harder to avoid the contradictions that permeate the SCO. Turkish diplomacy has already fallen afoul of the confrontation between SCO observers India and Pakistan, with media commentators in both governments accusing Turkish leaders of not paying sufficient heed to their security interests in Afghanistan. Although currently camouflaged by Turkey's relying on NATO to bolster its security regarding Syria, some NATO officials remain uneasy about the implications of Turkey's eastward drift for Alliance cohesion. Turkey might seek to use its SCO ties as leverage in NATO debates. Turkey will also find it hard to avoid the differences between Beijing and Moscow regarding the SCO's proper role and development. Whereas China would like the SCO to establish a free-trade zone, Russia has sought to sustain barriers that help preserve the privileged status many Russian businesses inherited from the Soviet era. This is especially true in the energy sector, where China is eager to expand its access to Central Asian oil and gas resources traditionally under Russia's control. The differences between China and Russia have contributed to the SCO's not admitting any new full members to its ranks since its founding in 2001.

Afghanistan

One reason Turkey wants to deepen its ties with the SCO is to expand its diplomatic toolkit regarding Afghanistan, which became a formal SCO observer in 2012. Turkey has undertaken major military, economic, and diplomatic initiatives that underscore Turkey's important role in Afghanistan, which may increase as more NATO troops withdraw from that country.

Turkey's military contributions to Afghanistan have been channeled through the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), created by the December 2001 Bonn (Germany) Agreement as a means to provide security while the new post-Taliban government rebuilt Afghanistan's military and police forces.[197] NATO took charge of ISAF in subsequent years and expanded its area of operations in stages until it officially covered all of Afghanistan. An independent U.S.-only command focusing on counterterrorist operations has also operated in Afghanistan. Turkey has twice led ISAF: first between June 2002 and February 2003, and then between February and November 2005.[198] Turkey has also played a

major role in various ISAF regional commands and has led the Force's Regional Command Capital in the Kabul region.[199] Turkey extended its command of the ISAF's Kabul region for another year on November 1, 2011.[200] Turkey initially deployed 276 troops into Afghanistan in late-2001 during the post-9/11 coalition military operations in that country, but this figure rose to 1,300 in June 2002, when Turkey assumed command of ISAF and was charged with providing security in Kabul and running the city's international airport. At one point, Turkey had almost 2,000 troops in Afghanistan assigned to various noncombat missions.[201]

While the Turkish government has refused to deploy its troops on explicit counterinsurgency or counterterrorist operations in Afghanistan, its military forces within ISAF have helped train members of the Afghan National Army and the Afghan National Police in these tactics. In this regard, Turkish instructors can draw on the experience the Turkish military has gained in its many years of conducting counterinsurgency and counterterrorist operations against the PKK, al-Qaeda, and other militant groups.[202] Turkish troops serve primarily in the Kabul region, but also in several Provisional Reconstruction Teams (PRT) across Afghanistan. In Kabul, Turkish troops trained hundreds of Afghan soldiers and assisted in reconstruction projects. They also patrolled the city to reassure citizens about their security. Turkey also collaborated with other NATO members such as France and Italy in a joint Kabul headquarters to promote security in the capital area. In November 2006, moreover, Turkey established a PRT in Wardak, located 40-km west of Kabul. Its mixed contingent of civilian and military personnel trained the Afghan Police, improved judicial administration, developed public infrastructure, and supported projects aimed at raising the quality of life of the local population.[203]

During Erdoğan's visit to the White House in Washington, DC, on December 7, 2009, President Obama requested that the Turkish government deploy combat troops to Afghanistan. In declining the proposal, Erdoğan and other Turkish officials explained that they wanted to focus Turkey's military contributions on training Afghan security forces, undertaking economic reconstruction projects, and supporting other noncombat missions. Alluding to Turkey's value as a potential mediator between the Afghan government and its adversaries, Gül argued that, "If Turkey sends combat forces to Afghanistan, the power that everybody respects—including [the] Taliban—will disappear."[204] The Obama administration eventually accepted this logic. U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates subsequently stressed to the media that the Obama administration was "extremely pleased with Turkey's contributions in Afghanistan" because U.S. officials "pay high importance to personnel that can train [Afghan] individuals in the areas of military and security."[205]

The Turkish government and Turkish NGOs have supported many humanitarian and economic reconstruction projects in Afghanistan. These have included education, health, housing, and infrastructure improvement projects. The Turkish government, with funds from TİKA, has constructed dozens of schools, helping fill a major socioeconomic gap in Afghanistan. TIKA has also helped dig wells to provide citizens with safe drinking water. Turkey's Greater Anatolian Project (GAP) has supported projects to improve irrigation in the Afghan city of Jalalabad.[206] Turkey has donated much food to Afghanistan through the UN Food and Agricultural Organization and other means. Turks have constructed or rebuilt seven medical clinics in Afghanistan and have supported other health initiatives in that country.[207] Economic considerations have sustained Turkish interest in ending the Afghan conflict. The continued fighting has prevented Afghanistan from joining with Turkey and other countries in providing a Eurasian east-west land route for Central Asian exports to European markets.

Turkey aims to become a major transit country for trade between Asia and Europe, but regional insecurity has discouraged foreign investment in east-west railroad, highway, and pipeline projects.

Turkey has complemented its long-standing military and economic contributions to Afghanistan with diplomatic initiatives aimed at creating a favorable environment for an Afghan-led peace process. This focus has dovetailed well with the Obama administration's Afghan-Pak war strategy, which tries to pursue three mutually reinforcing tracks: "fight, talk, and build," signifying the need for a favorable regional diplomatic framework for ending the conflict, along with increased military and economic support for Afghanistan. The administration's "New Silk Road" policy aims to increase economic ties between Afghanistan and its neighbors in the expectations that the economic gains would reduce economic incentives to join regional terrorist and insurgent groups, reduce Afghanistan's dependence on foreign assistance, and promote greater regional cooperation in other areas. Turkey's three contributions also coincide well with the Obama administration's "3-D" (defense, development, and diplomacy) approach toward foreign policy.[208]

Many of Turkey's diplomatic initiatives have concentrated on improving relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan—or at least keeping their lines of communication open during their frequent bilateral disputes. Like the Obama administration, and other NATO governments, Turkish officials argue that any enduring solution to the conflict will require better relations between the governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan. In particular, Pakistani support is needed for inducing the Afghan Taliban to end its insurgency since the insurgents use Pakistani territory as a base of operations. Turkish officials and experts argue that their country has distinct advantages in this mediation role, including historically good relations with both countries, a shared Islamic faith, a lack of local proxies or other means, and no incentives to interfere in their internal affairs.[209] Turkey has long-established ties with Pakistan dating from their common alignment with the Western camp during the Cold War and their shared moderate Muslim governments. Their military-to-military exchanges, which include a diverse range of bilateral and multilateral exercises, have continued to this day. In turn, Pakistan may have helped Turkey improve its relations with China and discouraged its Afghan Taliban allies from attacking Turkish troops in ISAF.[210]

Since April 2007, Turkey has hosted six Turkey-Afghanistan-Pakistan Trilateral Forum meetings involving senior Turkish, Afghan, and Pakistani government officials. These sessions began as presidential summits but have since expanded to include senior foreign, intelligence, interior, and other civilian and military officials. Similarly, while their initial focus was on promoting regional security and counterterrorism collaboration among the three governments, they have since broadened to include economic and other forms of nonmilitary cooperation.[211] For example, at the January 25, 2010, trilateral summit, the three governments endorsed initiatives to promote the reconciliation and reintegration of Taliban members who agreed to cease fighting and engage in solely nonviolent activities.[212] They also discussed cooperating on health, education, and other socioeconomic projects.[213]

Turkey has sought to move beyond mere declarations and have the parties establish concrete confidence-building measures among the parties. As part of this trilateral process, in early-2011 Turkey organized the first joint military exercise (on urban warfare) involving all three armies.[214] A trilateral direct video-telephone conference line among the three presidents has been established. There is also a Trilateral Minds Platform whose members include academics and members of the media and think tanks. In addition, Turkey has started an

Istanbul Forum that brings together representatives of the chambers of commerce in each of the three countries, which helps promote cooperation among their national business leaders and other private sector actors to complement the government-to-government meetings.[215]

In November 2011, Istanbul hosted two vital multinational meetings designed to support international peace efforts regarding Afghanistan. The first gathering was a tripartite presidential summit with Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan, Asif Zardari of Pakistan, and Gül of Turkey. The second, the Security and Cooperation in the Heart of Asia conference, involved officials from these three countries, as well as from many other neighboring and supporting countries seeking to establish a benign regional security environment for ending the war. Representatives from Afghanistan, China, India, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Tajikistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and the United Arab Emirates attended the event as full participants and wrote the collective conference communique. These self-designated "Heart of Asia" countries were joined by senior officials from other supporting countries and international institutions. The latter included Australia, Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States, as well as the UN, Economic Cooperation Organization, OSCE, NATO, SCO, South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, Organization for Islamic Cooperation, the EU, and the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia.

In its mediation efforts, Turkey has encountered many of the same challenges that have bedeviled similar U.S. and other third-party facilitators. These obstacles include the region's porous borders, which facilitate the flow of fighters and drugs; poor governance; transnational organized criminal groups that have an interest in sustaining the conflict; weak national governments and security forces that have faced major Islamist insurgents; and limited and declining commitments by external powers to support regionally driven peace programs. In addition, the Afghan-Pakistan conflict has elements of a civil war in which the Taliban enjoys some support among the large Pashtun community that straddles the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. For this reason, regionally based peace efforts invariably will prove of limited effectiveness unless accompanied by complementary developments in Afghanistan and Pakistan such as more effective governance, better counterinsurgency operations, and a greater desire on the part of the insurgents to lay down their arms and re-enter their civilian societies.

The Istanbul conference communique, like other international gatherings, stressed that any peace efforts must be led by the Afghan conflict parties. Regional rivalries have also impeded Turkey's peace efforts. While Russia, China, and the West now generally support the same goals, Turkey has found it just as difficult as other countries to manage the India-Pakistan rivalry. The Indians complained when they were not invited to the trilateral summits between Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Turkey, as well as other Turkey-hosted gatherings on Afghanistan. Indians interpreted their exclusion, as well as Turkish diplomats' seeming preoccupation with improving bilateral economic ties between Turkey and India, as a sign that Turkey does not respect India's legitimate national security interest in Afghanistan.[216] Meanwhile, the main Turkish opposition party, the Republican People's Party (CHP), has attacked the Turkish government for seeking to cooperate with the Taliban, which they denounce as a terrorist group, by considering establishing a Taliban representation bureau on Turkish territory.[217]

Whatever limitations on its role as a potential mediator in Afghanistan, Turkey has been a natural partner with NATO, the EU, and the United States in Afghanistan. The EU's special representative to Afghanistan, Vygaudas Usackas, has praised Turkey's support for regional peace efforts and termed EU-Turkish cooperation "most exemplary."[218] This bond has helped sustain close ties between Turkey and the West even when its government pursues policies toward Iran or Israel unwelcome in many Western capitals. Even if Turkey's diplomatic efforts regarding Afghanistan fail, Ankara could well receive credit for trying.

In addition to sharing the general Western goals in Afghanistan and contributing troops to the NATO led ISAF, Turkey has unique cultural and geographic assets regarding Afghanistan that are welcome in the West as well as the region. Turkey is the only NATO country with a Muslim-majority population, a valuable attribute for a Western-led military operation in a Muslim-majority country (Afghanistan) and region (Central Asia). Turkey's location is also pivotal since Afghanistan, unlike the former Yugoslavia, is very much "out-of-area" for an Alliance whose military operations have focused primarily on Europe, North America, and the ocean between them. Incirlik Air Base and other facilities in Turkey have served as important transit centers for helping transport NATO troops and other items to Afghanistan.[219] Turkey, which has the second highest number of troops of any NATO member after the United States, accrues certain advantages within the Alliance from its prominent role in Afghanistan. The other allies acknowledge Turkey's unique assets and contributions. From 2003 to 2006, former Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin served as NATO's Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan.

At the same time, several factors have constrained Turkey's engagement in Afghanistan. These include a concern about becoming bogged down in an unwinnable war, alienation from U.S. policies in Afghanistan and Iraq, and fears of antagonizing fellow Muslims by appearing to join a Western (Christian) crusade. These concerns, manifested in low popular support within Turkey for Turkey's limited involvement in the war, have made the Turkish government cautious about its level of involvement, especially in the military realm. Public opposition to the AKP's foreign policy might grow now that the AKP's "zero problems with neighbor" policy is in tatters with Turkey's relations with Syria, Iran, Armenia, Israel, and other countries deteriorating in recent years.

CHINA

The relationship with China is, on the whole, quite positive. The Chinese see Turkey as a potentially valuable partner, now that its economy has shown itself to be both dynamic and resilient, and now that it is demonstrating a policy independence that it has not shown since ties between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Turkey were established in 1971. Beijing has been cultivating Turkey on many levels, and Sino-Turkish economic and more recently security relations have become increasingly important. Chinese scholars have expressed admiration for Turkey's strong economic performance while PRC policymakers are content that Ankara is not going to champion Uighur or other Turkic separatism in China or other countries.

The rise of Kurdish nationalism in the 1990s has done much to change Ankara's perspective regarding Beijing's policies toward the Uighur Turks in Xinjiang (East

Turkestan) province: like Beijing, Ankara now champions the principles of territorial integrity and national sovereignty, and opposes separatism. Beijing, in return, has adopted a neutral line regarding the Cyprus issue. Trade between the two has grown by leaps and bounds, though the deficit remains in the PRC's favor. Turkish officials have sought to entice Chinese investment in various infrastructure projects as a means of reducing the trade imbalance. Turkey is even considering a Chinese air defense system despite Washington's objections. The AKP government's desire for new partnerships and Turkey's eagerness to join other states in benefitting from the strength of the Chinese economy has contributed to this flourishing relationship with Beijing. Their growing mutual attraction has led them to overlook their diverging policies regarding some regional issues, such as Syria and the status of ethnic Turks in China, and instead concentrate on cultivating mutual economic and strategic ties. Both Chinese and Turkish analysts describe their countries as two rising great powers that, located on opposite ends of Eurasia, could through their strategic partnership have a major impact on the nations between. The two countries referred to increasingly deepening relations between the two nations as "strategic cooperation" in 2010 and celebrated the 40th anniversary of establishing diplomatic ties between the two countries.

Several factors are driving Turkey to improve ties with China. First, Turks want to develop economic ties, especially to sell goods to China and attract PRC investment. Second, Ankara is exploring developing further military ties with the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Third, China is a leading world power. For example, its status as a permanent member of the UN Security Council gives Beijing considerable say over issues of concern to Ankara, including Cyprus, Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, and the Middle East peace process. Fourth, China's economic and political influence is growing in Central Asia, an important region for Turkey. Fifth, unlike Europeans and Americans, PRC officials do not attack Ankara's policies toward the Kurds, talk about an Armenian genocide, criticize Turkey's repression of media freedoms, or otherwise seek to interfere in Turkey's internal affairs. Finally, strengthening ties with China helps Ankara gain leverage in its relations with other important countries, such as Russia, Europe, and the United States.

Chinese analysts consider Turkey an increasingly important country for China due to its growing economy, increasingly independent and influential diplomacy, and pivotal geopolitical location between Europe, Eurasia, and the Middle East. With respect to the latter, Chinese analysts note that Turkey is a Turkic-speaking nation closely linked with Central Asia, a Middle Eastern country whose regional influence has been rising, and a member of both NATO (formally) and the EU (in terms of some economic conditions that interest the Chinese). Beijing has strived to improve relations with the Turkish peoples, including in Xinjiang, considers the Middle East and especially Central Asia as two regions important for China's development and security, and is aiming to improve ties with both NATO and the EU. Turkey can serve as a conduit for China to exert both direct and indirect influence in these other regions.

In addition, Chinese analysts view Turkey as one variant of the rising number of overly Islamic oriented governments arising in Eurasia and the Middle East. They also perceive Turkey as the best of these variants, contrasting Turkey's moderate, stable and secular political system with the less stable regimes in their client state of Pakistan and the aggressively extremist form of Islamic government seen in Iran. They prefer that the Arab Spring yield more governments like Turkey rather than more regimes like Pakistan and Iran. China's Turkey specialists express grudging admiration for the ruling AKP despite suspicions

of its overtly religious ties. They note that Turkey's AKP led government has pursued a more independent foreign policy than its predecessors that has seen Turkey distance itself from the United States and especially Israel. More recently, the AKP has deftly developed good ties with the governments of Libya and Syria and then abandoned them when these regimes have fallen into trouble.

Through much of the 20th century, relations between Turkey and China were either peripheral, conflict-prone, or both. During the first half of the century, the two nations were preoccupied with their internal affairs, trying to modernize their antiquated political and economic institutions. In 1950, Turkey and the newly created PRC came into direct contact in highly unpropitious circumstances. Seeking to gain entry into NATO, which occurred in 1952, Turkey voluntarily sent thousands of troops to fight alongside American and other Western soldiers in the Korean War. A few months later, the PRC also sent soldiers into the Korean battlefield, leading to bloody battles between Chinese and Turkish troops. Ankara continued to recognize the Chinese government in Taipei, while PRC propagandists labeled Turkey a "running-dog of the U.S. imperialism" and supported Turkey's leftist movements.

Trade and cultural ties developed during the 1960s and after a pause due to China's chaotic Cultural Revolution, Ankara and Beijing established formal diplomatic relations in 1971, continuing only trade and other economic connections with Taiwan. The concurrent improvement in ties between Beijing and Washington facilitated this reconciliation, as did a mutual Chinese and Turkish concern about the growth of the military power of the Soviet Union, their common neighbor. They signed several bilateral accords, including a China-Turkey Trade Agreement, a Mutual Protection of Investments Agreement, an Agreement on Avoidance of Double Taxation and Prevention of Tax Evasion, and a Fraud and Marine Shipment Agreement. Nonetheless, even after Turkey and the PRC established diplomatic relations in 1971, their political engagement with one another remained marginal. It was not until 1982 that Turkish head of state President Kenan Evren visited China. PRC President Li Xiannian conducted a reciprocal visit to Turkey 2 years later. Economic and political ties grew slowly during the next 2 decades but were not major priorities for either government. Their status as developing countries with little mutual cooperation meant that, in 1985, two-way trade amounted to only some $100 million.

A major source of tension in PRC-Turkish relations is Beijing's treatment of its ethnic Uighur minority in Xinjiang. The Uighurs are a Turkic-speaking Muslim minority who have lived for centuries in western China in what they historically have called "East Turkestan." They share ethnic, religious, cultural, linguistic, historical, and other ties with the other Turkic people of Central Asia, as well as Turkey itself. In the view of Chinese analysts, the close cultural and historical affinity between the PRC's Uighurs and other Turks should enable them to serve as a bridge between China and Turkey, as well as Central Asia.

Although the PRC's trade with the Turkic nations remains low in relative terms, and dwarfed by China's enormous commerce with other regions like East Asia, Western Europe, and North America, trade with Turkey and Central Asia is important for Xinjiang. Its peripheral location has limited Xinjiang's trade ties with China's larger markets. Chinese plans to import more Caspian Basin oil and natural gas will fortify Xinjiang's westward orientation. In fact, Central Asian countries are important to China due to their proximity and the growing Chinese investment in Central Asia, whose governments are more inviting to Chinese businesses than those of the Middle East, where Chinese companies most often engage in projects under contract. In fact, the Chinese worry that the new Arab regimes will

not respect China's commercial interests due to their collusion with Western governments to constrain Chinese business opportunities in these countries. Another concern is that the Middle Eastern disorders, which Chinese experts believe will last for months, if not years, will help keep world oil and other commodity prices unnaturally elevated.

China expresses suspicions about the AKP's sympathies for their fellow Muslims in Xinjiang and fears that religious and other ties could serve as a transmission belt for importing Middle Eastern chaos into the Muslim-majority nations of Central Asia and potentially Xinjiang, with its large Muslim Uighur minority. Beijing has established tight control over Xinjiang to ensure possession of its valuable natural resources and pivotal geographic position as the PRC's gateway to Central Asia and beyond. Beijing fears that relaxing control over the region would encourage separatist sentiments in Tibet and other regions of China.

PRC policies such as restricting the use of the Uighur language in schools, curbing their religious freedoms, and encouraging Han Chinese migration into Xinjiang have exacerbated ethnic tensions and led many Uighurs to flee to Turkey. Many Turks have sympathized with the Uighurs as victims of Chinese communist persecution. When the Turkish nations of Central Asia gained independence in the early-1990s, many Turks hoped those in Xinjiang would soon follow suit. For decades, successive Turkish governments offered asylum to these waves of Uighur migrants, some of whom established associations advocating independence for what they called the state of East Turkistan. These included the Eastern Turkistan Cultural Association, the Eastern Turkistan Women Association, the Eastern Turkistan Youth Union, the Eastern Turkistan Refugee Committee, the Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement, and the Eastern Turkistan National Center. Some Uighurs— the numbers are constantly in dispute— have joined militant groups and fought back against Beijing and ethnic Hans.

The rise of Kurdish militarism later in the 1990s helped win over the Turkish political establishment to the Chinese position that Beijing's difficulties in Xinjiang resembled Ankara's problems with Kurdish separatists. By the end of the decade, Turkish officials ended their practice of giving Uighurs leaving the PRC automatic Turkish citizenship, stopped using the name "East Turkistan" rather than Xinjiang, and recognized that province as an inalienable part of China. This forced many independence-advocating East Turkistan groups to close or leave Turkey, often to Germany or the United States.

In December 1998, Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz banned Turkish officials from participating in anti-Beijing activities relating to East Turkistan.[220] They eventually joined the PRC in prioritizing the values of territorial integrity, national sovereignty, and the fight against what PRC officials denounce as the three evil forces. Beijing rewarded Turkey's new Uighur policies, as well as its restrained response to the June 1989 Tiananmen Square killings, by not criticizing the Turkish government's use of military force in Kurdish areas.

The PRC also adopted a neutral stance toward the Cyprus issue. The suppression of the 2009 ethnic rioting between Han Chinese and Uighurs—which began in Urumqi, the regional capital, and then spread to other regions—by the PLA in 2009 only temporarily disrupted this process of distancing Turkish government policy from Uighur nationalism. At the time, Erdoğan called the results "almost genocide," while other Turkish leaders used similar language.[221] Whatever their personal sentiments, Turkish officials felt compelled to express concern over the July 2013 riots in Xinjiang due to the strong, if short-lived, pressure for action by important segments of Turkish society.

Media commentators, political agitators, and others condemned the killings.[222] The riots embarrassingly also came just days after Gül had visited China and had prioritized developing bilateral economic ties over human rights or other issues. During a stop in Urumqi, Gül commented that the region's Uighur population represented a bridge between Turkey and China.[223] PRC analysts accept that Erdoğan's harsh comments following the riots were made for domestic political reasons—to resonate with the popular sentiment in Turkey against Beijing's crackdown. They note that Erdoğan quietly sent his special envoy, State Minister Zafer Çağlayan, the following month to Beijing, where he expressed understanding for the PRC policies and hope that the incident would not undermine bilateral ties. They further noted that Erdoğan refrained from denouncing China's Uighur policies when PRC Prime Minister Wen Jiabao visited Turkey in October 2010. The Chinese and Turkish governments agreed to establish a strategic partnership, again manifesting Erdoğan's policy of forgetting about the Uighurs in order to develop bilateral state-to-state ties with the PRC.

Since the riots, Turkish and PRC officials have again prioritized the values of territorial integrity, national sovereignty, and fighting the three evil forces. The end of their common Soviet threat and the independent national economic reform processes in the two counties, which aimed to integrate them more into international markets, also led both governments to focus more on developing bilateral economic connections even as new political issues emerged that led to more joint discussions: the newly independent Central Asian countries, the Middle East peace process, Afghanistan, the Iraq War, and the war on terror. However, the deaths of some two dozen people in renewed Xinjiang clashes in late-February 2012 made it harder to ignore the Uighur issue during Xi's visit. In his *Sabah* newspaper interview, President Xi stressed how the PRC had sought to promote Xinjiang's development to raise the living standards of all the ethnic groups living there, including the Uighur. He encouraged Turkish entrepreneurs to invest in the region and attend the second China-Eurasia Expo in Urumqi in September. Despite his remarks, Uighur activists protested outside Xi's hotel in Ankara against Beijing's repression of its Uighur minority. Carrying a flag of East Turkestan, the demonstrators burned a poster of Xi and PRC flags before police dispersed them. According to China's *Xinhua* News Agency, when meeting with Erdoğan at his Istanbul home on February 22, Xi said that:

> China hopes that Turkey will continue to take effective measures to oppose and prevent anti-China separatist activities by 'East Turkistan' forces on its territory so as to ensure the healthy and steady growth of China-Turkey ties.[224]

Xinhua also reports that:

> Erdogan reaffirmed that Turkey has consistently adhered to the one-China policy, recognized the People's Republic of China as the sole legitimate representative of the whole Chinese people, and never allowed any activity on its territory that aims to undermine China's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.[225]

Turkey may become more important for the rest of China since the two countries' national economies are expanding much faster than the global average, and have sustained exceptionally high gross domestic product (GDP) growth rates despite the global recession, elevating their global economic importance. The PRC has become Turkey's third largest trading partner (after Germany and Russia) and the leading source of Turkey's imports.

According to the PRC Ministry of Commerce, two-way trade has grown from approximately $1 billion in 2001 to almost $18.7 billion in 2011, an 18-fold increase during that decade.[226] Turkish government statistics indicate that bilateral trade amounted to $24.1 billion in 2011.[227] During the 2001-11 period, Chinese investment in Turkey reached $10 billion, with projects worth $4 billion already finalized.[228]

PRC firms are very active in Turkey's infrastructure, construction, mining, and telecommunications sectors.[229] Both Ankara and Beijing have an interest in helping Turkey realize its ambition to become a multidirectional energy corridor that would help direct some Eurasian oil and gas eastward as well as toward Europe and the eastern Mediterranean.[230] Turkey and China, with two of the world's largest and most dynamic economies, are especially eager to revive their traditional Silk Road links though Central Asia and other Eurasian countries. The PRC leadership appreciates Turkey's potential gateway status for sales in Europe, Eurasia, and the Middle East. Huawei Technologies Ltd. has chosen İstanbul as its headquarters for managing its businesses in Central Asia.[231] When Premier Wen Jiabao visited Turkey in 2010, the two countries signed eight deals in areas including trade, energy facilities, and railway networks that would help connect Istanbul to Beijing through a "modern silk road."[232] Wen's visit to Turkey was the first conducted by a PRC Prime Minister in 8 years.[233] He and Erdoğan announced they would establish a strategic cooperation relationship that would include increased economic, political, energy, security, cultural, and other ties.[234] Wen said that China would:

> take active measures to promote trade with Turkey" and would encourage investment by Chinese enterprises in Turkey and facilitate cooperation in various economic fields, such as power projects, bridge construction and the financial sector.[235]

The two leaders pledged to increase their bilateral trade, which then amounted to less than $20 billion each year, to $50 billion annually within the next 5 years. The agreements signed during Wen's visit suggest that Turkey and China are eager to expand their economic ties. China is already Turkey's largest trade partner in the Far East.[236]

There are some economic difficulties in the Turkey-China relationship. The two countries sometimes compete for sales as well as access to regional energy supplies. Another source of economic tension is their bilateral trade imbalance. Approximately 60 percent of China's imports from Turkey consist of mined raw materials, with chemicals also ranking high on the list.[237] Meanwhile, more than three-fourths of Turkey's imports from China are intermediate goods.[238] The Turkish authorities want PRC companies to process more of these mining products inside Turkey.[239]

Trade between Turkey and China has flourished in recent years, but almost all of this has been due to Turks' growing appetite for Chinese goods. Turkey's trade with China is currently dominated by imports from China, which totaled $21 billion in 2011, with only $3 billion in exports. Like other countries, Turks have found penetrating the Chinese market difficult. The lower costs of Chinese labor and other PRC advantages have resulted in Sino-Turkish trade being very imbalanced.[240] The PRC Ambassador to Turkey, Gong Xiaosheng, insists that China does not want such an enormous trade surplus. He claimed the PRC government was encouraging Chinese enterprises to import more from Turkey as well as increase their direct investment in Turkey.[241] In addition to setting the goal of increasing their

two-way trade, the two governments said they would rely more on national currencies in their bilateral commerce, which could help equalize both countries mutual imports and exports.

In any case, Turkish policymakers seem less interested in rectifying the bilateral trade imbalance than in enticing more PRC investment in Turkish infrastructure. Turkish officials are eager to take advantage of Chinese capital and technology to help develop their energy and transportation sectors. High-speed railroads are a special area of interest given China's leading expertise in this area and Turkish desires to build a network of fast east-west trains to enhance Turkey's role as a conduit for commerce between Europe and Asia.

The focus on deepening and rectifying mutual economic ties was evident in then-Vice President Xi Jinping's 3-day February 2012 visit, made at the invitation of Gül.[242] In Ankara, Xi met with Gül and Turkish Parliament Speaker Cicek. He then flew to Istanbul to talk with Erdoğan and attended a China-Turkey business forum. When Xi met Gül, the two governments signed seven bilateral economic agreements.[243] These included a financial cooperation agreement between the Treasury Under secretariat and the China Development Bank, a memorandum of understanding between Turkish public broadcaster-TRT and Chinese Central Television (CCTV), and a currency swap agreement between the two national banks. Furthermore, Deputy Prime Minister Ali Babacan encouraged Turkish banks to open branches in China and PRC financial institutions to enter Turkey.[244] Xi and Erdoğan said that the two sides should enhance their economic cooperation in finance, energy, infrastructure construction, and high-technology sectors such as aviation, aerospace, nuclear energy, and high-speed rail transportation.[245]

In his February 22 address to the China-Turkey Economic and Trade Cooperation Forum in Istanbul, attended by hundreds of Chinese and Turkish business leaders, Xi praised the attendees as "participants and promoters of the win-win and mutually-beneficial economic and trade cooperation between the two countries."[246] Xi urged the two countries to grasp the opportunities for their emerging market economies to "upgrade and push forward the win-win and mutually-beneficial economic and trade cooperation." He specifically called for increasing cooperation on global and international hotspot issues; broadening cooperation into more sectors such as transportation and infrastructure development; jointly resisting trade protectionism including by mitigating trade imbalances; and increasing cultural exchange and people-to-people ties.[247]

To this end, Turkey designated 2012 as a Chinese Cultural Year and China hosted a Turkish Cultural Year in 2013. The number of Chinese tourists visiting Turkey has grown significantly in recent years, soaring from only a few thousand in 2008 to more than 100,000 in 2011. Even so, this figure is considerably less than the millions of Russians and Europeans who vacation every year in Turkey.[248]

For his part, Turkish Economy Minister Zafer Çağlayan told the Forum attendees that, besides China's purchasing more Turkish products, additional Chinese investments in Turkey were needed to help remedy the trade imbalance.[249] Murat Sungurlu, the head of the Turkish-Chinese Industrialists and Businessmen Association (TÜÇSİAD), told *Today's Zaman* that only 43 of the 29,144 foreign-owned companies in Turkey were from China.[250] Çağlayan called for the holding of more of these mutual business forums and trade fairs so that Chinese companies would better understand business opportunities in Turkey.[251] Babacan said Turkish and Chinese firms could establish partnerships and undertake joint projects in third countries.[252] Xi denied China "deliberately" sought a trade surplus with any other state. "With respect to the trade deficit in the trade between Turkey and China," he explained, "China is

willing to maintain communication and cooperation with Turkey and take comprehensive mitigation measures."[253] Xi said the PRC would continue to give incentives for Chinese firms to invest in Turkey, though he encouraged Turkish officials to ensure an attractive investment climate for PRC investors.[254]

Sino-Turkish military cooperation began in the 1990s after Ankara turned to China following failed negotiations with the U.S. Government to produce, with technology transfer, the M-270 Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS). In the late-1990s, Turkey manufactured under license the Chinese WS-1 302mm and TR-3000 rockets, as well as the B-611 short-range surface-to-surface missile.[255] In the late-1990s, the United States rejected Turkey's request to purchase the MLRS on the grounds that Turkey had used U.S.-provided arms to attack Kurdish anti-government militias. Therefore, Turkey turned to China to acquire rockets, missiles, and relevant technologies. Still, the value of the Chinese arms transfers to Ankara has remained small compared to what Turkey was acquiring from its NATO partners, and Turkish military exchanges with China were very infrequent compared with the robust exchange program between Turkey and the United States, Europe, and Israel. In recent years, military cooperation between China and Turkey has taken an upward trend.

In October 2010, China's fighters arrived in Turkey (via air passageways provided by Pakistan and Iran) at the invitation of Turkey to join in its air force drill code-named Anatolian Eagle, in China's first ever bilateral military exercise with Turkey, which also marked the PRC's first military exercise based on the territory of a NATO member. In past years, the annual Anatolian Eagle air drills in the central Anatolian province of Konya involved warplanes from the United States, other NATO countries, and Israel. But in 2009 and 2010, the Turkish government decided not to invite Israel to participate, which may have contributed to the U.S. decision to skip the drills as well.

Seeing an opportunity for mutual benefit, the Turkish and Chinese air forces decided to conduct their own maneuvers. Presumably at the government's direction, the Turkish media gave much less coverage to the drills as compared with previous years. Still, the Pentagon spokeswoman felt compelled to stress that Turkey remained committed to NATO and that Turkish representatives had pledged to protect U.S. and NATO military secrets.[256] The decision of the Turkish air force to use its older F-4Es rather than its more advanced F-16s during the exercises with the Chinese may have resulted from Pentagon pressure since the initial media reports had indicated the F-16s would participate.[257] Notwithstanding this apparent concession to U.S. concerns that the exercises would enhance Chinese understanding of NATO tactics and technologies, which presumably make it easier for the PLA to develop countermeasures, several American commentators cited the exercises as a reason to be cautious about transferring further advanced military technology to Turkey, including the new F-35 joint strike fighter.[258] Despite these concerns, Turkish-PRC military cooperation looks set to continue. The TSK are eagerly trying to develop contacts with non-Western militaries, while the PLA Air Force has been expanding its range of operations during the past year, including by simulating long-distance bombing runs in Kazakhstan earlier in September 2013 during the SCO's annual exercise.

The more interesting matter is Beijing's ambitions to expand its hitherto intermittent presence in the Turkish defense market. While the Turkish military has strong ties to the U.S. military industry and continues to seek advanced military equipment from the United States and participate in joint defense industry projects, Erdoğan recently announced the decision to enter into negotiations with China to purchase the Chinese FD-2000 air defense system.

Ankara's opting for the PRC's system, based on the HQ-9 missile, represents a tremendous achievement for China's arms sales industry and a major break with tradition for the Turkish national security community, which still prefers to purchase major weapons systems from the West if Turkey's own developing defense industry cannot produce them. Although its reported range and effectiveness is less than that of the competing systems, and the FD-2000 is not battle tested like the Patriots, China's bid was reportedly $1 billion less than the competitors. Most importantly, China has offered to co-produce the entire systems in Turkey, transferring much defense technology in the process and meeting Turkey's long-standing preference to improve the capacity of its national defense industry. But the state-owned Chinese company, China Precision Machinery Export-Import Corporation, is under sanctions for violating the Iran, North Korea, and Syria Nonproliferation Act of 2006, enacted by the United States, to prevent proliferation of WMD and ballistic missile technology to the named countries. It is not clear if Turkish policymakers knew or understood this problem, and recent media reports suggest Turkish defense firms are lobbying Ankara to reverse course and buy another system.[259]

The China-Turkey relationship looks set to become even more important in coming years due to the two countries' status as rising global powers and their current governments' inclination to embrace new partnerships and opportunities. They are also rising world powers eager to remake at least some features of the international system, whose foundations were laid after World War II, when Ankara and Beijing were too weak to have much influence. Turks are eager to draw on Chinese capital and technologies as they develop their own economy, while the PRC is looking to deepen ties with important regional actors such as Turkey. Nonetheless, their bilateral relationship is unlikely to become as important as, for example, the broad and deep ties each has developed in recent years with Russia.

Turkey and China could easily become commercial rivals in third markets, especially in the textile and construction sectors, since they both rely on their low labor costs as a main source of their comparative advantage in world trade. U.S. pressure will probably also constrain Turkey's potential interest in developing close defense ties with the PRC. Turkey and China might also compete again for influence and resources in Central Asia even if they continue to overlook China's Uighur minority.

TURKEY'S DEFENSE INDUSTRY

Turkey has built one of the most impressive defense industrial bases among the newly industrialized states in the Middle East. The country's total military expenditure for 2014 was almost $11 billion.[260] The TSK are the 14th largest in the world and the largest in Europe (if Russia is excluded), with more than 500,000 active duty personnel across all the services, 2,500 main battle tanks, 350 fighter and fighter/ground attack jets, 40 attack helicopters, and about 24 submarines and major surface warships.[261] According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Turkey accounted for 3 percent of worldwide imports of conventional weapons for the 2009-13 period.[262] Yet, over time, Ankara has reduced the percentage of these weapons that it has purchased from U.S. sources, while raising the share of arms imported from non-U.S. companies and the proportion of weapons manufactured in Turkey. Meanwhile, Turkish defense companies have been expanding their own exports.

The United States traditionally has been the largest supplier of defense systems to Turkey due to the two countries' strategic ties, joint military exercises, common NATO membership, the TSK's long familiarity with U.S. weaponry, and interoperability considerations. Initially, Turkey lacked a major defense industrial sector, and buying weapons from the United States was seen as a natural means of reinforcing the bilateral alliance. Since the mid-1990s, Turkey has strived to modernize its armed forces and develop its defense industry. In the 1990s, Turkey launched a campaign to modernize its military that will cost an estimated $150 billion by 2026. The motives for this indigenous defense industrialization were not only military, but also economic and political. Turkey consciously pursued a parallel strategy of security and development, building its heavy industry and high-technology sectors while striving for greater self-sufficiency in arms production. Turkey has also pursued an advanced arms production capability to enhance its international status and influence.

Furthermore, U.S. policies have shaped Ankara's behavior. Turkey's 1974 military intervention in Cyprus led the U.S. Congress to curtail defense assistance to Turkey and impose an embargo on weapons sales, which led Ankara to seek alternative arms suppliers.[263] Congress lifted the arms embargo in 1978. In 1980, Turkey and the United States signed a Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) that provided for additional weapons transfers and for U.S. bases in Turkey. The DECA has been renewed several times.[264]

Nonetheless, Turkey has continued to seek non U.S. arms suppliers. Turkey bought some weapons from Russia in the 1990s. While Russia was more relaxed about how Turkey could use these weapons, the TSK complained about the inferior quality of some Russian weapons, the lack of Russian after-sale services, and Russia's inability to provide sufficient spare parts. Russia further irked Ankara when it announced its intention to sell S-300 air defense missile systems to the Greek-governed portion of Cyprus.[265] Israel also became a major arms supplier to Turkey, beginning with a 1996 defense and military pact between the two countries.[266]

In the ensuing years, Israeli firms upgraded ageing Turkish weapons systems and sold its newer defense systems to Turkey. Israeli Military Industries Ltd., for example, upgraded 170 of Turkey's tanks, while Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI) sold Ankara unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) and upgraded several dozen Turkish F-4 fighter jets.[267] But defense cooperation between the two countries ceased following the Israeli raid on a Turkish-organized flotilla that was trying to break the Israeli blockade on the Hams-controlled Gaza Strip. Signs of a thaw emerged only in 2013, when the IAI delivered $100 million worth of electronic systems for the airborne early warning and control aircraft that Boeing is manufacturing for Turkey's air force.[268] However, the IAI had committed to the deal in 2002.[269]

The frayed Israel-Turkey relationship has affected Turkey's nascent defense industry in other ways. In 2005, Turkey contracted with IAI to purchase 10 Heron UAVs, which were to be delivered in 2007. The delivery date was continually postponed, with the Israeli producers blaming the delays on the need to adopt the Heron to accommodate Turkish electronic systems. After Israel began delivery of the UAVs in 2009, Turkey complained about their sub-par performance. Turkey tried to acquire U.S.-made Predator UAVs, but the U.S. Government resisted, given the rift between Tel Aviv and Ankara as well as Turkey's then-relatively warm ties with Syria and Iran.[270]

Turkey has cooperated with new defense industrial partners in recent years. For example, Turkey has become the second largest buyer of defense equipment from South Korea, after

the United States. In 2001, Seoul and Ankara inked a deal worth $1 billion for modified versions of South Korea's K9 Thunder self-propelled howitzer, produced by Samsung Techwin. In 2007, Turkey agreed to purchase 40 single engine turboprop training KT-1 aircraft, with much technology transfer. Turkish Aerospace Industries will produce 35 of the aircraft under a license.[271] From Turkey's perspective, this deal is ideal in that it provides Turkey with "good enough" defense systems at a lower price than the most advanced systems, while augmenting the capacity of its own defense industry.

While considering a wider range of foreign suppliers, the Turkish government has sought to raise the share of items and services purchased from the country's own defense industries. Nearly 2 decades ago, the Turkish Parliament adopted Law No. 3238, which mandated the development of a "modern defence industry . . . to achieve the modernization of the Turkish Armed Forces." Turkey's defense industry has grown since then. In 2008, Turkey had more than 200 defense companies and 1,000 subcontractors dealing in $3 to $4 billion worth of business. That year, Turkey was the world's 28th largest arms exporter.[272] Between 2004 and 2010, the ratio of domestically sourced armaments rose from 15 percent to 54 percent, though the percentages for the more critical and advanced defense technologies is likely higher.[273]

As Turkey has developed its defense industry, more U.S. companies have lost sales to firms from countries with less restrictive export rules and more generous technology transfer policies.[274] Turkey sees producing its own tanks, helicopters, UAVs, and fighter jets as high-priority national projects. Even so, Turkey will likely need foreign technical expertise and financial resources, at least for some critical sub-systems.[275] U.S. defense sales to Turkey reached an all-time high in the 1990s. Although the U.S. share has since declined, for the 2009-13 period, Turkey was the world's 11th largest importer of arms.[276] In 2012, Turkey was the world's fourth largest importer of arms, behind India, China, and the United States, respectively.[277]

Turkish officials want to increase their country's weapons exports. The government sees foreign arms sales as another means to give other countries a stake in Turkey's security, as well as an opportunity to create more high-tech jobs and lower unit costs for the TSK through larger production runs. The same factors that have enabled Turkey's industry to substitute for previously imported defense items have made them better able to compete for foreign sales: the growing sophistication and size of Turkey's civilian economy, the companies' improving human capital and productivity, mandatory technology transfers and offsets, and extensive Turkish government support for the industry in the form of domestic military contracts and state-supported research and development efforts.

In 2012, Turkey exported defense products to 60 countries.[278] That year, Turkish arms exports reached $1.3 billion, a 43 percent increase over the previous year, making Turkey the world's 24th largest arms exporter.[279] The United States was Turkey's chief defense export market, buying $490 million of Turkish military products in 2012. These purchases were primarily related to the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter program, for which Turkish firms produce components. Following the United States, Turkey sold $101 million worth of weapons to the United Arab Emirates and $99 million to Saudi Arabia.[280]

Ankara aspires to raise its arms exports to $2 billion by 2016 (while spending $8 billion on acquiring defense systems from other countries).[281] Turkey hopes, for example, to sell its Altay main battle tank, referred to as the "national tank," to Saudi Arabia, which has plenty of cash to invest in its defense capabilities and has an inventory of ageing tanks. A sale would

boost political and military ties between the two Sunni countries and help to cement security ties useful for managing any Iranian-led Shia bloc in the region.[282]

It is important not to exaggerate the extent of these changes. Despite its maturing defense industry, Murad Bayar, Turkey's Undersecretary for Defense Industries, has stated that Turkey lacks a cohesive defense armaments export policy.[283] The U.S. grip on the international arms market is declining, while Turkish defense firms are experiencing growth, but the United States still remains the largest international arms dealer, with a 30 percent share of total arms exports in 2012, worth more than $200 billion.[284] Furthermore, the United States is the world's largest supplier of combat aircraft (62 percent of total exports), which happens to be one of Turkey's major military imports.[285] As of 2010, the United States was involved in roughly 80 percent of the defense-related activities in Turkey.

Although unable to match the quality of some U.S. defense exports, Turkish companies can often win contracts based on their lower costs and greater ability to transfer military technology to potential buyers. Obviously, there are buyers, like the Arab monarchies, who can afford to pay the highest prices for the best quality weapons, and also hope their purchases generate influence in Washington. But many other countries will find Turkish weapons systems of sufficient quality for their needs, and also gain from Turkey's less restrictive technology transfer policies. However, in these respects, Turkish firms are joined by Russian and increasingly Chinese defense companies, which can capture defense markets where the buyer is seeking good enough weapons at substantially lower costs than their U.S. competitors and with more generous technology transfer provisions.

The solution for this greater foreign competition in third-party defense markets is to make U.S. defense exports more competitive in general rather than just against Turkey. In addition to ensuring a level playing field by denying foreign competitors access to unfair subsidies, proprietary information, or proliferation loopholes, U.S. defense corporations must lower their costs, increase their reliability, and work with the Obama administration and Congress to reform U.S. defense export laws and regulations to make it easier for U.S. firms to transfer widely available military technologies to foreign buyers while still protecting U.S. defense secrets.

DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS

The Turkish government's 2009 policy reversal toward the Kurds applied within Turkey as well as in northern Iraq. Today, there are nearly 15 million Kurds in Turkey, comprising one-fifth of the country's population.[286] They are Turkey's largest minority group, as well as one of the country's poorest populations due to the discrimination against them by the Turkish state. [287] Many Kurds reside in Turkey's southeast, which traditionally has been their home region, but there are many others who also live in Turkey's urban areas.[288] Besides the several million Kurds living in Turkey, there are also Kurdish populations in the neighboring states of Iraq, Syria, and Iran, making a total of around 30 million Kurds worldwide.[289]

Within Turkey, the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish government has produced more than 40,000 casualties in 30 years and cost Turkey billions of dollars.[290] In 1978, the Kurd leader, Abdullah Öcalan, founded the PKK, which has sought to win Kurdish independence from Turkey through armed conflict.[291] Turkey, the United States, and the EU

have since designated the PKK a terrorist organization. Its first attack against Turkish forces occurred in 1984 in the district of Semdinli,[292] located in the largely Kurdish southeast, and many more attacks have occurred since then. Originally, the goal of the attacks was the establishment of Kurdistan, which would be an independent entity made up of the Kurdish regions of Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Iran.[293] During the 1990s, however, the PKK gave up this separatist idea and instead called for more autonomy for the Kurds living in Turkey.[294]

Finally, in 1999, Öcalan was captured in Kenya and imprisoned for treason on the Turkish prison island of Imrali, located in the Sea of Marmara.[295] Despite this, he is still considered to be the *de facto* leader of the PKK and serves as its spokesperson. In recent years, the PKK's demands have changed; it no longer holds the aspiration to establish Kurdistan. Instead, the PKK has shifted to demanding more autonomy and democratic rights. It also seeks greater constitutional rights for Kurds, more freedom to use the Kurdish language, and the lessening of state pressure on Kurdish activists.[296]

Following years of pro-reform rhetoric as well as open and secret talks with Kurdish nationalists (including between the director of national intelligence and imprisoned PKK leader Öcalan), the AKP-led Turkish government made a major policy reversal in 2009 and adopted a more flexible and embracing policy toward its Kurdish minority as well as the KRG in northern Iraq. The Kurdish opening within Turkey saw the government give Kurds more cultural rights, including the right to use the Kurdish language in public (responding to claims of linguistic genocide). For example, it launched a 24-hour state-run Kurdish language television channel (TRT6, widely available through terrestrial transmission) in January 2009. Furthermore, AKP leaders apologized for past Turkish repression of Kurdish rights and pledged to address earlier wrongs. Some Kurdish leaders hoped that, once Turks understood that Kurds simply want to achieve equal rights within a common country, more Turks would appreciate and support their concern. Kurdish nationalists proposed a peace plan whose components include a ceasefire, establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission with amnesty for ex-PKK fighters, deploying a multinational force to assist with the demobilization of PKK insurgents and their eventual entry into the peaceful political process, releasing PKK prisoners, enhancing Kurds' constitutional and legal rights, and eventually the release of Öcalan from prison.

The newly declared policy of moderation initially received substantial popular support due to widespread war weariness among Turks, Kurds, and others. Turk-Kurdish violence had persisted for decades, so many individuals on both sides were willing to try to achieve a political resolution of their differences. Moreover, the AKP worked to improve the economic situation in the poor Kurdish southeast by supporting local businesses, developing agriculture, and promoting the construction of private hospitals. These actions have led many Kurds to see the party in a favorable light and to vote for it in elections.[297] But Turkish nationalist parties soon began to make political gains by accusing the AKP of making too many concessions with little effect.

The AKP responded by moving more cautiously, which led to dampening enthusiasm among Kurds for the opening and renewed PKK violence. In effect, the hardliners on both sides were empowering each other. In addition, impatient Kurdish activists, only some of whom defend or even sympathize the PKK and its violent methods, complain that they have seen few changes on the ground in southeast Turkey despite the progressive rhetoric they hear in Ankara. The slow and half-hearted pace of the AKP "Democratic Opening" also led some Turkish Kurds to question the government's sincerity. For example, the government's

amnesty proved very limited and conditional, with many ex-PKK and even nonviolent Kurdish nationalists finding themselves re-arrested and imprisoned.

Restrictions on Kurdish political activities continue to constrain opportunities for a peaceful resolution of Turkey's Kurdish crisis. The requirement that any political party must receive at least 10 percent in a general parliamentary election to gain seats in the national legislature is twice as high a hurdle as that in most European countries that have proportional representation voting systems. Kurdish nationalists often must run as independent candidates, which deprives them of access to public television and radio political protests or votes from Turkey's large diaspora, whose members must vote for one of the parties on the ballot.

In September 2011, the International Crisis Group (ICG) released a report entitled, "Turkey: Ending the PKK Insurgency," which offered sensible advice regarding how to make progress resolving Turkey's Kurdish issue. The thrust of their recommendations was to move the struggle for Kurdish rights from the field of battle to field of parliament. The group called for an end to the fighting, major legal reforms, an amnesty and Turkish Kurd acceptance to work within the legal Turkish system. The ICG authors endorsed the Democratic Opening toward the Kurds adopted by the ruling AKP, which has sought to deemphasize ethnic tensions by making some concessions to Kurds, as well as stressing the common Muslim identity of Turks and Kurds rather than their ethnic differences. But the ICG wants to see the Turkish government implement its reforms more consistently and effectively. They also advocate that the authorities release imprisoned nonviolent Kurdish politicians and allow even those Kurds sympathetic to the PKK, which is the leading anti-Ankara terrorist government, to take their elected seats in parliament. Meanwhile, they call on both sides to avoid tit-for-tat escalatory moves and instead resume the government-PKK ceasefire declared last year—there have been many such ceasefires, but they soon collapse due to lack of followup and other problems—as well as disarmament negotiations.

Inside Turkey, the declining influence of the Turkish military may have weakened U.S. influence in Turkey. Before the advent of the AKP government in 2002, the military effectively dominated Turkish politics and enforced a secular and Western-oriented country. The Turkish General Staff exercised power largely informally but also through successive coups in 1960, 1971, 1980, and 1997.

Under the AKP, the Turkish parliament has established powers of surveillance and control over major institutions, such as the National Security Council, that used to facilitate the military's control of civil society.[298] Publicized criminal investigations like the Ergenekon and Sledgehammer cases, looking into the military's role in suspected plots to overthrow the government in the early-2000s, have also undermined the Turkish military's power. Some Turkish citizens fear that the AKP's policies have overcorrected for the earlier military threat, and that these policies threaten to impose an excessively powerful civilian executive branch. Turkey has recently experienced some of its most serious corruption scandals and mass protests in years. Concerns regarding the AKP government have been reflected in the demonstrations that started in late-May 2013 in Taksim Square, which rapidly expanded in scope. The protesters have denounced what they saw as the country's growing authoritarianism, mistreatment of minorities, and repression of civil rights and media freedoms.

The Istanbul street protests began when a group of environmentalists staged a peaceful demonstration at Taksim's Gezi Park to challenge the government's plans to demolish the park to establish a shopping mall and other buildings.[299] On May 30, the opposition CHP

announced that they would side with the protestors, thereby elevating the political stakes at issue. As the number of protestors grew, Erdoğan, the main proponent of the demolition plan, refused to back down or offer a compromise, such as agreeing to establish a commission to study the issue or to hold a referendum. With his approval, the Turkish police tried to disperse the protesters with tear gas and by burning several of their tents.[300] The police violence backfired, encouraging many others to join the protests, which spread throughout Istanbul and many other parts of Turkey.[301]

By June 1, Interior Minister Muammer Guler claimed that almost 1,000 people had been arrested at nearly 100 demonstrations nationwide, with over 1,000 people injured in Istanbul and Ankara.[302] Erdoğan said that he would investigate the issue of excessive police violence but insisted that he would stand by plans to develop Gezi Park.[303] Clashes between anti-government demonstrators and the Turkish police became a regular occurrence. The protest movement has adopted a broader agenda and gained a wider following, including several strata of Turkish society that have not engaged in such direct action before, such as some professionals and other members of the middle class. The demonstrators have a lengthy list of grievances against the Turkish government and the ruling AKP.[304] Their most prominent concerns include objections to Erdoğan's leadership style, seen as authoritarian and insensitive to the concerns of non-AKP supporters. The protesters also worry about the AKP's Islam-inspired policies, such as its weakening secularization, limiting free speech, and recent efforts to limit the sale of alcohol.

Erdoğan has blamed the Hizmet movement, Jews, and foreign countries for the most recent scandals, whose reach has extended to the security services. The corruption, protests, and crackdown have severely harmed Erdoğan's international standing, especially in the West. EU membership, always a long shot despite the AKP's initial reform drive, has faded even further away. Erdoğan's January 21, 2014, trip to Brussels, Belgium, provided EU leaders with an opportunity to criticize him in person. In a joint press conference with the Turkish prime minister, European Council President Herman Van Rompuy pointedly stated that, "It is important not to backtrack on achievements and to ensure that the judiciary is able to function without discrimination or preference."[305] European Commission President José Manuel Barroso added that, in the view of the EU, "Whatever the problems are, we believe that the solution for those problems should respect the principles of rule of law and separation of powers."[306]

Influential U.S. opinion leaders have also expressed concerns regarding Turkey's secular political democracy and foreign-policy orientation. In a public address in Washington, Senator John McCain called the public demonstrations "a rebellion against Erdoğan's push of the Turkish people toward Islam" as well as popular unease that "Erdoğan . . . is becoming more like a dictator than a prime minister or a president."[307] A bipartisan network of dozens of foreign-policy opinion makers, including former senior Democratic and Republican officials in recent U.S. administrations, have circulated a letter urging Obama to adopt a more critical line with Erdoğan.

Some analysts worry that the United States is repeating its familiar approach in the greater Middle East of downplaying human rights and democracy concerns in favor of short-term security needs and other priorities, despite the risk of alienating the partner's population and accepting policies that risk weakening the country's liberal democratic potential over the long term. Furthermore, many commentaries expressed concern that Erdoğan's actions were

discrediting the model partnership image found in U.S. official discourse on Turkey since Obama's first trip there a few months after he assumed office in January 2009.

Since Turkey is one of the largest electoral democracies with a Muslim majority, the United States is looking to Turkey as a democratic model for Muslims and to present an alternative to Islamic extremism. Turkey's value of a force against radical Islamist movements has been devalued by the Turkish government's lax attitude toward secularism and ties with Sunni militants in Syria and elsewhere. Citizens and governments in Central Asia who previously saw Erdoğan and the AKP as role models of a moderate Islamist movement now see Azerbaijan or Kazakhstan as having as strong economies as Turkey but also being more secular and stable, if less democratic. The Arab Spring analogy was sometimes referenced in the U.S. media, with the cozy ties between Washington and Cairo when Hosni Mubarak still held autocratic power over Egypt cited as a common example.

In recent months, a group of experts assembled by the Washington-based Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC) have launched the most comprehensive and sustained campaign calling for changing U.S. policies toward Erdoğan. Under its auspices, U.S. Ambassadors to Turkey Morton Abramowitz and Eric Edelman, along with BPC project leader Blaise Misztal, have been releasing a number of op-eds and other publications calling on the Obama administration to take a much harder public stand with Erdoğan.[308] In their view, Erdoğan's policies risk undermining Turkey's value as a U.S. partner through actions that weaken its democratic political institutions, foreign investor confidence, and other sources of Turkey's international power. While acknowledging the risk that outside heckling can backfire given the Turkish public's antipathy toward the U.S. government, they argue that the prime minister and other Turkish elites do care about Obama's views and have moderated their policies regarding Israel and other issues to address U.S. concerns.[309]

However, Obama's cautious policy does have some supporters in the U.S. media and think tank community. For example, Doug Bandow of the CATO Institute, while acknowledging that Erdoğan is not an ideal democratic leader, writes that Erdoğan was legitimately elected and a better alternative than the previous military dictatorship, where hundreds were jailed, tortured, and executed. In addition, Bandow maintains that Turkey's current government, while led by an Islamist party, is not a dictatorship like the former governments of Tunisia, Egypt, or Syria; Bandow also considers the AKP-run government considerably more stable than the others.[310] These recent criticisms followed earlier criticism in the United States about how Turkey was drifting away from its Western orientation toward Iran, Russia, and other Eastern partners.

Until now, fears of damaging the U.S.-Turkey partnership generally has made Obama administration officials reluctant to attack Erdoğan's domestic policies. Even during the June protests and resulting police crackdown, Obama never directly criticized Erdoğan publicly.[311] When asked about the domestic events in Turkey, the standard White House response has been to describe them as important but insist that that the United States does not interfere in Turkey's internal affairs. For example, in late-January 2014, White House Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communications Ben Rhodes told the foreign media that the administration has confidence that Turkey, as a strong democracy and important NATO ally, can resolve its problems on its own and that Washington would continue to cooperate with the Erdoğan government on foreign policy.[312] At the State Department, Deputy Spokesperson Marie Harf likewise insisted that, "The United States is not and will not become involved in Turkey's domestic politics."[313]

One reason for the divergence between the EU and the U.S. response is that Obama does not want to worsen further his personal ties with Erdoğan. In place of their constant dialogue a few years ago, now months go by without Erdoğan and Obama talking even by phone. Another difference is that the EU has more leverage over Turkey due to Brussels' ability to deny Ankara various economic rewards. U.S. economic aid to Turkey is much less, while U.S. military financial assistance, previously the dominant form of financial aid, has dwindled to almost nothing.

Conversely, the United States needs Turkey more than the EU due to Turkey's status as an almost unique platform for projecting U.S. hard and soft power in Iraq, Syria, and other Middle Eastern countries.[314] But Erdoğan escalated matters by blaming the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, Francis J. Ricciardone, for plotting his removal. A story that simultaneously appeared in four pro-AKP newspapers describes Ricciardone as telling his EU ambassadorial colleagues in Ankara over dinner on December 17, 2013, when the latest arrests became public, that the scandal would precipitate the "collapse of an empire," an alleged reference to Erdoğan's government. Erdoğan's partisans described Ricciardone as participating in a Jewish-Hizmet conspiracy to bring down the AKP government and replace it with one more pliable to Washington and Tel Aviv. The conspiracy theorists point to a coincidence of alleged facts to justify their suspicions—Ricciardone had warned Turkey's Halkbank earlier that it would be punished for helping Iran evade sanctions, he met with CHP opposition leaders on December 17, and one of the people arrested that day was the son of Economy Minister Zafer Caglayan, who had announced that Turkey would renew its controversial gold-for-gas trade with Iran now that Tehran had reached a sanctions-relief deal with the international community.[315]

Erdoğan has voiced disapproval of the presence of Fetullah Gulen in Pennsylvania, accusing the religious leader of organizing a campaign to infiltrate Turkey's security forces, create a state within a state, and seek Erdoğan's overthrow from his safe haven in Pennsylvania.[316] U.S. and EU officials have denied that Ricciardone made the alleged statement against Erdoğan. The U.S. embassy in Ankara released a statement stating:

> Allegations targeting US Embassy employees published in some media organs do not reflect the truth . . . to repeat once again: No one should endanger Turkey-US relations through such intentional slander.[317]

Nonetheless, Erdoğan publicly implied that he would seek Ricciardone's withdrawal from Turkey over his supposed plotting against him.[318] Obama responded with his first public rebuke of Erdoğan, warning that such statements and actions could endanger the U.S.-Turkey relationship.[319] Regarding the larger protests and scandals, State Department spokeswoman Jen Psaki, insisted that, "We've expressed our concerns about some of the events that are happening on the ground directly, publicly and privately, and we'll continue to do that."[320] During a media briefing in December, she added that, "We would reiterate that we expect Turkey to meet the highest standards for transparency, timeliness, and fairness in its judicial system."[321]

Nonetheless, at a January 14, 2014, meeting between Davutoğlu and Secretary of State John Kerry, the two leaders glossed over these issues and instead spoke about Turkey-U.S. cooperation regarding Syria, the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, and the Iranian nuclear

dispute.[322] Moreover, the administration has declined to punish Turkey for its circumvention of the sanctions through its gas-for-gold scheme.[323]

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Every few years, the U.S. National Intelligence Council (NIC) publishes studies of how the world might evolve over the next 2 decades. The authors of *Global Trends 2025,* which appeared in 2008, highlight several factors that they believe warrant focusing much attention on Turkey's evolving role in the international system. According to *Global Trends 2025,* a future Turkey most likely will blend Islamic and nationalist strains, which could serve as a model for other rapidly modernizing countries in the Middle East. Conflict and armed engagements between Israel, Iran, and Turkey contribute to instability in the region, which remains unstable as most populations in the Middle East live in poverty.

Turkey could play a prominent role in modernizing and reforming the region's militaries. Previous Turkish governments developed a strong, positive relationship with Israel and any future government could reverse the friction now existing between the AKP and Israel. Turkey's future leaders might also pursue far less conciliatory policies with religious regimes such as Iran, especially if Iran developed nuclear weapons or pursued destabilizing policies in Iraq, Central Asia, or the South Caucasus. An already important member of NATO's missile defense system, Turkey could play an even greater role in this architecture in the future.

A more recent study, *Global Trends 2030,* predicts that by that year, the diffusion of power among countries will see Asia surpass Europe and North America in terms of aggregate GDP, population size, military spending, and technological investment. In this vision, a regional power such as Turkey will become especially important to the global economy as Europe, Japan, and Russia continue to slowly decline. However, this study views Turkey not as a single entity, but rather as a collective with countries such as Columbia, Egypt, Iran, Mexico, and South Africa. Termed the "Next Eleven" by Goldman Sachs, they will surpass Europe, Japan, and Russia in terms of global power by 2030.

Turkey especially has a major opportunity to secure a strong footing in the future global economy. Aging is the key structural change underlying the negative economic outlook for Europe, Japan, and the United States. Turkey's youthful population will only decline slightly by 2030, and an influx of young migrants should help maintain a stable workforce. Africa's demographic youth bulge could reinforce Turkey's economic growth–a reality that other emerging regional and global powers, including China, India, Brazil, and Turkey have already begun to seize.

Turkey has invested heavily in several North Africa countries. As of late-2011, Turkish investments in Africa had reached more than $5 billion. Assuming continued growth, Turkey and other members of the Next Eleven will play a very important role in the future of Africa as well.

However, one area of concern in *Global Trends 2030* is Turkey's youthful, ethnic Kurdish population. In general, the amount of armed conflict over the past 40 years has decreased; even when armed conflict has occurred, the amount of violence toward citizens has been limited as well. However, during this same time period, there has been an uptick in intrastate violence in countries where a population contains a politically dissonant, youthful

ethnic minority. More than 80 percent of all armed ethnic and civil conflicts have occurred in such countries. The ethnic Kurds in Turkey have a pattern of actively participating in intrastate conflict. Kurdish fertility in southeastern Turkey is at four children per woman. This high rate of fertility, combined with the overall decline in fertility of other Turks, will result in Turkey seeing a higher percentage of ethnic Kurds than ever before.

It is only natural that the U.S. intelligence community ponders the impact of Turkey's growing significance in global affairs. Turkey will exercise considerable influence over global and regional power dynamics during the next 20 years. The legitimacy, stability, and alignment of Turkey will have a major impact on the balance of power in Southeast Europe, the Black Sea, the Caucasus, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Middle East. Turkey can either be a valuable source of stability in these regions or a dangerous contributor to their problems. If Turkey becomes too bogged down in its international agenda and ignores its own demographic situation involving the youthful Kurdish population, or engages the Iran Nuclear problem unilaterally, Turkey's likely bright future could become considerably dimmer.

The NIC studies many other countries, so Turkey was by no means singled out in its reviews. Prudent policymakers, in both Turkey and the United States, should consider what future contingencies they might encounter so as to perhaps anticipate and avert them. Some of these studies and seminars may have had an impact on U.S. policies toward Turkey, though this is uncertain. Often policymakers are moved exclusively by the spirit of the moment—and we suffer as a result.

Turkish policymakers must adopt more of a collective, transatlantic perspective of a NATO stakeholder seeking the greater good of the West rather than that of a frustrated nationalist engaged in petty squabbles with NATO policymakers. Above all, they need to keep its bilateral disputes with Israel and the EU out of NATO's multinational security agenda. For example, much of the Western media coverage of Turkey's activities before the May 2012 NATO Summit focused, not on Turkey's admirable contributions to NATO's defense capabilities and in Afghanistan but on how the Turkish government sought to deny Israel access to any information from the U.S. BMD radar on its territory and deny Israelis from having an official presence at the Chicago summit.

Turkish diplomats also initially refused to allow EU leaders to attend the summit on the grounds that the EU was making no more contribution to NATO than the 56-member Organization of Islamic Conference, then led by Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, a Turkish national, and other international organizations that were not invited to Chicago. Turkish officials need to adopt more of the perspective of a collective NATO stakeholder seeking the greater good of the West. Turkey should avoid strategic surprises such as agreeing to host military exercises with China without consulting NATO allies. Without Turkey's full support, neither the EU nor NATO can achieve its important security goals in the Arab world. The solution for many EUNATO problems involving Turkey is to address their root causes rather than merely their symptoms.

Expanding Turkey's role in EU security and defense decisionmaking would ease many of the anxieties in Ankara about the Union's growing security roles. If Turkey is not to soon gain EU membership, then it should receive at least as much influence in ESDP decisionmaking structures as Ankara had previously enjoyed as a WEU associate member—a status that was evidently pledged at NATO's April 1999 Washington Summit. Alternately, undertaking a more genuine effort to bring Turkey into the EU would make Turkish policy makers more tolerant of exclusionary ESDP practices since they would know that this

discrimination was a temporary phase pending Ankara's membership accession. Fortunately, Cyprus' EU presidency did not cause a further EU-Turkey rift, due to the parties' preoccupation with other issues, but the negotiations regarding the proposed Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership could further isolate Turkey from its traditional Western economic partners unless Brussels and Washington make a great effort to ensure that Turkey's interests are addressed, including keeping open the ultimate prize of possible EU membership. The EU's long-term potential will be degraded if its members cannot draw on Turkey's economic, military, and other assets.

With respect to the Middle East, Turkey and the United States need plans for what might happen should the government in Syria or other Middle Eastern countries retaliate against Turkey or abruptly collapse. If the Assad regime falls, fighting among the elements of the winning Syrian coalition over the spoils is entirely possible, with other neighboring countries having strong incentives to support local proxies. Until then, Turkey and the United States need to do a better job at unifying the disparate Syrian opposition factions around a moderate platform. Their lack of unity is a major reason why the Assad regime still enjoys much support among Syrians who prefer the devil they know. Turkish authorities need to promote better integration among the insurgents as well as mechanisms to exclude Islamist extremists.

Furthermore, Turkey's strained ties with Israel will constrain its partnership with the United States, especially in the U.S. Congress. Although economic relations between Turkey and Israel remain strong, the two countries are maneuvering to punish one another diplomatically. Turkey is seeking to exclude Israel from international meetings, while Israel is trying to show it has other diplomatic options by pursuing better ties with Greece, Cyprus, Azerbaijan, and Romania. Despite efforts at reconciliation, supported by the United States in general and Obama in particular, and supported by their still strong economic links and mutual concerns regarding Syria, deep sources of tension between Turkey and Israel exist. For instance, both sides are seeking different goals in their reconciliation efforts. Israel wants to resume close strategic ties, whereas Turkey seeks an amicable divorce. In addition, Israel does not fit into the new AKP worldview, which deemphasizes state-to-state relations based on realpolitik and instead adheres to a mixture of Turkish and Sunni Islam bolstered by appeals to popular democracy and other transnational values.

Popular animosity in each country toward the other remains strong. A contributing factor to the poor relationship is Turkey's support for Hamas. At one level, this connection is useful for helping moderate Hamas policies and providing a channel through which Hamas and Western interlocutors can communicate. But in addition to providing much aid to Hamas that helps sustain its control over the Gaza Strip, there is evidence that Turkey's lax financial procedures are allowing Hamas to receive illegal finds for terrorist activities.[324] The United States and other governments must increase their pressure on Ankara to strengthen its measures against terrorist financing and to crack down on the provocative actions of Turkish extremists against Israel and other targets.

The United States and other pro-Western governments should welcome Turkey's keeping Iranian influence within limited bounds in Iraq, but Washington would also be wise to keep any support to Ankara low key. Turkey can best advance Western (and Iraqi) interests if it is not seen as a U.S. proxy or a Sunni Muslim patron seeking to marginalize Iraq's long repressed Shiite majority. Although Ankara has sought to cultivate ties with Iraqi Shiites, and more recently Iraqi Kurds, the strong Turkish support for the Sunnisecular *Iraqiyya* bloc in the 2010 elections against the Shiite-centered block of incumbent al-Maliki aroused fears in

Iran and Iraq that Turkey was playing such a role. Turkish officials appreciate that an explicitly sectarian approach would be counterproductive since most Iraqi Shiite and Iranian animosity is focused on Saudi Arabia and other patrons of Sunni extremism. At worst, Turkey could find itself leading a block of West-leaning Sunni states against Iran and its Shiite-dominated proxies. Such an Islamic cold war would still promote further divisions among Middle Eastern Muslims as their governments gravitate toward one pole or the other.

Turkey could change its own, thus far benign nuclear weapons policies in coming years, if, for example, unambiguous evidence arose that Iran is seeking to militarize its nuclear program. Turkey's plans to expand its domestic nuclear energy program would, for the first time, provide its government with the scientific, technical, and industrial foundations to pursue genuine nuclear weapons options, as Iran's own development of the capacity to make nuclear weapons has demonstrated to Ankara and others. But Turkey's leaders might still decide that, even if Iran developed a small nuclear arsenal, they would be better off continuing to rely on NATO and Washington as well as Turkey's powerful conventional military, bolstered by national and multinational missile defenses, rather than pursue an independent Turkish nuclear force as a means of deterring even a nuclear-armed Iran. In this context, U.S. aspirations to eliminate NATO's tactical nuclear weapons may become a source of tension with Turkey.

From Ankara's perspective, the U.S. tactical nuclear weapons that have reportedly been stationed in Turkey for decades under NATO's nuclear-sharing arrangement help bind the U.S.-NATO security dimensions together. At times, some Turkish officials implied that having physical access to the U.S.-NATO nuclear weapons was a form of compensation for Turkey's not developing its own national nuclear arsenal. The weapons are a symbolic manifestation of Turkey's security links to Brussels and Washington that could be replaced by something else such as integration within EU defense structures or the emerging U.S.NATO missile defense architecture.

If Iran developed a small nuclear arsenal, Turkey's leaders might still decide that they could continue to rely on NATO and Washington as well as Turkey's powerful conventional military, bolstered by national and multinational missile defenses, rather than pursue an independent Turkish nuclear force as a means of deterring even a nuclear-armed Iran. Even so, Washington and Brussels need to fully consider Turkish security concerns as they proceed to formulate and pursue arms reductions policies with Russia. This is also true in the domain of non-nuclear weapons, given Turkey's interest in restoring the CFE and other mechanisms of preventing destabilizing arms races or conventional force imbalances around its periphery.

Human rights and economic issues complicate relations with the United States and other Western countries. Foreign critics complain about the Turkish government's repression of media freedoms, stalemated efforts to solve the problem of Turkey's Kurdish minority, and the lack of strong oppositional parties in Turkey. U.S. leaders will continue to be torn between seeking to sustain the advantages they receive from maintaining close ties with Turkey as an ally—vital security support in a critical geographic location—and disapproving of the prickly Erdoğan's authoritarian behavior and human rights violations.

Future developments could tip the balance in favor of a more critical approach to Erdoğan. The U.S. and NATO military withdrawal from Afghanistan could reduce the need for Turkey's direct and logistical support for the coalition military campaign there. The U.S.-Iran reconciliation, if it continues, will decrease Washington's concern with keeping Turkey in alignment with U.S. policies regarding nonproliferation, missile defense, sanctions, and

balancing Tehran's influence in Iraq. A continued decline in the fortune of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Arab world is reducing Ankara's value as a partner with Washington in Egypt and other countries. The diminishing U.S. role in the Middle East is making Turkey's reduced ability to promote pro-U.S. policies in that region. Turkey's economic slowdown, partly due to how the disorders in Turkey are scaring off foreign investors, will also lower Ankara's influence in Washington—something U.S. diplomats should point out.

One can imagine converse scenarios in which Ankara's value in Washington rebounds, but the main wild card is how the scandals, protests, and economic problems will affect Turkey's upcoming elections. A new government in Ankara, either under a weakened Erdoğan (less able to implement a Kurdish reconciliation) or a new political leader (who may not prove any more committed to the rule of law and political democracy than Erdoğan), will likely generate more mutual frustrations and further reduce the reluctance of U.S. leaders to challenge objectionable Turkish policies.

Another constraint on the Turkish-U.S. relationship is the decreasing U.S. share of Turkey's trade and investment, which now is oriented more toward the EU and the Middle East. Both governments need to make it easier for Turkish and American businesses to trade and invest in each other's countries. Initiatives are needed to reduce the level of popular hostility in Turkey toward the United States, which limits the depth and breadth of the relationship. Turkish-U.S. ties are still focused on government-to-government relations. The relationship needs to encompass civil society and private sector actors more.

More generally, the United States should adopt a more proactive policy toward potential sources of tensions between Ankara and Washington that, unresolved, could abort the recent upturn in Turkish-U.S. relations. For example, the United States could launch sustained initiatives to resolve differences between Turkey and other U.S. partners such as Armenia, Israel, Iraq, and the EU. It is understandable that Washington wants to limit Turkey's imports of Iranian natural gas, but then the United States must be more open to allowing Turkey to obtain energy from the KRG even if Baghdad opposes it.

The Obama administration should continue its welcome efforts to reconcile Turkey and Israel. U.S. and Turkish policymakers have proved skilled at compartmentalizing their differences over Israel, but an Israeli attack on Iran, a popular uprising in Palestine, and other not improbable events could easily escalate Turkey-Israeli tensions, which invariably would spill over to adversely affect the Washington-Ankara axis. Less often cited, the Armenia-Turkey relationship has the same explosively destructive potential. After the failed reconciliation effort of a few years ago, neither country has made major exertions to overcome their current deadlock. But 2015 will mark the centenary of what many call the "Armenian genocide." Unless Ankara, quietly backed by Washington, renews its reconciliation efforts, the Armenia issue risks inflicting a blow to bilateral relations. Otherwise, Washington could find itself constantly torn between key allies.

Regime changes in other Middle Eastern countries could also have implications for U.S. military bases and deployments in Turkey's region, requiring further adjustments in the U.S. military presence in Turkey and other regional partners. It would be best if Ankara and Washington developed plans for such scenarios in advance to improve the prospects of a harmonious response to such contingencies. In addition to the substance of any policies, improving communications between Ankara and Washington is essential for avoiding further misunderstandings between these pivotal partners, regardless of who is in power in either country.

As the Western world continues to be concerned about what is seen as evidence of a Turkey reaching out to the East, it is vital for Turkey to reassure its Western allies of its support. On the other side, Western scholars and politicians should have more understanding of the fact that Turkey is not an island, and that the country must take the necessary means to create a sustainable environment for itself. A long-term objective should be renewing cultural ties among Turks and Americans. There is still much popular hostility in Turkey toward the United States, which limits the depth and breadth of the relationship. Bilateral relations still excessively focus on government-to-government ties. The Turkey-U.S. relationship must extend to encompass civil society and private sector actors. Turks and Americans still hold surprisingly negative misperceptions about one another. Encouraging more Foreign Area Officers to learn Turkish would pay dividends even beyond Turkey given renewed interest in the Turkish language in Central Asia and the Middle East.

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In: Encyclopedia of Turkey
Editor: Dennis Rivera
ISBN: 978-1-63482-757-7
© 2015 Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

Chapter 4

TURKEY: BACKGROUND AND U.S. RELATIONS*

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SUMMARY

Several Turkish domestic and foreign policy issues have significant relevance for U.S. interests, and Congress plays an active role in shaping and overseeing U.S. relations with Turkey. This report provides background information on Turkey and discusses possible policy options for Members of Congress and the Obama Administration. U.S. relations with Turkey—a longtime North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ally—have evolved over time. Turkey's economic dynamism and geopolitical importance have increased its influence regionally and globally. Although Turkey still depends on the United States and other NATO allies for political and strategic support, its increased economic and military self-reliance since the Cold War allows Turkey relatively greater opportunity for an assertive role in foreign policy. Greater Turkish independence of action and continuing political transformation appear to have been mutually reinforcing—with both led for more than a decade by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and the Islamist-rooted Justice and Development Party (AKP). However, it remains unclear how Turkey might reconcile majoritarian views favoring Turkish nationalism and Sunni Muslim values with secular governance and protection of individual freedoms and minority rights, including with regard to Turkey's Kurdish citizens.

The record of U.S.-Turkey cooperation during the Obama Administration has been mixed. To some extent it mirrors the complexities that past U.S. administrations faced with Turkey in reconciling bilateral alignment on general foreign policy objectives with substantive points of disagreement involving countries such as Greece, Cyprus, Armenia, and Iraq. Patterns in the U.S.-Turkey bilateral relationship indicate that both countries seek to minimize damage resulting from disagreements. However, these patterns also suggest that periodic fluctuations in how the two countries' interests converge may persist. It is unclear how this dynamic might affect the extent to which future U.S. approaches to regional issues

* This is an edited, reformatted and augmented version of a Congressional Research Service publication R41368, prepared for Members and Committees of Congress dated August 1, 2014.

involve Turkey, or might affect the countries' efforts to increase closeness in other facets of their political and economic relationship.

Congress has shown considerable interest in the following issues:

- U.S.-Turkey cooperation and consultation in the Middle East regarding major regional security issues involving Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan;
- Difficulties in Turkey's relations with Israel, prospects of their improvement, and how those might affect U.S.-Turkey relations;
- A possible deal between Turkey and a Chinese government-owned company to co-produce a Turkish air and missile defense system, which could have implications for U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation and for Turkey's political and military profile within NATO;
- A potential congressional resolution or presidential statement that could recognize World War I-era actions by the Ottoman Empire (Turkey's predecessor state) against hundreds of thousands of Armenians as genocide; and
- Domestic developments in Turkey in light of major protests in June 2013, apparent power struggles among key actors following subsequent corruption-related allegations, and upcoming elections in 2014 and 2015.

Many U.S. policymakers also are interested in the rights of minority Christian communities within Turkey; the currently stalemated prospects of Turkish accession to the European Union (EU); promoting increased trade with Turkey; and Turkey's role in the Cyprus dispute.

INTRODUCTION AND ISSUES FOR CONGRESS

As global challenges to U.S. interests have changed over time, U.S. relations with Turkey—an important North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ally since the Cold War era—have evolved. Congress plays an active role in shaping and overseeing U.S. relations with Turkey. Several Turkish domestic and foreign policy issues have significant relevance for U.S. interests.

Gauging how U.S. and Turkish interests coincide has become increasingly complicated. Political transition and unrest in the Middle East since 2011 appear to have contributed to the following dynamic between the two countries:

- Turkish leaders seem to perceive a need for U.S. help to defend its borders and backstop regional stability, given threats and potential threats from various states and non-state actors; and
- The United States may be more dependent on its alliance with Turkey to forward U.S. interests in the region following the end of the U.S. military mission in Iraq and other possible future reductions in its Middle East footprint.

These factors have led to frequent high level U.S.-Turkey consultation on developments in Syria, Iraq, and the broader region. The two countries may agree on a general vision of

using political and economic linkages—backed by some level of security—to achieve and improve regional stability and encourage free markets and democratic mechanisms. However, it appears that they periodically differ regarding how to achieve this vision, such as when questions arise about which third-party actors—Israel, the Asad regime, Iraq's government, Kurdish groups, Al Qaeda affiliates, Palestinian factions, Iran, Russia, and China—should be tolerated, involved, bolstered, or opposed. Priorities and threat perceptions may differ in part due to the United States's geographical remoteness from the region, contrasted with Turkey's proximity.

TURKEY IN BRIEF

Population: 75,627,384 (2012 est.)
Area: 783,562 sq km (302,535 sq. mi., slightly larger than Texas)
Most Populous Cities: Istanbul 13.85 mil., Ankara 4.97 mil., Izmir 4.01 mil., Bursa 2.69 mil., Adana 2.13 mil. (2012 est.)
Ethnic Groups: Turks 70%-75%; Kurds 18%; Other minorities 7%-12% (2008 est.)
Religion: Muslim 99.8% (Sunni 75%-88%, Alevi 12%-25%), Others (mainly Christian and Jewish) 0.2%
Literacy: 87% (male 95%, female 80%) (2004 est.)
% of Population 14 or Younger: 24.9% (2012 est.)
GDP Per Capita: $10,504 ($15,066 at purchasing power parity) (2012 est.)
Real GDP Growth: 3.9% (2013 est.)
Inflation: 7.6% (2013 est.)
Unemployment: 9.3% (2013 est.)
Budget Deficit: 1.6% (2013 est.)
Public Debt as % of GDP: 36.0% (2013 est.)
External Debt as % of GDP: 44.4% (2013 est.)
Current Account Deficit as % of GDP: 7.4% (2013 est.)

Sources: Turkish Statistical Institute; Economist Intelligence Unit; Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook.*

Members of Congress have expressed considerable interest regarding Turkey with respect to the following issues and questions:

- *Addressing Regional Change in the Greater Middle East*: Will Turkey's policies and actions be reconcilable with U.S. interests in countries such as Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Afghanistan with regard to various actors and desired outcomes, particularly if they directly implicate Turkish security concerns or involve Turkish territory, military bases, and/or personnel? To what extent is Turkey willing and able to curb the influence of actors such as Iran that have historically opposed U.S. regional influence?
- *Israel and the U.S.-Turkey Relationship*: What are prospects for future Turkey-Israel relations? How might these relations affect U.S. efforts at regional security

coordination? If Turkey-Israel tensions persist, should they affect congressional views generally on Turkey's status as a U.S. ally?

- *Turkey's Relationships with China and Other Non-NATO Countries*: How do and should Turkey's non-NATO relationships, especially its apparent intention—announced in September 2013—to partner with a Chinese government-owned company in developing an air and missile defense system, affect its political and military profile within the alliance?
- *Armenian Genocide Resolution*: What are the arguments for and against a potential U.S. congressional resolution or presidential statement characterizing World War I-era deaths of hundreds of thousands of Armenians through actions of the Ottoman Empire (Turkey's predecessor state) authorities as genocide? How would such a resolution or statement affect U.S.-Turkey relations and defense cooperation?
- *Rights of Non-Muslim Minority Religions*: What is Congress's proper role in promoting the rights of established Christian and Jewish communities within Turkey?

Many U.S. policymakers also are interested in the largely stalemated prospects of Turkish accession to the European Union (EU); promoting increased trade with Turkey; and Turkey's role in the decades-long dispute between ethnic Greek and ethnic Turkish populations regarding control of Cyprus.

Source: CRS Graphics.

Figure 1. Turkey and Its Neighbors.

Domestic developments in Turkey gained greater international attention in June 2013 when protests of a construction project near Istanbul's main square grew into more than two weeks of generalized demonstrations criticizing the still largely popular rule of Prime

Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his Justice and Development Party (known by its Turkish acronym, AKP). The authorities' assertive actions to quell the demonstrations have been widely criticized, along with Erdogan's apparent acceptance and perhaps encouragement of political polarization in likely anticipation of crucial 2014 and 2015 elections.[1] Then, on December 17, 2013, corruption-related arrests of a number of individuals with links to Erdogan and other cabinet ministers triggered a number of developments that have had a number of implications for Turkey's political and economic trajectory (see "Recent Domestic Controversies" below).

As a consequence, U.S. and EU officials and observers have perhaps become more attuned to concerns regarding civil liberties and checks and balances in Turkey, partly because of their potential to affect Turkey's economic viability and regional political role. However, it is unclear to what extent non-Turkish actors will play a significant role in resolving unanswered questions regarding Turkey's commitment to democracy and limited government, its secular-religious balance, and its Kurdish question.

According to the Turkish Coalition of America, a non-governmental organization that promotes positive Turkish-American relations, as of August 1, 2014, there are at least 142 Members (136 of whom are voting Members) of Congress in the Congressional Caucus (including three Senators) on Turkey and Turkish Americans.[2]

U.S.-TURKEY RELATIONS

Overview

The United States and Turkey have enjoyed a decades-long alliance. The calculations that led the United States to invest heavily in Turkey's defense and its military and economic development during the Cold War have evolved as the dynamics within both countries and the regional and global environments have changed. Another change has been Turkey's decreased dependence on U.S. material support and its increased assertiveness as a foreign policy actor, particularly in the Middle East and within international institutions such as the United Nations and the G-20, where it is scheduled to assume the yearly rotating presidency in 2015. One conceptualization of Turkey's importance to U.S. interests identifies it—along with India, Brazil, and Indonesia—as a "global swing state" with the ability to have a sizeable impact on international order, depending on how it engages with the United States and the rest of the world.[3]

At the outset of the Obama Administration, U.S. officials made clear their intent to emphasize the importance of a multifaceted strategic relationship with Turkey. In April 2009, President Obama, speaking of a "model partnership," visited Turkey during his first presidential trip abroad and addressed its Parliament in Ankara. He said that "Turkey is a critical ally…. And Turkey and the United States must stand together—and work together—to overcome the challenges of our time."

The record of U.S.-Turkey cooperation since then has been mixed. To some extent it mirrors the complexities that past U.S. administrations faced with Turkey in reconciling bilateral alignment on general foreign policy objectives with substantive points of disagreement involving countries such as Greece, Cyprus, Armenia, and Iraq.[4] For example,

with regard to Iraq, Turkey cooperated with the United States in the 1991 Gulf War and following the U.S.-led 2003 Iraq invasion, but the Turkish parliamentary decision in 2003 not to allow U.S. forces to use its territory to open a northern front significantly affected U.S.-Turkey relations. The decision showed the United States that it could no longer rely primarily on past legacies of cooperation and close ties with the Turkish military.[5]

Given Turkey's increasing relevance as a Middle Eastern actor, U.S. officials seem to have viewed Turkey as well-positioned to be a facilitator of U.S. interests in the region as the United States has wound down its troop presence in Iraq, and is winding it down in Afghanistan. Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu appear to have encouraged this approach by articulating a vision through which they have indicated that Turkey could help maintain regional stability while also promoting greater political and trade liberalization in neighboring countries. This vision—aspects of which Davutoglu has expressed at times through phrases such as "strategic depth" or "zero problems with neighbors"—draws upon Turkey's historical, cultural, and religious knowledge of and ties with other regional actors, as well as its soft power appeal as a Muslim-majority democracy with a robust and dynamic economy.[6]

Cooperation and Challenges in the Middle East and NATO

Turkey's regional political influence and expertise has been a key consideration in active U.S.-Turkey efforts to coordinate policy on a wide range of important and complicated issues, and is likely to continue to figure into U.S. regional calculations going forward. Nevertheless, some events during the Obama Administration appear to show that Turkey's ability to shape events may be less than imagined or suggested—as in the case of its unsuccessful efforts to mediate an end or reduction of civil conflict in both Libya and Syria.[7] Also, as Turkey has increased its links to the region, its heightened sensitivity to Middle Eastern public opinion, threats near its borders, refugee inflows from Syria's ongoing conflict, and dependence on neighboring countries' energy sources (including Russia and Iran) have complicated its efforts to transcend the region's political, ethnic, and sectarian divides. In 2010, Turkey's fallout with Israel over the Gaza flotilla incident[8] and its vote (in concert with Brazil) against U.N. Security Council sanctions on Iran put it at odds with the United States on two key regional U.S. priorities.

Subsequent efforts to focus U.S.-Turkey regional cooperation on the post-conflict attempt to rehabilitate Iraq and on political transition in Arab countries beset by turmoil since 2010-2011 have been challenged by Turkey's geographic proximity to conflict areas and apparent interest in working with other actors espousing an overtly Sunni Muslim perspective. The idea of Turkey as a "model" or example for Arab countries to follow, though still significantly popular according to polling, appears to have less currency now.[9] This may be in part because Islamist movements that Erdogan and Davutoglu appeared to favor lost control of Egypt's government to the military in July 2013, and gradually lost control of the Syrian opposition to more extreme Islamist groups. Turkey's internal political controversies since June 2013—as portrayed in regional and international media—may have also reduced its appeal to neighboring countries.[10]

Despite some challenges to U.S.-Turkey cooperation, the two countries appear to work frequently to bring their policies closer together. Agreement by Turkey in 2011 to host a U.S.

early warning radar as part of a nascent NATO Active Layered Theater Ballistic Missile Defense (ALTBMD) system for Europe[11] went some way toward addressing U.S. questions about Turkey's alignment with the West on the Iranian nuclear issue. Similarly, after the manifestation of U.S.-Turkey differences on various other issues, the Obama Administration has made repeated efforts to clarify U.S. priorities, and Turkey has in many cases publicly indicated an effort to move closer to U.S. positions or to deemphasize points of disagreement.[12] Such cases include:

- Turkish leaders' statements indicating plans to improve their troubled relations with Israel.[13]
- Turkey's reported reconsideration of its provisional decision in September 2013 to co-produce a long-range air and missile defense system with a Chinese government-owned company, rather than with a U.S. or European partner.[14]
- Apparent Turkish efforts to increase scrutiny of and controls on Syrian oppositionists and foreign fighters/jihadists traversing Turkish territory. These efforts may get added impetus with the Islamic State's (also known as Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, or ISIL) recent territorial gains in Iraq and taking of Turkish hostages.[15]
- A diplomatic initiative renewed in early 2014 to move toward greater normalization, if not a definitive resolution, between ethnic Turks and ethnic Greeks in Cyprus.
- Prime Minister Erdogan's speech in April 2014, containing some seemingly conciliatory statements, regarding World War I-era actions by the Ottoman Empire against Armenians that are characterized by many countries as genocide.[16]

Strategic Assessment

Turkey's leaders may be at least partly motivated to minimize disagreement with the United States and other actors in order to improve their domestic profiles and ease international scrutiny amid current election season controversies. Turkey's dependence on foreign energy and capital might also be a factor. The resolution or mitigation of disputes involving Cyprus, Armenia, and Israel might increase Western support for an Eastern Mediterranean pipeline from Israel's and Cyprus's offshore natural fields to Turkey[17]—perhaps as part of a larger effort to find alternatives for Europe to Russian-origin energy sources. Turkish leaders might also be trying to boost external investor confidence in its markets and to improve prospects of being included directly or indirectly in the possible negotiation of a U.S.-European Union Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP).

However, patterns in the U.S.-Turkey bilateral relationship also suggest that periodic miscommunications and divergences in their respective interests may persist. For example, Turkey appears to be aiding Iraq's Kurdish Regional Government in its efforts to export oil through Turkey without the approval of Iraq's central government, which U.S. officials have reportedly asserted could further undermine Iraq's already shaky political stability and sovereign unity. Turkey seems to be preparing for the possibility of a Kurdish state in northern Iraq in the wake of developments in Iraq since June 2014. Additionally, in late June, the House Foreign Affairs Committee reported the Turkey Christian Churches Accountability Act (H.R. 4347),[18] which prompted a negative reaction from Turkish officials.[19]

In light of recent U.S. responses to events in Syria, Iraq, and Ukraine, Turkey may be assessing how to gauge the likely nature and extent of U.S. involvement in current and future regional crises, and how that might shape its own regional approach. In July 2014, Erdogan indicated that he no longer speaks directly with President Obama, saying "Naturally because I did not get the results I wanted in this process, in particular on Syria, our foreign ministers hold talks, as I do with (U.S. Vice President Joe) Biden."[20] Turkey's unwillingness or inability to project force into Syria in the face of vulnerabilities it confronted from Syria's internal conflict appears to have increased Turkey's dependence on U.S. and NATO security guarantees and assistance, at least in the near term. Possible Turkish expectations of imminent U.S.-led military action in Syria appear to have dissipated with President Obama's acceptance in September 2013 of a U.N. Security Council-backed agreement regarding chemical weapons removal. For the time being on Syria and Iraq, given Turkey's military constraints and geographic sensitivities, it may anticipate influencing outcomes in its favor and minimizing vulnerabilities through political deal making with other regional and international actors—probably including Russia, Iran, Iraq's central government, the Asad regime, and various Kurdish groups.

Impact of Public Opinion, Debate, and Reaction

Public opinion may also affect Turkey's future relationship with the United States and NATO. According to a 2012 Council on Foreign Relations task force report co-chaired by former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and former National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley (the "Albright-Hadley report"), "public opinion polls in Turkey consistently reveal unfavorable impressions of the United States among the Turkish public.… This is a problem that can damage the bilateral relations, especially now that public opinion matters more than ever before in Turkish foreign policy."[21] Such unfavorable impressions, to the extent they exist, do so within a context of Turks' generally low favorability ratings for foreign countries.[22] Many observers cite a "Sèvres syndrome"[23] among Turks historically wary of encirclement by neighboring and global powers—especially Westerners. On the subject of a possible "Armenian genocide resolution" in Congress (see "Possible "Armenian Genocide Resolution"" below), Turkish statements and actions in response to past Congressional action suggest that any future action would probably have at least some negative consequences for bilateral relations and defense cooperation in the short term—with long-term ramifications less clear.

Negative U.S. public reactions to Turkish statements, actions, and perceived double standards could also impact the bilateral relationship, as could reactions to developments in domestic politics (discussed below) that appear—in the words of two U.S.-based commentators (one of whom is a former U.S. ambassador to Turkey)—to harm the "century-long American effort to promote liberal universal values."[24] According to a Turkish newspaper report, Turkey's reported disclosure to Iran in 2011—in apparent retribution for the 2010 Gaza flotilla incident—of the identities of Iranians acting as Israeli intelligence sources led to Congressional rejection (presumably informal) of Turkey's longstanding request to purchase U.S. drone aircraft to counter Kurdish militants.[25] Additionally, Obama Administration officials reportedly harbor concerns regarding conspiratorial insinuations in circles close to Erdogan about alleged U.S. or international efforts to stir up recent domestic

controversies.[26] Moreover, Administration officials and Members of Congress have criticized negative statements about Israel, Zionism, and apparently in some cases broader groups of Jewish people by Erdogan or other Turkish leaders in relation to the flotilla incident, Israel's treatment of Palestinians (including during the July 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict), a February 2013 international conference in Vienna, Turkey's June 2013 domestic protests,[27] and Egypt's July 2013 military takeover. This is exacerbated by Turkey's cultivation of ties with Hamas and refusal to characterize it as a terrorist organization.

The optics of the proposed missile defense deal with CPMIEC, due both to U.S. public sensitivities regarding China and to CPMIEC's subjection to U.S. sanctions for alleged proliferation-related dealings with certain countries,[28] could further complicate the public dimension of U.S.-Turkey relations. The deal may be even more problematic given that it could be interpreted as a rejection of the very U.S. Patriot missile defense batteries that are currently deployed under NATO auspices at Turkey's request to defend it from threats in Syria.

It remains unclear how trends or fluctuations in public opinion—when taken together with how the countries' leaders cooperate on strategic matters and with other factors such as trade, tourism, and cultural and educational exchange—will affect the tenor of the U.S.-Turkey relationship over the long term.

Bilateral and NATO Defense Cooperation[29]

Overview

The U.S.-Turkey alliance has long centered on the defense relationship, both bilaterally and within NATO. Turkey's location near several global hotspots makes the continuing availability of its territory for the stationing and transport of arms, cargo, and personnel valuable for the United States and NATO. Turkey also controls access to and from the Black Sea through its straits pursuant to the Montreux Convention of 1936. Turkey's hosting of a U.S./NATO early warning missile defense radar and the transformation of a NATO air command unit in Izmir into a ground forces command appear to have reinforced Turkey's strategic importance for the alliance. For information on NATO's role in supporting Turkey's defense in light of ongoing conflict in Syria, see "Syria" below.

As the military's political influence within Turkey has declined, civilian leaders have assumed primary responsibility for national security decisions. Changes in the Turkish power structure present a challenge for U.S. officials accustomed to military interlocutors in adjusting future modes of bilateral interaction. It might lead to an approach that is more multidimensional than the well-established pattern some observers see in which the State Department and other U.S. officials rely on the "Pentagon to wield its influence."[30]

The largest U.S. military presence in Turkey is at Incirlik (pronounced *in-jur-lick*) air base near the southern city of Adana, with approximately 1,500 U.S. personnel (plus approximately 3,500 Turkish contractors). Since the end of the Cold War, Incirlik has been used to support U.S. and NATO operations in Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Afghanistan. According to the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Incirlik also is the reported home of vaults holding approximately 60-70 U.S. tactical, aircraft-deliverable B61 nuclear gravity bombs under NATO auspices.[31] Turkey maintains the right to cancel U.S. access to Incirlik with three days' notice.

Since 1948, the United States has provided Turkey with approximately $13.8 billion in overall military assistance (nearly $8.2 billion in grants and $5.6 billion in loans). Current annual military and security grant assistance, however, is limited to approximately $4-5 million annually in International Military Education and Training (IMET); and Nonproliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining and Related Programs (NADR) funds (see Table 4 below).

Sources: Department of Defense, NATO, *Hurriyet Daily News*; adapted by CRS.

Notes: All locations are approximate. The Incirlik and Kurecik bases are Turkish bases, parts of which are used for limited purposes by the U.S. military and NATO. Additional information on the U.S./NATO military presence in Turkey is available in archived CRS Report R41761, *Turkey-U.S. Defense Cooperation: Prospects and Challenges*, by Jim Zanotti.

Figure 2. Map of U.S. and NATO Military Presence inTurkey.

Afghanistan

Turkey has twice commanded the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan and has had troops participating in ISAF since shortly after its inception in December 2001. Turkey's approximately 2,000 troops concentrate on training Afghan military and security forces and providing security in Kabul, where Turkey commands ISAF's Regional Command-Capital, as well as in Wardak (just west of Kabul) and Jawzjan (in northern Afghanistan) provinces. In addition, some Afghan police are trained in Turkey.

As with several other NATO and non-NATO contributors to ISAF, Turkey's troops are not involved in combat. Turkey's history of good relations with both Afghanistan and Pakistan and its status as the Muslim-majority country with the greatest level of involvement in ISAF are thought by some analysts to help legitimize ISAF's presence. These relations could become more important to preparing Afghanistan for self-rule, with the United States

and other ISAF countries scheduled to wind down their military presence in Afghanistan in the near future.

China-Turkey Air and Missile Defense Cooperation?

Turkey's leaders openly speak of desires to strengthen the country's self-sufficiency—including in military and technological capacity. That may partly explain Turkey's announced but unfinalized September 2013 decision to develop the multi-billion dollar long-range air and missile Turkish Long Range Air and Missile Defense System (T-LORAMIDS) with a Chinese government-owned company (CPMIEC, or the China Precision Machinery Import and Export Corporation) that is offering relatively favorable co-production and technology sharing terms in comparison with competing U.S. and European offers. It is unclear whether, over the long term, political and operational considerations will allow Turkey to expect continued or improved protection from NATO's ALTBMD architecture if it acquires an independent, non-interoperable capacity in close cooperation with a potential U.S. rival.[32] In considering the potential missile defense deal, some Western observers are revisiting questions about Turkey's long-term commitment to NATO.[33] Nevertheless, shortly following the decision, Turkish President Abdullah Gul stated that the CPMIEC deal "is not definite. There is a shortlist, and China is at the top of it. We should look at the conditions, but there is no doubt that Turkey is primarily in NATO. These are multi-dimensional issues, there are technical and economic dimensions and on the other hand there is an alliance dimension. These are being evaluated."[34] As mentioned above, reports in 2014 have indicated that Turkey is reconsidering the deal and remains open to partnering with U.S. or European companies as an alternative to CPMIEC.

Turkey's 2009 request for outside tenders for an off-the-shelf version of T-LORAMIDS had been scrapped in January 2013 in favor of a version that would feature Turkish co-production of the system, in line with Turkey's general procurement policy favoring technology acquisition that can bolster its self-reliance. Murad Bayar, Turkey's top defense procurement official until early 2014, claimed that CPMIEC's offer of the HQ-9/FD-2000 system bested the competitors—including a U.S. Raytheon/Lockheed-Martin offer of a Patriot PAC-3 system and bids from Italian/French and Russian contractors—on the basis of price, co-production, and technology transfer criteria. Despite initial expectations that the deal would be finalized in the first half of 2014, it was not, and, as mentioned above, it is possible that Turkey is leaving the door open to U.S. and European offers.

It is unclear to what extent U.S. bidders or U.S. officials are considering ways to persuade Turkey to change its decision. Seven Senators sent a letter dated October 11, 2013, to Secretary of State John Kerry and Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel, urging them to "exert all available diplomatic pressure to prevent Turkish procurement of a CPMIEC missile defense system and ensure NATO will never allow such a system to be integrated into NATO's security architecture," and to "undertake a comprehensive review of the security implications posed by this procurement and report back with appropriate steps the U.S. and NATO should take to protect the security of classified data and technology."[35] A letter raising similar concerns about the proposed deal was sent on November 4, 2013, to Turkey's then U.S. ambassador Namik Tan by House Armed Services Committee Chairman Howard "Buck" McKeon and Ranking Member Adam Smith.[36] In the event that the CPMIEC deal is finalized, Chinese personnel would likely receive significantly greater access—including for

purposes of training and consultation—to officials and organizations associated with Turkey's security establishment and defense industry.

The announcement of the possible Turkey-CPMIEC deal prompted reactions of surprise and concern from Western observers. U.S. and NATO officials, while acknowledging Turkey's right to make its own procurement decisions, have claimed that the Chinese system would not be interoperable with NATO air and missile defense assets—including radar sensors—in Turkey. Although two U.S.-based analysts maintain that interoperability may be technically possible, they assert that "Turkey's allies would make the political decision not to allow full integration," taking into account the "potential risk of Chinese infiltration or exfiltration of data."[37] In response to the announced possible Turkey-CPMIEC deal, Senator Mark Kirk proposed S. Amdt. 2287 to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2014 (incorporated into H.R. 3304, which was enacted as P.L. 113-66), which prohibits any U.S. funding to be used to "integrate missile defense systems of the People's Republic of China into United States missile defense systems." One analyst asserts that lack of NATO interoperability could make the CPMIEC offer significantly less cost-advantageous for Turkey in the long run.[38]

U.S. officials have additionally emphasized that CPMIEC is subject to U.S. sanctions under the Iran, North Korea and Syria Nonproliferation Act (P.L. 106-178, as amended).[39] One media report cited an unnamed U.S. diplomat as saying that Turkish companies involved in co-production with CPMIEC "would be denied access to any use of US technology or equipment in relation to this program," and as suggesting that such companies might also face difficulties in working with U.S. products or technology on other projects.[40] The diplomat reportedly compared this situation with difficulties that the United States encountered in the past decade-and-a-half with Israel when it sold drone aircraft to China.[41] A *Reuters* article said that "Turkey's missile defense deal could also affect its plans to buy radar-evading F-35 fighter jets" from the United States.[42]

Table 1. Parties in Turkey's Parliament
(Based on national elections held in June 2011)

Party	June 2011 Vote	Members of Parliament	General Orientation
Justice and Development Party (AKP) Leader: Recep Tayyip Erdogan	49.8%	318	Economic liberalism, social conservatism
Republican People's Party (CHP) Leader: Kemal Kilicdaroglu	26.0%	134	Social democracy, secularist interests
Nationalist Action Party (MHP) Leader: Devlet Bahceli	13.0%	52	Turkish nationalist interests
Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) Co-Leaders: Selahattin Demirtas and Figen Yuksekdag	6.6%a	30	Ethnic Kurdish interests, social democracy

Sources: Turkish Grand National Assembly website; Ali Carkoglu, "Turkey's 2011 General Elections: Towards a Dominant Party System?" *Insight Turkey*, vol. 13, no. 3, summer 2011, pp. 43-62.

Note: There are 14 nominally independent members of parliament, some of whom are associated with the BDP, and some of whom were formerly members of other parties.

a. This is the percentage vote figure for the 61 BDP members or affiliated individuals who ran in the election as independents for individual geographic constituencies, as described in footnote 93.

In defending Turkey's decision to engage in co-production with a non-NATO country, Erdogan has referenced NATO member Greece's previous procurement of a missile defense system from Russia (another non-NATO country). Additionally, Turkey reportedly cooperated with China decades ago in connection with a ballistic missile program.[43] One report claims that the Turkish military is unhappy that it might acquire "second-hand, not battle-tested and cheap Chinese missiles," while also claiming that the military is "mad" because U.S. companies did not offer more generous technology transfer terms.[44] President Gul's statement (cited above) insisting that the deal "is not definite" and that "Turkey is primarily in NATO"[45] hints at an apparent awareness that U.S./NATO scrutiny of the possible deal probably considers its overall context. This includes potential Western geopolitical rivalry with China, Turkey's greater assertiveness on the international stage, and other steps—perhaps tentative and inconclusive—that Turkey and China have taken to bolster political, military, and trade ties.[46] Additionally, the McKeon-Smith letter asserts that Turkey's pursuit of a deal with CPMIEC seems to undermine its commitment to NATO burden sharing, "even as Turkey would benefit from the defense capabilities of those states which have deployed their own assets on Turkey's soil to defend the Turkish people."[47]

In addition to raising questions about Turkey's overall foreign policy goals and relationships, it is unclear what a CPMIEC missile defense deal would mean for Turkey's defense posture. Is Turkey seeking a system that could cover potential territorial gaps in NATO's ALTBMD coverage? Is it seeking a system that offers redundant or alternative protection in the event that NATO coverage is technically deficient, or in the event that Turkey's association with NATO provokes an unacceptable level of regional threat? Does Turkey question the political will of other NATO countries to come to its defense and stay engaged in the event of a conflict featuring missile exchanges? Or is the Turkish decision on CPMIEC confined to the specific details of the transaction with negligible connection to larger geopolitical or operational objectives?

COUNTRY OVERVIEW

Since the 1980s, Turkey has experienced fundamental internal change—particularly the economic empowerment of a middle class from its Anatolian heartland that emphasizes Sunni Muslim values. This change has helped fuel continuing political transformation led in the past decade by Prime Minister Erdogan, President Gul, and Foreign Minister Davutoglu (all of whom are profiled in Appendix A). They all come from the Islamic-leaning AKP, which first came to power in elections in 2002. For decades, the Turkish republic relied upon its military, judiciary, and other bastions of its Kemalist (a term inspired by Turkey's republican founder, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk) "secular elite" to protect it from political and ideological extremes—sacrificing at least some of its democratic vitality in the process. Through a series of elections, popular referenda, court decisions, and other political developments within the existing constitutional order, Turkey has changed into a more civilian-led system that increasingly reflects the new middle class's dedication to market economics and conservative values.

As discussed above, Turkey's internal transformation has helped to drive increased engagement and influence within its own region and internationally. At the same time, its

leaders have tried to maintain Turkey's traditional alliances and economic partnerships with Western nations in NATO and the EU, routinely asserting that Turkey's location at the crossroads of Europe and Asia and its soft power provides it and its allies with "strategic depth." Thus, the geopolitical importance of Turkey for the United States is now intertwined with its importance as an ally and symbol— politically, culturally, economically, and religiously. Turkey's future influence could depend on its maintaining the robust economic growth from its past decade that has led to its having the world's 17th-largest economy.

For additional historical context, see Appendix C.

Recent Domestic Controversies: Erdogan, the Fethullah Gulen Movement, and the Justice Sector

In mid-December 2013, a number of government ministers' sons and prominent businessmen close to Prime Minister Erdogan and other top Turkish officials were arrested on corruption-related charges. Since then, Turkey's domestic political situation has been tense and polarized. Erdogan himself has been implicated in questions of corruption and media interference and has used his office both to fend off potential threats to his position and stature and to weaken those who initiated or support the investigations. He now openly portrays the Fethullah Gulen movement, an influential civil society group that had largely made common cause with the AKP during its first decade in power (see textbox below), as his politically motivated opponents.

FETHULLAH GULEN MOVEMENT[48]

The Fethullah Gulen movement (or community) is a multifaceted array of individuals and organizations in Turkey and other countries around the world. This apparently includes schools[49] and other organizations[50] located in the United States. Such individuals and organizations tend to subscribe to or sympathize with the teachings of Fethullah Gulen, a former Turkish state imam who is now a permanent U.S. resident.[51] The Gulen movement became a Turkey-wide grassroots movement in the 1980s as part of the emergence of the new conservative Turkish middle class. Gulen preaches a distinctly Turkish brand of Islam that condemns terrorism,[52] promotes interfaith dialogue and cross-cultural understanding, and can function in concert with secular democratic mechanisms and modern economic and technological modes of living.

There is widespread speculation that Gulen movement adherents or sympathizers occupy influential positions within Turkey's civil service.[53] Gulen and his close supporters insist that in any event, he does not hierarchically control Turkish state employees or any others who, through their public or private activities, align themselves with him and his teachings.[54] This point is actively debated inside and outside of Turkey.[55]

Many observers characterize the movement as having used its social connectedness, international reach, and media clout[56] to ally itself with the Erdogan-led AKP—particularly during the AKP's first decade in power, as both groups sought to curb the military's control over civilian politics. The Erdogan-Gulen movement relationship has since undergone a significant reversal, as discussed elsewhere in this report.[57] Many of the movement's adherents and sympathizers have been among the most vocal supporters of the Ergenekon and

Sledgehammer (*Balyoz*) prosecutions and convictions, which deal with alleged military-centered networks and plots aimed at overthrowing or undermining the AKP government.[58] It is unclear that either the AKP or the Gulen movement has viable substitutes to fill the roles that each has previously played in support of the other.[59] Gulen insists that he does not ally himself with specific political parties or candidates, but rather advocates for his supporters to back leaders who embody "values of democracy, universal human rights and freedoms."[60]

It remains unclear how these developments will ultimately impact Erdogan's hold on the government and overall legacy, or Turkey's relations with the United States or the European Union.

Erdogan Government and Gulen Movement: From Collaboration to Opposition (Timeline of Selected Events)

November 2002	AKP comes to power in parliamentary elections.
March 2003	AKP co-founder Recep Tayyip Erdogan elected to parliament in special election; becomes prime minister.
April 2007	In the midst of parliamentary deliberations to elect a president, Turkey's military posts a statement on its website proclaiming its willingness to act to protect Turkey's secular system.
June 2007	Ergenekon criminal investigations regarding alleged "deep-state" network begin.
July 2007	AKP reelected in parliamentary elections with an increased percentage of the vote.
August 2007	AKP co-founder Abdullah Gul elected president by parliament.
October 2007	AKP successfully passes constitutional amendments in referendum.
July 2008	AKP survives closure case in Constitutional Court.
May 2010	*Mavi Marmara* (aka Gaza flotilla) incident publicly exposes apparent differences between Erdogan and Fethullah Gulen over the management of Turkey's international relations, particularly with Israel.
September 2010	AKP successfully passes constitutional amendments in referendum.
June 2011	AKP reelected in parliamentary elections with nearly 50% of the vote.
February 2012	Public prosecutor seeks to question current and former officials from National Intelligence Organization (MIT) regarding possible dealings with the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK); prosecutorial request is blocked after Erdogan-backed law passes parliament requiring prime ministerial consent; prosecutor and some police personnel are reassigned; many observers assert that the prosecutorial actions are influenced by the Gulen movement.
September 2012	Sledgehammer (*Balyoz*) verdicts regarding alleged coup plot convict more than 300 active and former military officers (some of whom are later released on appeal).
June 2013	Nationwide "Gezi Park" protests and government response raise questions among domestic and international observers regarding Erdogan's leadership style and prospects, while he emphasizes his electoral mandate.
August 2013	Verdicts in main Ergenekon case convict more than 250 individuals (some of whom are later released pending a possible final outcome).

Erdogan Government and Gulen Movement (Continued)

October 2013	Turkey's education minister announces a plan to eventually close or repurpose private tutoring centers (dershanes), which are foundational centers of activity and sources of support for the Gulen movement; pro-Gulen movement and third-party media challenge the propriety and legality of the plan.
December 2013	Corruption-related arrests target several figures close to the government and directly implicate four ministers, who later resign as part of a larger cabinet reshuffle; Erdogan characterizes the investigations as a "dirty plot" by the Gulen movement to undermine his rule and begins an apparently calculated effort to gain greater control over the criminal justice sector.
December 2013 -March 2014	Erdogan and his supporters on one hand, and individuals associated with or possibly associated with the Gulen movement on the other, apparently seek to undermine each other's public position through a variety of statements and actions.
April 2014 - Present	After results in March's local elections indicating that the AKP retained substantial popular appeal, Parliament passes laws boosting the power of Turkey's intelligence service and providing for the ultimate closure of private tutoring centers. In June, a court overturns 230 of the Sledgehammer alleged coup convictions on due process grounds, with the defendants to be retried. In July, dozens of police personnel are arrested for allegedly using a terrorist investigation as a pretext to wiretap Erdogan and other top government officials, with many in the media interpreting the arrests as an attempt by the government to weaken the Gulen movement.

Although four government ministers subject to the initial corruption-related investigations resigned in late December 2013,[61] Erdogan has portrayed the investigations as a "dirty plot" controlled by the Fethullah Gulen movement. He and many domestic and international observers say that they believe the Gulen movement has significant influence over civil servants within the criminal justice sector who are movement adherents or sympathizers. Because Erdogan and his supporters in government and the media assert that some of these civil servants act in a way that places the Gulen movement's interests over that of the state's constitutionally selected representatives, Erdogan has taken to referring to the movement as the "parallel state" or "structure."

Some Erdogan colleagues and pro-government media have explicitly or implicitly accused the United States and other international actors (such as Israel, the Jewish diaspora, and various multinational companies and media outlets) of conspiring with or otherwise facilitating the Gulen movement's alleged efforts to undermine or even overthrow Erdogan. Such speculation is intertwined with increased scrutiny in Turkish media of some observers' claims regarding Gulen movement ties with the United States. This is fueled to some extent by Gulen's move to Pennsylvania in the late 1990s (ostensibly for health reasons) while facing charges of undermining secularism in Turkey, and his receipt of U.S. permanent residency status in 2008.

After pro-government media insinuated in December 2013 that Francis Ricciardone, then U.S. ambassador to Turkey, had made statements potentially undermining the government, and Erdogan obliquely denounced "provocative actions" by ambassadors, Ricciardone portrayed the accusations as false and demanded that they cease.[64] Since then, they largely have. Erdogan has publicly expressed his interest in having the Obama Administration deport or extradite Fethullah Gulen, though most observers assert that the Administration is unlikely

to do this. ATurkish journalist has written that Erdogan appears to be "playing more to his domestic gallery by creating the impression that he is pressuring the United States."[65]

In an apparent effort to increase his government's control over the criminal justice sector and probably to marginalize purported Gulen movement adherents and sympathizers, Erdogan has made massive personnel changes among prosecutors and police. He has reportedly reassigned thousands of police (largely from Istanbul and Ankara) to other parts of the country. In February 2014, he championed parliamentary legislation that established justice ministry control over the country's Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK). This law will most likely prevent future criminal investigations from taking place without the approval of Erdogan-appointed politicians.[66]

ERDOGAN GOVERNMENT AND GULEN MOVEMENT: COMPETING NARRATIVES

Common pro-Erdogan narratives hold that the Gulen movement has directly controlled large elements of the criminal justice sector in Turkey for a number of years. Those who accept these narratives often assert that because many of the same prosecutors from the Ergenekon and Sledgehammer cases were involved with the corruption cases against the government, the Gulen movement is behind all of the cases, and that questions from the former cases regarding whether political motivations led to evidentiary/due process infractions or irregularities also apply to the latter. Many also claim that the corruption cases were timed to hurt the AKP in upcoming elections through voter disaffection and loss of investor confidence. Leaks of audio recordings that are claimed to reveal compromising information about Erdogan and other high-level AKP officials have led purveyors of pro-Erdogan narratives to allege that the Gulen movement maintains an extensive intelligence and surveillance operation, feeding existing conspiracy theories about possible Gulen movement collaboration with foreign countries.

Common narratives from Gulen movement adherents and sympathizers or those defending the initial prosecutorial team that brought the December 2013 corruption charges hold that evidence linking Turkish civil servants with the movement is purely conjectural. Such narratives also claim that Erdogan and his inner circle are resorting to illegal profiling methods and broad generalizations to target a wide swath of loyal state employees. According to these narratives, this is part of an effort to create a fictitious bogeyman to maximize short-term electoral advantages and distract Turkey's citizens from Erdogan's alleged corruption and purported efforts to more fully consolidate his personal power. These pro-Gulen movement/initial prosecutorial team narratives often claim that the timing of the corruption-related arrests was incidental to political events, and took place as soon as possible after a careful gathering of evidence.

Perhaps reflecting the Gulen movement's international presence and influence, arguments by Gulen and his adherents and sympathizers often appear to be crafted to elicit international support—often in international fora and media outlets, such as Gulen's January 2014 interviews with the *Wall Street Journal* and the BBC[62]—and in reference to universal standards of democratic governance and human rights (such as the criteria for European Union accession).

Third-party observers have taken a range of positions on recent domestic developments in Turkey. Some criticize both Erdogan and the Gulen movement for the current situation in varying ways and to varying degrees. Some opine or imply that because Turkey's

constitutional system may not be optimally designed to enforce checks and balances, and because formal opposition parties to the AKP are presumably relatively weak, the counterpoise between Erdogan and the Gulen movement may strengthen Turkey's democracy.[63]

Following these changes, no additional arrests have been made in relation to the corruption investigations, and those who were charged in December 2013 have been released on parole awaiting trial. Some prosecutors involved in initiating the investigations, who have since been reassigned, have alleged that the government is refusing to prosecute additional cases. Additionally, several documents and audio recordings apparently reinforcing corruption-related allegations have been anonymously leaked to media outlets and on social media Internet sites. These leaks include phone calls purported to be between Erdogan and his son Bilal (Erdogan vigorously denies the calls' authenticity) discussing the transfer of large sums of money to avoid detection. This has prompted Erdogan and his government and AKP colleagues to allege the existence of a vast Gulen movement-controlled operation to monitor their communications, possibly with outside help—reinforcing conspiracy theories regarding U.S. or other international involvement. The crucial role of the Internet in circulating leaked information portraying Erdogan and his government in a negative light probably largely motivated the Turkish parliament's passage of a February 2014 law allowing the government wider authority to block websites, and the government's spring 2014 bans on Twitter and YouTube that were eventually overturned by Turkey's constitutional court.

CORRUPTION ALLEGATIONS AND IRAN-AND AL QAEDA-RELATED CLAIMS[68]

Alleged evidence connected with the December 2013 corruption-related arrests has been leaked to various media sources. In addition to evidence that a number of Turkish businessmen engaged in "tender-rigging," or paying bribes to public officials in exchange for preferential treatment of their bids for public contracts and zoning exceptions, some of the most high-profile charges revolve around an apparent arrangement by Turkish cabinet ministers to engage in "gold-for-energy" trades with Iranian sources between March 2012 (when international money transfers to Iran through the SWIFT system were prohibited) and July 2013 (when energy transactions with Iran using precious metals became subject to U.S. sanctions). See "Iran" for more information.

Media reports citing leaked case files or evidence suggest that an Iranian native and recently-naturalized Turkish citizen named Riza Sarraf (formerly Reza Zarrab) headed a courier operation by which billions of dollars' worth of gold was apparently exported to Iran—sometimes directly, sometimes through Dubai. Sarraf apparently paid millions of dollars of bribes to then Turkish Economy Minister Zafer Caglayan and then Halkbank (a publicly-owned Turkish bank) general manager Suleyman Aslan. Media accounts of the December 2013 arrests stated that $4.5 million dollars were found in shoeboxes in Aslan's home. Caglayan reportedly favored the gold-shipping arrangement in part because it boosted Turkey's export figures.

Leaks also allege that Saudi national Yasin al Qadi entered Turkey privately four times between February and October 2012 with the assistance of Turkish government security.
Until October 5, 2012, al Qadi was subject to a United Nations Security Council-imposed travel ban and asset freeze because of allegations that he had helped finance activities of Al

Qaeda. The U.S. Treasury Department continues to list al Qadi as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist.[69] The recent revelations claim that one of the purposes of al Qadi's business in Turkey was involvement in a possible sale of public land below market value, and that he met personally with Prime Minister Erdogan's son Bilal. In 2006, Prime Minister Erdogan said that he knew al Qadi and that it was "impossible" for al Qadi to associate with or support a terrorist organization. A 2008 *Forbes* article had previously raised questions about possible al Qadi dealings in Turkey.[70]

Broader Concerns Regarding Rule of Law, Civil Liberties, and Secular Governance[67]

Some observers argue that events since the nationwide June 2013 protests have led to increasingly authoritarian governance by Erdogan. For example, a February 2014 Freedom House report purported to connect recent events with supposedly already established patterns of behavior involving widespread intimidation and manipulation of media, private companies, and other civil society actors through a number of means, including active interference in their operations and regulatory action to compel government-friendly outcomes.[71] One Turkish journalist has commented:

> All this has confirmed that, after a dozen years in power, the system Mr. Erdogan established is a textbook case of illiberal democracy—a system whereby the ruler comes to power through elections but is not bound by the rule of law and shows little respect for civil liberties. It is much more similar to Vladimir V. Putin's Russia than the liberal democracies of Western Europe that Turkey hopes to emulate.[72]

Even before the June 2013 protests, domestic and international observers had raised concerns about Erdogan's and the AKP government's level of respect for civil liberties.[73] Although infringement upon press freedom has long been a concern in Turkey, measures taken by authorities in recent years have been widely criticized as unusually severe and ideologically driven. These measures include various means of criminal prosecution or reported intimidation, often under a law on terrorism that many human rights organizations and international observers criticize for being vague and overly broad. A May 2014 mining disaster in the western city of Soma, which resulted in 301 fatalities, raised additional questions in the media regarding the Turkish government's competence and responsiveness to citizens' concerns.

Given the weakening of the military within the political system, some Turks have expressed uncertainty about the extent to which checks and balances in Turkey's government protect secular or nonreligious civic participation and lifestyles from Erdogan's charismatic and Islamic-friendly single-party rule.[74] Since the AKP came to power, the military has reportedly become less scrutinizing of its rising officers' religious backgrounds and views; regulations on the consumption of alcohol have increased; Islamic education has been accorded greater prominence within the public school curriculum; and the wearing of headscarves by women in government buildings, universities, and other public places has gained legal and social acceptance. Such developments, among others, prompted this observation in the Albright-Hadley report:

> To ensure social stability and a democratic trajectory, it is thus incumbent on the new establishment to reassure secular-minded Turks that their way of life has a place in Turkish society, even if secularists failed to do the same for observant Muslims during their long period of ascendancy.[75]

Erdogan and his close advisors have distanced themselves from the Ergenekon and Sledgehammer (*Balyoz*) cases against the military that they formerly backed, now portraying them as primarily Gulen movement-influenced prosecutions. This has led some observers to speculate that Erdogan's actions could open the door for the military to eventually regain a place in Turkey's political sphere.[76] In early 2014, the government abolished the special courts that had heard the military cases, and in June 2014, Turkey's highest criminal court ordered the release and retrial of 230 military officers who had been convicted in the Sledgehammer case in 2012.[77]

Domestic Political and Economic Implications: 2014-2015 Elections and Erdogan's Future

With Turkish presidential and parliamentary elections scheduled for August 2014 and June 2015, respectively, recent controversies and broader concerns influence domestic questions regarding power, constitutional democracy, civil liberties, economic stability and growth, as well as Turkey's regional and global profile. It remains unclear how these developments will ultimately impact Prime Minister Erdogan's hold on the government and overall legacy, and Turkey's relations with the United States. Since the nationwide protests in June 2013, protests have periodically recurred on a smaller scale, leading to speculation over the possibility of larger demonstrations in the event of polarizing outcomes or suspected voting irregularities in coming elections.[78]

On July 1, 2014, Erdogan announced his candidacy in Turkey's first-ever direct presidential election, scheduled for August 2014. Most media sources expect Erdogan to win, especially following local elections in March 2014 indicating that the AKP retained substantial popular appeal.[79] According to one U.S.-based analyst, "Erdogan's electoral strategy envisions strong support among European Turks [who will be able to vote outside of Turkey for the first time] in the first round of voting, and backing from nationalist Kurds in case of a second round. Together, the Turks in Europe and the Kurds could help Erdogan win the 50% of the vote needed to become president."[80] Parliamentary elections are scheduled to take place no later than June 2015.

Much debate focuses on the possibility that Erdogan, if he wins the August 2014 election, might seek to expand and consolidate power in the presidency and maintain control over the AKP and his prime ministerial successor, either formally or informally. For this reason, many observers view the upcoming elections as particularly consequential.[81]

Despite criticism inside and outside of Turkey saying that Erdogan shows insufficient regard for minority rights and views, his government has initiated a peace process with the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK),[82] a political group and militia seeking greater rights for Turkey's approximately 15 million ethnic Kurdish citizens. As mentioned above, Erdogan may be counting on Kurdish votes in upcoming elections, but still may be reluctant to make significant changes to Turkey's political system and society benefitting the Kurds, if at all,

until after the elections, given strong residual Turkish nationalist sentiment and concerns about transnational links between Turkey's Kurds and Kurds in Iraq, Syria, and (to a lesser extent) Iran.

Since 2012, Turkey's economy has grown slowly in comparison with recent years. Additionally, since 2013, questions regarding political stability have combined with other structural factors, including global expectations for a tighter U.S. monetary policy and Turkey's sizeable current account deficit, to weaken the Turkish lira considerably. Turkey's central bank aggressively raised interest rates in January 2014, somewhat quieting—if not eliminating—international investor concerns. To date, current financial concerns have not triggered popular panic on the level of past Turkish experiences with bank troubles and inflation. However, given the growth of the Turkish middle class and standards of living since the AKP took power in 2002, it is unclear how current economic realities and expectations might drive voter participation and attitudes. Over two separate occasions in May and June, the central bank has since lowered the benchmark interest rate by 1.25 percentage points from where it was raised in January, but Erdogan continues to advocate for it to cut rates more sharply. This has led some observers to voice concern at Erdogan's apparent attempts at intervention.[83]

U.S. and European Union Approaches

U.S. officials' ability to influence Turkish domestic developments is unclear. Some observers are urging U.S. policymakers to become more publicly vocal in signaling that what they characterize as authoritarian and demagogic behavior in Turkey may endanger the country's democratic institutions and its relations with the United States.[84] Some who express these views have suggested greater emphasis on human rights and democracy concerns alongside the security and economic dimensions of the bilateral strategic relationship.[85] However, other observers counsel that U.S. policymakers use discretion in communicating concerns regarding rule of law, civil liberties, and political and economic stability in Turkey. Two U.S.-based analysts assert that U.S. positions have limited influence on internal Turkish affairs, and assert that experiences in the past 50 years have shown that the Turkish people "will bristle at U.S. efforts to 'punish' a given Turkish government for decisions Washington thinks are inadvisable."[86]

The Obama Administration appears to be concerned about current developments in Turkey, but may be reluctant to insert itself into the country's domestic affairs during a crucial election season. This may reflect a concern that going beyond rhetorical support for traditional U.S. values such as limited government and freedom of expression has the potential to entangle them in controversies among various individuals and groups vying for power and political survival or advantage. The White House readout of a February 19, 2014, telephone call between President Obama and Erdogan indicates that the President made reference to "the importance of sound policies rooted in the rule of law to reassure the financial markets, nurture a predictable investment environment, strengthen bilateral ties, and benefit the future of Turkey."[87] Some Members of Congress have proposed resolutions in both the House (H.Res. 532) and Senate (S.Res. 403) calling for greater media freedom, and some have asked President Obama to raise concerns regarding rule of law, checks and balances, and civil liberties with Turkey's leaders.[88] In response to questioning at his July 15,

2014, Senate Foreign Relations European Affairs Subcommittee nomination hearing from Senator John McCain, John Bass, the Administration's ambassador-designate for Turkey, acknowledged that recent actions by Erdogan constituted a "drift" in the direction of authoritarianism.

Strategic cooperation between the United States and Turkey has been complicated by a number of issues discussed in this report, and it is unclear whether cooperation is likely to improve in the event of change or uncertainty regarding Turkey's leadership. Turkey's current U.S.-supported efforts to reach political accommodation with its Kurds, although possibly stemming from regional realities that most potential Turkish leaders would likely address, remain strongly associated by most observers with Erdogan. He has demonstrated a personal willingness to initiate and maintain a negotiating process with Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Ocalan.

A variety of European leaders and institutions have voiced concern about recent developments in Turkey. These concerns reflect the dilemmas that backsliding on rule of law and civil liberties could pose for Turkey's prospects of membership in or closer relations with the EU (see Appendix E). In a March 2014 resolution, the European Parliament made a number of points, including the following:

> [Parliament e]xpresses deep concern at the recent developments in Turkey with regard to allegations of high-level corruption; regrets the removal of the prosecutors and police officers in charge of the original investigations, as this goes against the fundamental principle of an independent judiciary and deeply affects the prospects for credible investigations; considers regrettable the serious breakdown of trust between the government, the judiciary, the police and the media; urges the Government of Turkey, therefore, to show full commitment to democratic principles and to refrain from any further interference in the investigation and prosecution of corruption.[89]

The Kurdish Issue

Ethnic Kurds reportedly constitute approximately 18% of Turkey's population, though a number of differing claims exist. Kurds are largely concentrated in urban areas and the relatively impoverished southeastern region of the country, but pockets exist throughout the country. Kurdish reluctance to recognize Turkish state authority—a dynamic that also exists between Kurds and national governments in Iraq, Iran, and Syria—and harsh Turkish measures to quell Kurdish identity- and rights-based claims and demands have fed tensions that have periodically worsened since the foundation of the republic in 1923. Since 1984, the Turkish military has waged an on-and-off struggle to put down a separatist insurgency and urban terrorism campaign by the PKK (whose founder, Abdullah Ocalan, is profiled in Appendix A).[90] The initially secessionist demands of the PKK have since evolved to a less ambitious goal of greater cultural and political autonomy.

The struggle between Turkish authorities and the PKK was most intense during the 1990s, but resumed in 2003 after the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, following an intervening lull. According to the U.S. government, the PKK partially finances its activities through criminal activities, including its operation of a Europe-wide drug trafficking network.[91] The PKK has used safe havens in northern Iraq to coordinate and launch attacks at various points since the end of the 1991 Gulf War. Amid internal conflict in Syria since 2011, the PKK's Syrian sister

organization, the Democratic Union of Syria (PYD), has gained a measure of control over a swath of Kurdish-populated territory near Syria's border with Turkey. This raises questions for Turkey about the possibility of another base of support for PKK training, leadership, and operations.[92]

Turkey's AKP government has acknowledged that the integration of Kurds into Turkish society will require political, cultural, and economic development approaches in addition to the more traditional security-based approach. The Turkish military's approach to neutralizing the PKK has been routinely criticized by Western governments and human rights organizations for being overly hard on ethnic Kurds—thousands have been imprisoned for PKK involvement or sympathies and hundreds of thousands have been displaced.

The AKP has a sizeable constituency in rural Kurdish areas because of its appeal to traditional values. By appealing to common Islamic identity, Erdogan and other government ministers have moved away from the state's past unwillingness to acknowledge the multiethnic nature of Turkey's citizenry. The government has adopted some measures allowing greater use of Kurdish languages in education, election campaigns, and the media.[93] Nevertheless, past AKP efforts aimed at giving greater rights to Kurds and greater normalized status to Kurdish nationalist leaders and former militants were politically undermined by upswings in violence and public manifestations of nationalist pride among ethnic Turks and ethnic Kurds.[94]

PKK DESIGNATIONS BY U.S. GOVERNMENT

Designation	Year
Foreign Terrorist Organization	1997
Specially Designated Global Terrorist	2001
Significant Foreign Narcotics Trafficker	2008

Despite these negative signs, Prime Minister Erdogan publicly revealed in late December 2012 that Turkish intelligence had been conducting negotiations with imprisoned PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan in an attempt to get the PKK to disarm. In late March 2013, Ocalan and other PKK leaders declared a cease-fire, although its durability may depend on the government's ability to persuade the PKK and other Kurds that it sincerely seeks to address the issues of key importance to them. PKK militants who had been withdrawing from Turkey (presumably to northern Iraq) as part of the peace process reportedly stopped doing so in early September 2013.[95] In late September, Erdogan announced a package of domestic reforms that featured measures favoring even greater expression of Kurdish identity and language in Turkish national life, alongside a number of provisions contemplating electoral reform and intending to address some individual liberties and the concerns of other minorities. Kurdish leaders generally acknowledged the reform package as a step in the right direction, but as not going far enough.[96] In June 2014, the Turkish parliament formally adopted Erdogan's peace process approach.

Observers express a range of opinions regarding the advisability and prospects of negotiations, as well as the extent to which Ocalan and the PKK represent Turkey's Kurds. Many observers agree that Erdogan's public acknowledgment of the talks was a bold step that could mobilize broad public support for a deal, but that it also presented a dilemma:

"continuing toward peace will anger Turkey's nationalists; but failing to live up to its agreement could lead to a new wave of Kurdish violence."[97] Some commentators theorize that Erdogan authorized the PKK talks in 2012 to bolster his chances for the presidency. Other theories suggested that Erdogan was trying to defuse potential PKK threats from Syria or to take advantage of intra-Kurdish divisions and Ocalan's personal desire for freedom. In a February 2013 interview with a Turkish journalist, President Obama was quoted as saying, "I applaud Prime Minister Erdogan's efforts to seek a peaceful resolution to a struggle that has caused so much pain and sorrow for the people of Turkey for more than 30 years."[98]

Economy

Overview of Macroeconomic Factors and Trade

The AKP's political successes have been aided considerably by robust Turkish economic growth that was set back only briefly as a result of the 2008-2009 global economic crisis. Growth rates, fueled by diversified Turkish conglomerates (such as Koc and Sabanci) from traditional urban centers as well as "Anatolian tigers" (small- to medium-sized, export-oriented businesses concentrated in central and southern Turkey), were comparable in the past decade to those of China, India, and other major developing economies. A March 2014 analysis stated that Turkey's citizens are 43% better off economically now than when Erdogan became prime minister.[99]

The dependence of Turkey's economy—saddled with a relatively high current account deficit— on foreign capital and exports has led to challenges stemming from the economic slowdown in the European Union, Turkey's main trading partner. According to the Turkish Statistical Institute, growth slowed from 8.8% in 2011 to 2.1% in 2012, but rebounded to 4.0% in 2013.[100] The Turkish central bank's decision to aggressively raise interest rates in January 2014 to strengthen its falling currency (discussed above) has set back growth expectations for 2014, from initial forecasts near 4% to closer to 2-3%.[101] As major elections are held in coming months, questions of political stability could influence economic activity and foreign investment. Some analysts have also raised concerns about companies in the Turkish private sector with significant short-term debt who may face difficulty refinancing given recently-raised rates and dependence on external funding flows.

Some analyses of Turkey's economy assert that the "low-hanging fruit"—numerous large infrastructure projects and the scaling up of low-technology manufacturing—that largely drove the previous decade's economic success following a major 2000-2001 domestic financial crisis, in tandem with International Monetary Fund-guided reforms, is unlikely to produce similar results going forward.[102] Structural economic goals for Turkey include incentivizing greater research and development to encourage Turkish technological innovation and global competitiveness, harmonizing the educational system with future workforce needs, encouraging domestic savings, and increasing and diversifying energy supplies to meet ever-growing consumption demands.

Through monetary and fiscal policy and various regulatory practices, Turkish policymakers may seek to attract more equity and foreign direct investment inflows and fewer short-term loans and portfolio inflows. The former generally are accompanied by skill and technology transfers, while the latter are more prone to sudden reversal.[103]

Table 2. U.S. Merchandise Trade with Turkey ($ in millions)

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Exports	6,500	9,960	7,090	10,550	14,660	12,580	12,070
Imports	4,600	4,640	3,660	4,200	5,220	6,230	6,670
Total Volume	11,100	14,600	10,750	14,750	19,880	18,810	18,740

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Foreign Trade Division, U.S. Census Bureau.

The European Union is Turkey's main trading partner by far, while the United States is Turkey's fourth-largest trading partner (behind the EU, Russia, and China). Turkey is the United States's 34th-largest trading partner.[104] Though Turkish pursuit of new markets since 1992 has reduced trade with the EU (from nearly 50% to less than 40%) and with the United States (from 9% to around 5%) as a percentage of Turkey's total trade, overall trade volume with both is generally trending upward.[105]

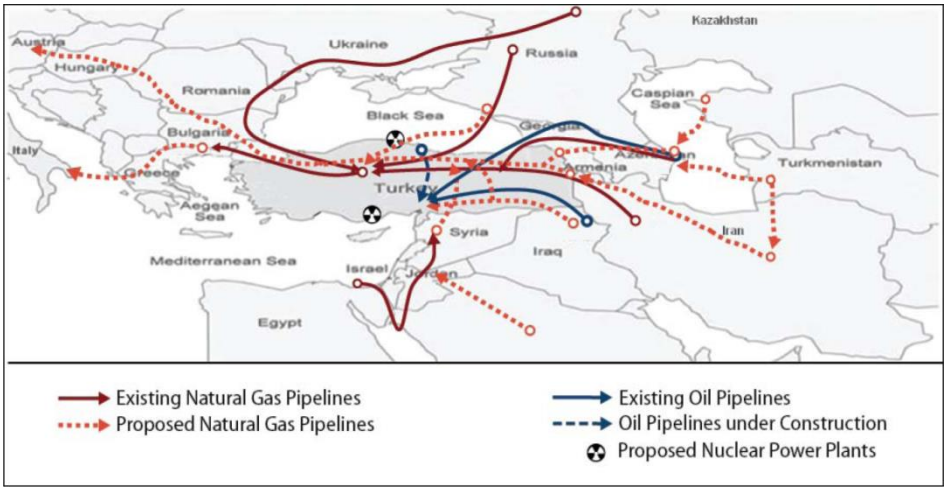
Despite concerns by U.S. senior business executives regarding Turkey's legal and regulatory system and other issues according to a 2011 survey, 65% of these businesspeople indicated willingness to invest further in Turkey. Additionally, 88% advocated more U.S. government engagement with Turkey's government to "improve the investment, market access, and operating climate for US companies in Turkey."[106]

Energy Issues[107]

Turkey's importance as a regional energy transport hub elevates its increasing relevance for world energy markets while also providing Turkey with opportunities to satisfy its own growing domestic energy needs.[108] Turkey's location has made it a key country in the U.S. and European effort to establish a southern corridor for natural gas transit from diverse sources.[109] However, as one analyst writes, "Turkey's ability to effectively play the energy card to further its foreign policy goals is limited by the extent to which the Turkish economy itself is dependent on energy imports, particularly oil and natural gas from Russia and Iran."[110] Since 1991, trade with Russia as a percentage of Turkey's total trade has more than doubled—from 5% to over 11%—largely due to energy imports. Additionally, a subsidiary of Rosatom (Russia's state-run nuclear company) has entered into an agreement to build and operate what would be Turkey's first nuclear power plant[111] in Akkuyu near the Mediterranean port of Mersin, with construction projected to begin in 2016. Iran is also a major source of Turkish energy (see "Iran" below).

However, in late 2011, Turkey and Azerbaijan reached deals for the transit of natural gas to and through Turkey[112] via a proposed Trans-Anatolian Pipeline (TANAP), with gas projected to begin to flow by 2018. The deals have attracted attention as a potentially significant precedent for transporting non-Russian, non-Iranian energy to Europe. On June 28, 2013, the consortium that controls the Azerbaijani gas fields selected to have TANAP connect with a proposed Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) to Italy.[113] The consortium did not rule out subsequently adding a connection with a proposed Nabucco West pipeline to Austria at a later date when more natural gas is developed, but such an eventuality may be less likely in light of the selection of TAP. Turkey has also sought to increase energy imports from Iraq, including through dealings with the Kurdistan Regional Government involving northern Iraqi oil and gas reserves and pipelines that have generated friction with Iraq's central government (see "Iraq" below). Nevertheless, Turkey also agreed in late 2011 to permit Russia's South Stream

pipeline to traverse its Black Sea territorial waters to Bulgaria (from which point the pipeline is proposed to extend through the northern Balkans to Italy), reportedly in exchange for discounts to Turkey on purchases of Russian natural gas.[114]



Source: Turkish Economic Ministry, adapted by CRS.
Note: All locations are approximate.

Figure 3. Major Pipelines Traversing Turkey and Possible Nuclear Power Plants.

KEY FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

For information and analysis of foreign policy issues other than the ones below (including European Union, Cyprus, Armenia, and others), see Appendix E.

Israel

In the 1990s and early 2000s, Turkey and Israel enjoyed close military ties that fostered cooperation in other areas, including a free trade agreement signed in 2000. In recent years, however, Turkey-Israel relations have worsened. This downturn can be attributed to a number of factors, ranging from Turkish domestic political changes to specific incidents that increased tensions. In terms of change within Turkey, the slide in Turkey-Israel relations reflected the military's declining role in Turkish society, and the greater empowerment of Prime Minister Erdogan and other AKP and national leaders. These leaders seem to view criticism of Israel as both merited and popular domestically and regionally. They often characterize Israeli security measures in the West Bank and especially the Gaza Strip as institutionalized mistreatment of Palestinians. Turkish leaders also have argued that Israel relies too heavily on military capabilities and deterrence (including its undeclared but universally acknowledged nuclear weapons arsenal) in addressing regional problems.

One of the key events that marked the decline in relations was the May 2010 Gaza flotilla incident (mentioned above). Partly to register dissatisfaction with the September 2011 report

issued by a U.N. Secretary-General panel of inquiry on the flotilla incident,[115] Turkey downgraded diplomatic relations with Israel to the second secretary level.[116] Turkey's demand for an apology from Israel in connection with the incident was met in March 2013, in a U.S.-facilitated exchange (discussed further below) that was intended to repair the Turkey-Israel rift. Before this, Erdogan prominently registered his disapproval of Israel's military operations in Gaza in December 2008-January 2009, reportedly angry that then Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert did not inform him of Israel's military plans during Olmert's visit to Ankara shortly before the conflict.

Turkey's deteriorated relationship with Israel has presented problems for the United States because of the U.S. desire to coordinate its regional policies with two of its regional allies. U.S. officials seem to have concerns about the repercussions Turkey-Israel tensions could have for regional order and the alignment of U.S. and Turkish interests. This risk could be especially high if Turkey-Israel disagreements on Palestinian issues result in future high-profile incidents. Though Turkey publicly supports a negotiated two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it backs Palestinian pursuit of United Nations membership and Fatah-Hamas reconciliation, and often criticizes the U.S.-led approach to the peace process. Erdogan also maintains cordial ties with Hamas. In January 2012, he introduced Hamas's prime minister in Gaza, Ismail Haniyeh, as the "elected prime minister of Palestine" at a meeting of AKP parliamentarians in Ankara. During the July 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict, Erdogan has routinely criticized Israel, and Turkey has possibly been involved in international mediation efforts on behalf of Hamas.[117]

Some Members of Congress have shown concern over problematic Turkey-Israel relations.[118] In early 2011, a *New York Times Magazine* article quoted a Turkish diplomat responsible for U.S. relations as saying, "We're getting a lot of flak from the Hill. We used to get hit by the Greek lobby and the Armenian lobby, but we were protected by the Jewish lobby. Now the Jewish lobby is coming after us as well."[119] A U.S.-based analyst who focuses specifically on Israel and Turkey commented in March 2013 that "with the establishment of an Israel-Hellenic caucus in Congress and arms deals with Turkey either being held up or not being introduced into committee at all, there is no doubt in my mind that Turkey's feud with Israel is adversely impacting its interests in the U.S."[120]

In March 2013, it appeared that Turkey and Israel might be moving toward some sort of rapprochement. During President Obama's trip to Israel, he and Secretary of State John Kerry facilitated a telephone conversation between Erdogan and Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu.[121] Netanyahu apologized to Erdogan for any operational mistakes by Israel during the flotilla incident "that might have led to the loss of life or injury" and pledged to conclude an agreement on "compensation/nonliability."[122] The apology, on top of other signs that Turkey-Israel relations were slightly improving,[123] led to widespread speculation regarding how much and how fast the two countries' former closeness on military, intelligence, and political matters might be restored.[124] Turkey's energy minister, Taner Yildiz, has publicly contemplated the possibility of Turkish consumption and transport of natural gas from Israel's new offshore discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean.[125]

However, subsequent developments indicate that substantive rapprochement might be delayed or put off indefinitely. Erdogan's comments (referenced above) holding Israel responsible for the July 2013 military takeover in Egypt and the reports (referenced above) regarding Turkey's alleged disclosure to Iran of the identities of Israeli intelligence sources have complicated the public dimension of efforts to improve Turkey-Israel relations. Turkey's

apparent support for Hamas and criticism of Israel during the July 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict may exacerbate these complications. Though there have been indications from Erdogan that Israel-Turkey relations could be normalized some time in 2014,[126] debate persists on the extent to which rapprochement is likely, and how it might take place.

Syria[127]

Prime Minister Erdogan and Foreign Minister Davutoglu initially tried to use their then-good relations with Syrian President Bashar alAsad to help broker a peaceful end to the budding Syrian insurgency in 2011. When that failed to moderate Asad's approach to the opposition, they changed tack and adopted a strong stance against the Syrian regime. According to one Turkish journalist:

> In the summer of 2011, Turkey decided to bring down the Baath regime in Damascus and sought ways to implement its decision as much as its capacity allowed. Turkey did everything it could with the exception of direct military intervention in Syria. It is not a secret that Turkey sponsored the initial organization and coordination of the Syrian opposition, opened its territory to the use of the opposition military forces and provided logistical support to them.[128]

In the two years that followed, Turkey coordinated its efforts closely with other countries— including the United States, other NATO allies, and Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia and Qatar—that also provide political, financial, and/or material support to the opposition. It outspokenly advocated for U.N.-backed intervention and—reportedly—has helped funnel assistance to armed Syrian rebel groups, possibly including Al Qaeda-linked Jabhat al Nusra, a U.S.-government designated terrorist organization.[129] As the conflict appeared to exacerbate the longstanding regional Sunni-Shia rivalry between Arab Gulf states supporting the opposition and Iran, which backs the Asad regime, some observers began associating Turkey with these tensions.

Absent a clear endgame in Syria, Turkey focused increasingly on minimizing spillover effects. After some cross-border artillery exchanges in late 2012, Turkey convened consultations with its NATO allies under Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty.[130] Although most NATO member states appeared to oppose military intervention in Syria, allied leaders gave approval in December 2012 for the deployment of six Patriot missile batteries to areas near Turkey's southeastern border with Syria.[131]

NATO's Patriot deployment presumably defends against potential Syrian Scud missile and/or chemical weapons attacks, as Turkey does not have a missile defense capability of its own.[132] In addition to the two batteries and operational teams contributed by the United States to a Turkish military base overlooking the city of Gaziantep, Germany and the Netherlands have each contributed two Patriot batteries and operational teams to bases near the population centers of Karamanmaras and Adana, respectively. The batteries reportedly became operational, under NATO command and control, in late January and early February 2013.[133] Cross-border fire has generally decreased since then. However, potential infiltration of Turkey by militants remains of concern in light of occasional attacks inside Turkey—

including in front of the U.S. embassy in Ankara on February 1, 2013.[134] NATO and allied leaders have asserted that the Patriot batteries are deployed for defensive purposes only.[135]

As referenced above, possible Turkish expectations of imminent U.S.-led military action in Syria appear to have dissipated with President Obama's acceptance in September 2013 of a U.N. Security Council-backed agreement regarding chemical weapons removal.[136] Turkey continues to politically engage key regional and international stakeholders in hopes of influencing outcomes in its favor. Turkey also appears to be attentively assessing developments in northern Syria involving the Kurdish PYD (the Syrian sister organization of the PKK), which seems to have obtained a degree of territorial autonomy, and jihadist groups—particularly the Islamic State (also known as ISIL).[137] Some reports indicate that, in response to concerns from the United States in particular, Turkey is more actively seeking to monitor, limit, or deny the use of its territory by Syrian oppositionists affiliated with jihadist movements.[138] In his July 15, 2014, nomination hearing, U.S. ambassador-designate for Turkey John Bass said:

> we've had very good cooperation in recent months in addressing some of the consequences of the conflict in Syria and the increase in fighters' money exploiting Turkey's geography in and out of those conflict zones. Our belief is that the Turks understand this is an acute threat for all of us and we've seen some important steps from them to address some of the issues that were potentially making their geography more attractive.[139]

However, some reports suggest that foreign fighters may continue to use Turkish territory for transit to Syria,[140] and that hundreds of Turkish nationals had joined armed Syrian opposition groups.[141] In March 2014, some media reports claimed that Turkish personnel may have either supported or permitted Syrian oppositionists (including jihadists) to use Turkish territory to capture the largely ethnic Armenian town of Kassab, Syria, just over the border near the Mediterranean coast.[142] Turkey denied any role. The Syrian military recaptured the town in June.

Syrian refugees present an ongoing and difficult dilemma for Turkey. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), as of July 25, 2014, the Turkish government is operating 22 government-run refugee camps. Refugees are residing in the camps and in urban areas outside the camps. The total number of refugees in Syria who are registered or awaiting registration is now estimated by UNHCR to be close to 808,600 and is projected to increase.[143] The Regional Response Plan, one of two U.N. appeals focused on the Syrian humanitarian crisis, seeks donor contributions to meet protection and assistance needs of Syrian refugees in Turkey.[144] Registration of refugees and camp management are coordinated by the Turkish government's Disaster Relief Agency (AFAD), with operational support from the Turkish Red Crescent and other organizations. UNHCR provides technical advice and assistance.

Various reports reflect a widely held assessment among observers that Turkey has managed so far to avoid systemic threats to its economic well-being from the refugee flows,[145] but it has reportedly shouldered a total cost of more than $2.5 billion,[146] with only a small percentage of that covered by international assistance. Over the past year, social and political costs have reportedly emerged—especially tensions between Sunni refugees and Turkish citizens of Arab Alawite descent in the border province of Hatay.[147] Turks

increasingly appear to acknowledge that as the conflict continues, refugees may remain for several years, probably requiring policies for their employment and education. Already, refugees are affecting prices and wages in Turkish towns near the Syrian border, with opinion polls reflecting widespread opposition to continued refugee inflows.[148]

In July 2014, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 2165, which permits humanitarian aid for those affected by Syria's civil war to enter Syrian territory from two Turkish border crossings (along with two other crossings – one with Jordan, one with Iraq) irrespective of the Syrian government's approval. Shipments from Turkey have begun.[149]

Iraq

For Turkey, strong governance in Iraq to counter resurgent trends of violence and instability has been important due to Turkish interests in denying the PKK use of Iraqi territory for its safe havens; discouraging the cross-border spread of Kurdish separatist sentiment; countering Iranian influence; and accessing Iraq's potentially lucrative export markets and ample energy resources (which could eventually lessen Turkey's dependence on Iranian and Russian energy imports). Starting in late 2007, U.S. willingness to provide greater counterterrorism support to Turkey in its struggle against the PKK helped move U.S.-Turkey priorities in Iraq toward greater alignment after fallout from the U.S.-led 2003 invasion (discussed above).

Without a U.S. military mission in Iraq, Turkey's influence appears to be more significant. Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki, a Shiite, has accused Turkey of undue interference in Iraqi internal affairs. This is likely due to Turkey's increasingly close economic—especially energy— ties to the autonomous Kurdish Regional Government (KRG) in northern Iraq, as well as support that Turkey has provided to Sunni Arab Iraqi leaders.

Observers debate the extent to which Turkish energy dealings with the KRG might enable greater Kurdish autonomy or endanger Iraq's unity. In May 2013, Erdogan announced that a Turkish state-owned company and ExxonMobil would engage in oil exploration with the KRG in northern Iraq.[150] In June, the KRG announced a reportedly Turkey-approved plan to complete a new pipeline that would feed into an existing Iraqi pipeline.[151] Subsequent reports have discussed the possible construction of a second oil pipeline and a natural gas pipeline over the next few years. The Maliki government claims that Turkey-KRG dealings violate Iraq's sovereignty, with disputes ongoing over questions of constitutionality and revenue-sharing.[152] ExxonMobil's and Chevron's reported involvement in northern Iraqi exploration may complicate reported efforts by U.S. officials to discourage Turkey from provoking Maliki, even as his rule and worsening ethnic tensions and sectarian violence raise questions about the viability of Iraq's unity, democracy, and constitution. Turkey renewed high-level political exchanges with the Maliki government in 2013 as part of an apparent effort to reassure the United States and other regional actors that Turkey seeks to promote stability, not undermine it.

The new KRG pipeline began sending oil to Turkey's port of Ceyhan in December 2013. Media reports indicate that a number of tankers left port in search of buyers in June 2014. One shipment was reportedly purchased at the Israeli port of Ashkelon, with the proceeds reportedly deposited in a KRG account in Turkey. However, the other tankers—including one

that was anchored off the U.S. Gulf Coast in early August 2014 while facing possible U.S. government seizure if it entered U.S. territorial waters—have encountered difficulties because Iraq's central government has threatened legal action against any buyer.[153] It is unclear whether these transactions are a prelude to KRG attempts to gain independence following Kurdish establishment of control over the city of Kirkuk and two major nearby oil fields in June and July 2014, in the wake of the Islamic State's territorial gains in northwestern Iraq at the expense of the Iraqi army. Another possibility is that KRG leaders are seeking negotiating leverage with Baghdad for a deal resolving oil revenue disputes.

Iran

Turkey seems to be seeking a balance between helping the United States contain Iranian regional influence and maintaining relatively normal political and economic ties with Iran, especially given Turkey's dependence on Iranian energy sources as described below. Differing Iranian and Turkish interests in the region, particularly with regard to Syria and Iraq, have led to increased competition for influence. Turkey and Iran have also competed for the admiration of Arab populations on issues such as championing the Palestinian cause. Nevertheless, Turkey has been supportive of the November 2013 international interim agreement on Iran's nuclear program, perhaps in anticipation that potentially more cordial U.S.-Iran relations will reduce constraints on Turkey from increasing trade with Iran.

Turkey agreed in September 2011 to host a U.S. forward-deployed early warning radar at the Kurecik base near the eastern Turkish city of Malatya as part of NATO's ALTBMD system. Most analysts interpret this system as an attempt to counter potential ballistic missile threats to Europe from Iran.[154] An unnamed senior U.S. Administration official was quoted as calling this agreement "probably the biggest strategic decision between the United States and Turkey in the past 15 or 20 years."[155] Some Iranian officials, after initially expressing displeasure with Turkey's decision, stated that Iran would target the radar in Turkey in the event of a U.S. or Israeli airstrike on Iran. During their visit to Tehran in late March 2012, Erdogan and Davutoglu reportedly said on Iranian television that Turkey could have the radar dismantled within six months if "conditions Turkey had put forward to host the radar are not respected"[156]—a likely reference to Turkish leaders' public insistence that data collected from the radar are not to be shared with Israel.[157]

Following some reports that Iran might be assisting the PKK, Iran and Turkey publicly committed in October 2011 to cooperating against the PKK and the Iranian Kurdish separatist organization Party of Free Life of Kurdistan (PJAK) that also maintains safe havens in northern Iraq. At least one analyst predicts that Iran might increase its influence with Iraq's central government and with Iran-friendly Iraqi Kurdish groups to counter Turkey's growing political and economic leverage in Kurdish-controlled areas of northern Iraq.[158]

According to figures provided on the website of the U.S. Energy Information Administration, Iran provides approximately 44% of Turkey's oil imports and 19% of its natural gas imports. Turkey's announcement that it would reduce Iranian oil imports helped it gain an exemption from the U.S. sanctions that took effect in June 2012. Media and official attention in late 2012 and early 2013 focused on a "gold-for-energy" trading practice between Turkey and Iran that was characterized by many as helping Iran circumvent newly instituted international restrictions on access to the global financial system.[159] However, a new U.S. law

took effect in July 2013 specifically sanctioning the provision of precious metals to Iran (Section 1245 of P.L. 112-239, National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2013, enacted January 2, 2013).[160] Perhaps as a consequence, reports in early 2013 indicated that Turkey may have been reducing gold-for-energy trades with Iran,[161] turning largely to barter-style arrangements permitting Iran to receive goods as a result of its energy trade with Turkey.[162] Additional U.S. and international concerns about Iran's possible use of Turkish companies or institutions to finance and supply its nuclear program and avoid the impact of sanctions largely focus on Turkey's legal standards[163] and on the reported recent profusion of Iranian-financed firms in Turkey.[164]

In April 2013, 47 Members of Congress sent a letter raising many of the concerns described in the previous paragraph with Secretary of State John Kerry and Secretary of the Treasury Jack Lew, and seeking further information from them.[165] It is unclear whether or how Turkish companies might change their trading practices with Iran in anticipation of potential sanctions relief following the international interim agreement on Iran's nuclear program that took effect in January 2014.

The Crimea Issue—Russia and Ukraine[166]

Russia's March 2014 unilateral annexation of the Crimean peninsula from the Ukraine (through the instrumentality of a Crimean referendum vote to join Russia) raises a number of concerns for Turkey, including the following:

- Increased uncertainty regarding regional security among fellow Black Sea littoral states to Turkey's north at a time when Turkey's southern border (Syria and Iraq) faces major security and refugee crises.
- Possible "collateral damage" to Turkey's security and economic well-being from great power disputes (United States, Russia, European Union) from which it may be excluded.
- Return of historical concerns about Russian regional dominance and disregard for neighbors' sovereignty, heightened by Turkey's energy dependence on Russia (which provides approximately 58% of Turkey's natural gas imports and 10% of its oil imports[167]—also see "Energy Issues" above).
- Potential challenges in managing non-littoral countries' (including the United States and other NATO allies) naval access to the Black Sea.[168]
- How to address the rights and demands of Crimean Tatars, who make up approximately 12% of Crimea's population; largely favor Ukrainian sovereignty over Crimea; and share historical, ethnic, religious, and linguistic ties with Turks.

Although the medium- and long-term implications of Crimea's annexation and the Ukraine crisis are unclear, these developments could increase Turkey's significance as a political and security actor and as an energy transit corridor. They could also lead Turkey to newly calibrate how its interests might influence the nature and extent of its closeness with a number of actors, including the United States, other NATO allies, the European Union, and/or Russia—possibly influencing Turkey's stances on a number of other issues.[169]

POSSIBLE U.S. POLICY OPTIONS AND AREAS OF CONCERN

Although U.S. and Turkish interests and policies intersect in many respects, Turkey's increased regional influence and moves toward military and economic self-reliance have decreased its dependence on the United States. Still, the appeal of U.S. and Western power, prestige, values, and military technology might currently outstrip that of potential competitors.

Members of Congress, through active inquiry into and possible coordination with Obama Administration positions on Turkey, and their own engagement on Turkey-related issues, can consider how various options might serve U.S. interests. One U.S. analyst wrote in December 2011:

> Despite record levels of communication and travel between top leaders in Ankara and Washington, the societal and institutional connections are still in need of revitalization and strengthening…. [C]oordination and policy on Turkey continues to affect vital interests throughout Washington, which ideally must go beyond the administration to the Hill and society at large even if there is short-term turbulence.[170]

Table 3. Significant U.S.-Origin Arms Transfers or Possible Arms Transfers to Turkey (congressional notifications since 2006)

Amount/Description	FMS or DCS	Year			Primary Contractor (s)	Estimated Cost
		Cong. Notice	Contract	Delivery		
100 F-35A Joint Strike Fighter aircraft	DCS	2006		2017-2025 (expected if contract signed)	Lockheed Martin	$11billion-$15 billion
30 F-16C Block 50 Fighter aircraft and associated equipment	FMS	2006	2009	2012 (estimated complete)	Consortium (Lockheed Martin, Raytheon, and others)	$1.8 billion
48 AGM-84H SLAM-ER Air-surface missiles	FMS	2006	2006	2012 (24 estimated)	Boeing	$162 million
105 AIM-9X SIDEWINDER Air-air missiles (SRAAM)	FMS	2007		2008 (127 estimated - 2012 notice listed below)	Raytheon	$71 million
51 Block II Tactical HARPOON Anti-ship missiles	FMS	2007	2008 (for at least 4)	2011 (4 estimated)	McDonnell Douglas (Boeing)	$159 million
100 MK-54 MAKO Torpedoes	FMS	2007	2009	2011-2013 (75 estimated)	Raytheon	$105 million
30 AAQ-33 SNIPER and AN/AAQ-13 LANTIRN Aircraft electro-optical systems (targeting and navigation pods)	FMS	2008	2009	2012 (30 estimated)	Lockheed Martin	$200 million
6 MK 41 Vertical Launch Systems for Ship-air missiles	FMS	2008	Signed	2011 (3 estimated)	Lockheed Martin	$227 million
107 AIM-120C-7 Air-air missiles (AMRAAM)	FMS	2008	Signed	2013 (25 estimated)	Raytheon	$157 million

Table 3. (Continued)

Amount/Description	FMS or DCS	Year			Primary Contractor (s)	Estimated Cost
		Cong. Notice	Contract	Delivery		
400 RIM-162 Ship-air missiles (ESSM)	DCS	2009		2011-2013 (142 estimated)	Raytheon	$300 million
72 PATRIOT Advanced Capability Missiles (PAC- 3), 197 PATRIOT Guidance Enhanced Missiles, and associated equipment	FMS	2009			Raytheon and Lockheed Martin	$4 billion
14 CH-47F CHINOOK Helicopters	FMS	2009	2011 (for 6)	2014 (expected)	Boeing	$1.2 billion
3 AH-1W SUPER COBRA Attack Helicopters	FMS	2011		2012	N/A (from U.S. Marine Corps inventory)	$111 million
117 AIM-9X-2 SIDEWINDER Block II Air-air missiles (SRAAM) and associated equipment	FMS	2012		(2007 notice listed above)	Raytheon	$140 million
48 MK-48 Mod 6 Advanced Technology All-Up-Round (AUR) Warshot torpedoes and associated equipment	FMS	2014			Raytheon and Lockheed Martin	$170 million

Source: Defense Security Cooperation Agency, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Arms Transfer Database, *Defense News*, *Hurriyet Daily News*, Global Security.

Notes: All figures and dates are approximate; blank entries indicate that data is unknown or not applicable. FMS refers to "Foreign Military Sales" contemplated between the U.S. government and Turkey, while DCS refers to "Direct Commercial Sales" contemplated between private U.S. companies and Turkey.

Influencing Regional Change and Promoting Stability

Turkey is likely to play a role on key regional security and political issues. In partnering with Turkey to influence regional developments and promote stability, the following options are available for Members of Congress and Obama Administration officials to adopt or continue:

- Determine how to encourage improvement in Turkey's relations with Israel.
- Determine the proper nature and extent of bilateral and NATO military and intelligence cooperation, including joint use of Turkish bases and territory, as well as information sharing to assist in countering the PKK and in facilitating interdiction of illegal arms shipments from other countries or non-state actors.
- Determine whether and how to encourage Turkish influence in Syria and Iraq, and how to link any such influence to regional political, security, and economic order.
- Determine whether and how to coordinate with Turkey to impose and enforce unilateral, multilateral, or international sanctions that have the potential to effectively weaken or change the behavior of regimes or other actors contravening international laws and norms. Examples include the Iranian regime, the Asad regime, and jihadist opposition groups in Syria.

- Determine whether and how U.S. officials and lawmakers should encourage further liberalization and reform in Turkey's domestic arena, given the influence that domestic developments may have on U.S.-Turkey cooperation and regional security.

Arms Sales and Military/Security Assistance

Turkey continues to seek advanced U.S. military equipment (i.e., fighter aircraft and helicopters), and its defense industry participates in joint ventures with the United States (e.g., on the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter). However, as exemplified by Turkey's possible deal with Chinese government-owned CPMIEC on air and missile defense (see "China-Turkey Air and Missile Defense Cooperation?" below), Turkey's growing defense industry appears increasingly willing to engage in arms import-export transactions or joint military exercises with non-NATO countries, such as China, Russia, Pakistan, and South Korea. This suggests that Turkey is interested in maximizing its acquisition of technology, diversifying its defense relationships, and decreasing its dependence on the United States. It is unclear how Turkey's procurement relationships with other countries might affect the availability of U.S. arms to Turkey

Turkey had reportedly been particularly interested since 2008 in acquiring armed drone aircraft from the United States to use against the PKK.[171] In light of recent reports, it is unclear to what extent Turkey's aspirations to acquire U.S. drones might persist despite possible informal Congressional rejection of Turkey's request in connection with allegations that Turkey disclosed the identities of Israeli intelligence sources to Iran.[172] The Obama Administration redeployed four unarmed U.S. Predator drones from Iraq to Turkey in late 2011 before the end of the U.S. military mission in Iraq—apparently so that the Predators could continue flying surveillance missions in northern Iraq in support of Turkey's efforts to counter the PKK.[173] It is unclear how Turkey's ongoing negotiations with the PKK may affect its plans to procure drones and other military equipment.

Table 4. Recent U.S. Foreign Assistance to Turkey ($ in millions)

Account	FY 2010	FY 2011	FY 2012	FY 2013	FY2014 Request	FY2015 Request
International Military Education and Training (IMET)	5.0	4.0	4.0	3.4	3.3	3.3
International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLE)	—	0.5	0.5	—	—	
Nonproliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining, and Related Programs (NADR)	3.0	1.4	1.1	0.9	0.8	1.5
Total	**8.0**	**5.9**	**5.6**	**4.3**	**4.2**	**4.8**

Source: U.S. Department of State.
Note: All amounts are approximate.

U.S. military and security assistance programs for Turkey are designed to cultivate closeness in relationships and practices between Turkish military officers and security

officials and their U.S. counterparts. These programs also seek to counter terrorist and criminal networks that are active in the region, including those which historically have operated within and across Turkey's borders.[174] In April 2013, Turkish police stated that in February they had detained conspirators in potential Al Qaeda-linked terrorist plots against the U.S. embassy in Ankara and two other sites.[175]

Possible "Armenian Genocide Resolution"

Congress's involvement on Turkey-Armenia issues has the potential to strongly influence U.S.-Turkey relations. On April 10, 2014, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to report S.Res. 410 for consideration by the full Senate. The language of S.Res. 410 characterizes actions of the Ottoman Empire against Armenians during World War I as genocide. It is unclear whether the Senate will vote on the proposed resolution. In 1975 (H.J.Res. 148) and 1984 (H.J.Res. 247), the House passed proposed joint resolutions that referred to "victims of genocide" of Armenian ancestry from 1915 and 1915-1923, respectively.[176] Neither proposed joint resolution came to a vote in the Senate. A number of other proposed resolutions characterizing these World War I-era events as genocide have been reported by various congressional committees (see Appendix F for a list). Moreover, President Ronald Reagan referred to a "genocide of the Armenians" during a Holocaust Remembrance Day speech in 1981.[177]

In response to a March 2010 vote in the House Foreign Affairs Committee to report a proposed resolution on the subject (H.Res. 252) for consideration by the full House, Turkey recalled its ambassador from the United States for one month, and at least one prominent AKP lawmaker reportedly warned that "the relationship would be downgraded on every level" in the event of House passage of the resolution. This warning was commonly interpreted as including a threat to curtail, at least partially or temporarily, U.S. access to Turkish bases and territory for transporting non-lethal cargo to missions in Iraq and Afghanistan.[178]

Although Turkish officials voiced displeasure at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's action on April 10, on April 23—the eve of the annual remembrance day for the events in question— Prime Minister Erdogan made a speech that included the following statements:

> In Turkey, expressing different opinions and thoughts freely on the events of 1915 is the requirement of a pluralistic perspective as well as of a culture of democracy and modernity….
>
> Nevertheless, using the events of 1915 as an excuse for hostility against Turkey and turning this issue into a matter of political conflict is inadmissible….
>
> It is our hope and belief that the peoples of an ancient and unique geography, who share similar customs and manners will be able to talk to each other about the past with maturity and to remember together their losses in a decent manner. And it is with this hope and belief that we wish that the Armenians who lost their lives in the context of the early twentieth century rest in peace, and we convey our condolences to their grandchildren.[179]

U.S. and EU officials both welcomed the speech as a positive step and expressed hope that it would help lead to additional progress toward Turkish-Armenian reconciliation.[180]

Advocates of recognizing a genocide are to commemorate the event's 100th anniversary in 2015. In addition to past statements or actions by U.S. policymakers (as described above), at least 20 countries other than Armenia have recognized the Ottoman-era deaths as genocide in some way, including 11 of the 28 EU member states.[181]

Bilateral Trade Promotion

Although successive U.S. Administrations have cited the importance of increased trade with Turkey, and the Obama Administration has reemphasized this in articulating its vision for a multifaceted bilateral strategic relationship,[182] it is unclear how effective government efforts to promote U.S.-Turkey trade can be. Bilateral trade has expanded in recent years, although the gap (in favor of the United States) has widened since 2009 both in actual terms and in percentage terms.[183] The U.S. government has designated Turkey as a priority market under the National Export Initiative and the interagency Trade Policy Coordination Committee has developed an Export Enhancement Strategy for Turkey.[184] On its side, the Turkish Ministry of Economy has identified six U.S. states as the focus of its efforts to increase bilateral trade: California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois, and Georgia.[185]

Turkish officials have occasionally proposed a U.S.-Turkey free or preferential trade agreement or U.S. legislation establishing qualified industrial zones (QIZs) in Turkey without success.[186] Some policymakers and observers claim that even if past economic conditions may have limited U.S. trade with Turkey, recent growth in Turkish consumer demand, quality of products and services, and global competitiveness and brand recognition have increased Turkey's value as an import source, target market, and place of investment for U.S. companies.[187]

With U.S. and EU officials in the process of negotiating a possible Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), some analysts and advocates have called for Turkey to be included in whatever discussions may occur.[188] In October 2013, Turkey's official media agency quoted the chairman of a prominent Turkish business confederation as saying that Speaker of the House John Boehner agreed in private meetings that Turkey's exclusion from a potential TTIP would be unfair.[189] Because of its customs union with the EU, analysts conclude that Turkey would—absent an agreement with the United States or EU to the contrary—be required to comply with all the trade obligations of a potential TTIP without gaining any of the direct benefits.[190] Some analysts estimate possible consequences to Turkey to include a 2.5% (roughly $20 billion) long-term loss in national income, and the loss of close to 95,000 jobs.[191] Although a parallel trade deal with Turkey would therefore not be necessary for the United States to gain preferential access to Turkey's market, proponents of a U.S.-Turkey trade agreement argue that it would be important in reinforcing overall bilateral relations and in anchoring Turkey's ties with the West.[192] It is unclear to what extent the technical complexity of a U.S.-EU trade negotiation may raise difficulties for Turkey's participation in the process.

During Prime Minister Erdogan's May 2013 visit to Washington, DC, Vice President Joe Biden was quoted as saying at a U.S. Chamber of Commerce meeting that Erdogan and President Obama "had agreed to begin efforts for a Free Trade Agreement."[193] However, one

analyst has written that because of potential obstacles, including probable stances "by the Armenian and Greek lobbies against a free trade agreement with Turkey, one cannot be too sanguine about the chances of passage in Congress of a free trade agreement with Turkey, even with the President's influence."[194]

CONCLUSION

Turkey's importance to the United States may have increased relative to previous eras of U.S.-Turkey cooperation because of Turkey's geopolitical importance, growing economy, and greater foreign policy assertiveness. Congressional action on arms sales, a potential free trade agreement, or a possible "Armenian genocide resolution" could have implications for the bilateral alliance, particularly if Members of Congress link their stances on these issues to U.S.-Turkey tensions or disagreements over Israel, other Middle East-related issues, or Chinese-Turkish defense industrial cooperation.

The positions that Members of Congress take on specific issues concerning Turkey—including defense cooperation, trade promotion, and Turkish domestic developments—will shape perceptions of U.S. priorities at a critical time for global and regional stability and for the Turkish republic's political and constitutional evolution. This could influence Turkish leaders' future foreign policy rhetoric, decisions, and alignments, which in turn will likely have implications for regional security and for Turkey's EU accession prospects. Congressional positions could also have some influence on Turkey's commitment to civilian-led, democratic government that enshrines individual, media, and minority rights; rule of law; and due process.

APPENDIX A. PROFILES OF KEY FIGURES IN TURKEY

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan

Prime Minister Erdogan (pronounced *air-doe-wan*) was born in Istanbul in 1954 and spent much of his childhood in his family's ancestral hometown of Rize on the Black Sea coast. He and his family returned to Istanbul for his teenage years, and he attended a religious *imam hatip* school. In the 1970s, Erdogan studied business at what is today Marmara University, played soccer semi-professionally, and became politically active with the National Salvation Party, led by the pioneering Turkish Islamist figure (and eventual prime minister) Necmettin Erbakan. After the military banned all political parties in the wake of its 1980 coup, Erdogan became a business consultant and executive. When political life in Turkey resumed, Erdogan became a prominent local leader and organizer for Erbakan's new Welfare Party.

Erdogan was elected mayor of Istanbul in 1994 at the beginning of a wave of Islamist political victories in Turkey in the mid-1990s. He was removed from office, imprisoned for six months, and banned from parliamentary politics for religious incitement after he recited a poem in the southeastern city of Siirt in December 1997 that included the passage (translated

from Turkish): "The mosques are our barracks, the domes our helmets, the minarets our bayonets and the faithful our soldiers."

After Erbakan's government resigned under military pressure in 1997 and the Welfare Party was disbanded, Erdogan became the founding chairman of the AKP in 2001. The AKP won a decisive electoral victory in 2002, securing the single-party rule that it has maintained since. After the election, a legal change allowed Erdogan to run for parliament in a 2003 special election in Siirt, and after he won, Erdogan replaced Abdullah Gul as prime minister.

Erdogan and his personal popularity and charisma have been at the center of much of the domestic and foreign policy change that has occurred in Turkey in the past decade. His criticism of Israel and its actions has by some accounts boosted his popularity at home and throughout the Muslim Middle East. Subsequently, Erdogan's stances on unrest and transition in countries such as Egypt, Libya, and Syria also attracted significant regional and global attention.

Erdogan's rhetoric and actions have come under even greater scrutiny since June 2013. Some reports describe Erdogan as less amenable to political compromise in part due to his long tenure in office, and as relying increasingly on a small group of trusted advisors, including intelligence chief Hakan Fidan.[195] Recent leaks of audio recordings supposedly reflecting discussions Erdogan had with his son Bilal about transferring large sums of money to avoid detection has fueled media speculation about the tenability of Erdogan's power and position, particularly in light of coming elections and Erdogan's candidacy for the presidency. There have been recent signs of distancing between Erdogan and President Obama in light of various events complicating bilateral relations, after several years of reports that Erdogan and Obama have enjoyed positive personal interaction.[196]

Erdogan is married and has two sons and two daughters. His wife Emine and daughters wear the headscarf. He is not fluent in English but his understanding may be improving. Observers have speculated about his health, particularly following a November 2011 surgical procedure to remove stomach polyps. He has said that he does not have cancer.

President Abdullah Gul

President Gul was born in 1950 in Kayseri in central Turkey. He studied economics in Turkey and England, and received his Ph.D. from Istanbul University, becoming a university professor and an economist at the Islamic Development Bank in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Gul was first elected to parliament from Kayseri in 1991 as a member of the Islamist Welfare Party and served as a minister in and spokesman for the coalition government it briefly headed in 1996-1997. After the Welfare Party was disbanded, Gul stayed on in parliament as a reform-minded member of the Islamist Virtue Party. Gul served on parliamentary assemblies of NATO and the Council of Europe. When the AKP was formed in 2001, he became deputy chairman and—briefly—its first prime minister after the successful election of 2002. When Erdogan took over the prime ministry in 2003, Gul became Turkey's foreign minister and helped accelerate Turkey's EU accession process.

In 2007, the AKP nominated Gul for the presidency amid substantial secularist opposition, partly owing to statements from his early political career that indicated distaste for the secular nature of Turkey's republic. Parliament nevertheless elected Gul president. Many observers believe him to be a moderating influence on the Erdogan government, as reflected

in his approach to various issues since the June 2013 nationwide protests—though some have expressed skepticism over whether Gul is able or willing to meaningfully check Erdogan's power. Gul is not running for a second presidential term, presumably in deference to Erdogan, and has stated that he would not desire to succeed Erdogan as prime minister. Nevertheless, speculation continues regarding Gul's possible succession of Erdogan, perhaps at least as a caretaker until the 2015 presidential elections,[197] as well as Gul's long-term plans in the domestic or international arena.

Gul is married with two sons and a daughter. His wife Hayrunissa and daughter wear the headscarf. He speaks fluent English.

Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu

Foreign Minister Davutoglu was born in 1959 in Konya in central Turkey. He attended a German international school in Istanbul and received a Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations from Bosphorus University. He became a university professor, spending time in Malaysia in the early 1990s before establishing himself as a scholar known for applying academic theory to practical matters of Turkish foreign policy and national security strategy. His book *Strategic Depth*, which was published in 2001 and has been translated into other languages but not English, is thought by some to represent a blueprint of sorts for the policies Davutoglu has since helped implement.

Following the AKP's victory in 2002, Davutoglu was appointed chief foreign policy advisor to the prime minister. Upon his appointment as foreign minister in 2009, he quickly gained renown for articulating and applying the concepts of strategic depth and "zero problems with neighbors." He advocates for a preeminent role for Turkey in its surrounding region, but disputes the characterization of his policies by some observers as "neo-Ottomanism." Davutoglu's policies have encountered domestic and international criticism given the challenges Turkey has recently faced from regional problems in countries such as Syria, Iraq, and Egypt (as discussed above). He won an AKP parliamentary seat for the first time in June 2011.

Davutoglu is married with four children. His wife Sare is a medical doctor. He speaks fluent English, as well as German and Arabic.

Opposition Leader Kemal Kilicdaroglu

Kilicdaroglu, the leader of the main opposition CHP, was born in 1948 in Tunceli province in eastern Turkey. After receiving an economics degree from what is now Gazi University in Ankara, Kilicdaroglu had a civil service career—first with the Finance Ministry, then as the director-general of the Social Security Organization. After retiring from the civil service, Kilicdaroglu became politically active with the CHP and was elected to parliament from Istanbul in 2002. He gained national prominence for his efforts to root out corruption among AKP officials and the AKP-affiliated mayor of Ankara. When CHP leader Deniz Baykal was forced to resign over a videotape sex scandal in May 2010, Kilicdaroglu was elected to replace him. He made his first official visit to the United States in December 2013.

Kilicdaroglu is married with a son and two daughters. He is an Alevi and speaks fluent French.

PKK Leader Abdullah Ocalan

Abdullah Ocalan was born in or around 1949 in southeastern Turkey (near Sanliurfa). After attending vocational high school in Ankara, Ocalan served in civil service posts in Diyarbakir and Istanbul until enrolling at Ankara University in 1971. As his interest developed in socialism and Kurdish nationalism, Ocalan was jailed for seven months in 1972 for participating in an illegal student demonstration. His time in prison with other activists helped inspire his political ambitions, and he became increasingly politically active upon his release. Ocalan founded the Marxist-Leninist-influenced PKK in 1978 and launched a separatist militant campaign against Turkish security forces—while also attacking the traditional Kurdish chieftain class—in 1984. He used Syrian territory as a safe haven. Syria forced Ocalan to leave in 1998 after Turkey threatened war for harboring him. After traveling to several different countries, Ocalan was captured in February 1999 in Kenya—possibly with U.S. help—and was turned over to Turkish authorities. The PKK declared a cease-fire shortly thereafter. Ocalan was sentenced to death, in a trial later ruled unfair by the European Court of Human Rights, but when Turkey abolished the death penalty in 2002, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. He resides in a maximum-security prison on the island of Imrali in the Sea of Marmara, and was in solitary confinement until 2009.

Although acting PKK leader Murat Karayilan and other commanders have exercised direct control over PKK operations during Ocalan's imprisonment, some observers believe that Ocalan still ultimately controls the PKK through proxies. PKK violence resumed in 2003 and has since continued off-and-on until the most recent cease-fire that Ocalan and Karayilan called in March 2013. Ocalan has indicated that the organization is seeking a negotiated resolution that does not require forming a Kurdish state, and is engaging in talks with Turkish officials to that end.

APPENDIX B. LIST OF SELECTED TURKISH-RELATED ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

American Friends of Turkey (http://afot.us/)

American Research Institute in Turkey (http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ARIT/)

American Turkish Society (http://www.americanturkishsociety.org/)

American-Turkish Council (http://www.the-atc.org/)

Assembly of Turkish American Associations (http://www.ataa.org/)—component associations in 18 states and the District of Columbia

Ataturk Society of America (http://www.ataturksociety.org/)

Federation of Turkish American Associations

Institute of Turkish Studies (http://turkishstudies.org/)

SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (http://setadc.org)

Turkic American Alliance (http://www.turkicamericanalliance.org/)

- West America Turkic Council (West region)—includes Pacifica Institute
- Turkish American Federation of Midwest (Midwest region)—includes Niagara Foundation
- Turquoise Council of Americans and Eurasians (South region)—includes Institute of Interfaith Dialog
- Turkic American Federation of Southeast (Southeast region)—includes Istanbul Center
- Council of Turkic American Associations (Northeast region)—includes Turkish Cultural Center
- Mid Atlantic Federation of Turkic American Associations (Mid-Atlantic region)—includes Rumi Forum
- Rethink Institute (housed at Turkic American Alliance headquarters in Washington, DC)

Turkish Coalition of America (http://www.tc-america.org/)

Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON) (http://www.tuskonus.org/tuskon.php)

Turkish Cultural Foundation (http://www.turkishculturalfoundation.org/)

Turkish Industry & Business Association (TUSIAD) (http://www.tusiad.org/)

Turkish Policy Center (http://www.turkishpolicycenter.org/)

Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB) (http://www.tobb.org.tr/)

APPENDIX C. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Changes to the old Kemalist order did not materialize suddenly with the AKP's rise to power. They reflect long-standing dynamics in Turkish politics and society that continue to evolve within Turkey's existing constitutional framework. Popular desires to allow greater public space for traditional Islamic-oriented lifestyles manifested themselves politically as early as the 1950s during the rule of Turkey's first democratically elected leader, Adnan Menderes. Menderes was eventually overthrown by a military-led coup in 1960 (and subsequently hanged), and the military continued to discourage the overt influence of religion in politics, intervening again in 1971 and 1980 to replace governments that it deemed had lost control of the country or had steered it away from secularism or toward ideological extremes.

The military allowed Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs (later Prime Minister and President) Turgut Ozal to begin liberalizing the traditionally statist Turkish economy following its restoration of internal order in 1980. This helped set in motion a chain of events leading to the economic and political empowerment of millions of Turks hailing from traditional communities removed from Turkey's more secular urban centers. Subsequent social and political developments reflected accommodation of this rising middle class—many of whom migrated to bigger cities— and their values. For example, *imam hatip* religious schools, initially established for young males seeking clerical careers, became widely attended by youth from religiously conservative families. In 1997, the military compelled Turkey's first-ever Islamist-led coalition government to resign, but junior members of the

coalition-leading Refah (Welfare) Party went on to form the AKP,[198] which they characterize as a center-right reformist party without an Islamist agenda.

APPENDIX D. RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN TURKEY

While U.S. constitutional law prohibits the excessive entanglement of the government with religion, republican Turkey has maintained secularism or "laicism" by controlling or closely overseeing religious activities in the country. This is partly to prevent religion from influencing state actors and institutions, as it did during previous centuries of Ottoman rule. Sunni Muslims, although not monolithic in their views on freedom of worship, have better recourse than other religious adherents to the democratic process for accommodation of their views because of their majority status. Minority Muslim sects (most prominently, the Alevis) and non-Muslim religions largely depend on legal appeals, political advocacy, and support from Western countries to protect their rights in Turkey.

Christians and Jews

U.S. concerns focus largely on the rights of established Christian and Jewish communities and religious leaderships and their associated foundations and organizations within Turkey to choose leaders, train clergy, own property, and otherwise function independently of the Turkish government.[199] Some Members of Congress routinely express grievances through proposed congressional resolutions and through letters to the President and to Turkish leaders on behalf of the Ecumenical (Greek Orthodox) Patriarchate of Constantinople, the spiritual center of Orthodox Christianity based in Istanbul.[200] On December 13, 2011, for example, the House passed H.Res. 306—"Urging the Republic of Turkey to safeguard its Christian heritage and to return confiscated church properties"—by voice vote.[201] Also, as mentioned above, in late June, the House Foreign Affairs Committee reported the Turkey Christian Churches Accountability Act (H.R. 4347).[202]

In an April 2012 interview with the *Chicago Tribune*, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew was quoted as saying that recent changes in Turkey

> have been extremely positive. Years ago, you couldn't have dreamed of the changes. You couldn't have believed it. The prime minister has promised to restore properties confiscated from Christians and Jews years ago. He has promised to reopen the Orthodox seminary at Halki, which has been closed for many years. Of course, we have concerns in some areas, and there are legal questions remaining, but the Orthodox-Islamic dialogue has been extremely positive. More positive than I ever would have imagined.[203]

Patriarch Bartholomew, along with various U.S. and European officials, continues to press for the reopening of the Halki Theological School. In March 2013, Erdogan reportedly conditioned Halki's reopening on measures by Greece to accommodate its Muslim community.[204] Meanwhile, according to late 2013 media reports, Turkey is in the process of converting at least two historic Christian churches into mosques, and may be considering additional conversions.[205] The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom

(USCIRF) released a statement in May 2014 calling a bill introduced in Turkey's parliament to convert Istanbul's Hagia Sophia into a mosque "misguided."[206] An advisor to Prime Minister Erdogan was cited shortly thereafter as indicating that there were no plans to alter Hagia Sophia's status, despite some popular calls to do so.[207]

At various times in the Turkish Republic's history, the state has confiscated the properties of religious groups as part of its efforts to control religious life in the country. In late August 2011, Erdogan announced that Turkey would return properties confiscated since the adoption of a 1935 law governing religious foundations, to the extent the properties are still held publicly.[208] Many of these properties were confiscated following a Turkish High Court of Appeals ruling in 1974 that had invalidated religious foundations' abilities to acquire real estate.[209] Properties subject to return include schools, orphanages, cemeteries, commercial properties, and hospitals affiliated with various Christian churches and Turkey's Jewish community. According to one report, "The government's willingness to explore restitution does not yet cover the hundreds, if not thousands, of property seizures from individuals, or the takeovers that occurred before 1936. An even more contentious point is confiscation that occurred prior to the formation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923."[210] Prior to Erdogan's 2011 decree, which followed an earlier 2008 amendment to the law on religious foundations, the European Court of Human Rights made multiple rulings requiring Turkey to pay compensation to various religious-affiliated organizations after earlier attempts by the government to remedy the situation did not satisfy the organizations. According to the USCIRF's 2013 annual report:

> Between the passage of the 2008 amendment and August 2011, approximately 200 properties were reportedly returned to religious minority foundations of various denominations.

Additionally, according to the USCIRF's 2014 annual report:

> Since 2011, 340 properties – valued, according to the government, at more than 2.5 billion Turkish Lira – have been returned or compensated for.[211] However, 1,000 applications were denied, 800 for lack of information and 200 for other reasons. Some communities allege bias, consider the process very slow, and claim that compensation has been insufficient.

Alevis

Most Muslims in Turkey are Sunni, but 10 million to 20 million are Alevis (of whom about 20% are ethnic Kurds). The Alevi community has some relation to Shiism[212] and may contain strands from pre-Islamic Anatolian and Christian traditions.[213] Alevism has been traditionally influenced by Sufi mysticism that emphasizes believers' individual spiritual paths, but it defies precise description owing to its lack of centralized leadership and reliance on oral traditions historically kept secret from outsiders. According to the State Department's International Religious Freedom Report for 2012, "The government considers Alevism a heterodox Muslim sect and does not financially support religious worship for Alevi Muslims." Alevis have long been among the strongest supporters of Turkey's secular state, which they reportedly perceive as their protector from the Sunni majority.[214] Recent

developments appear to have heightened Sunni-Alevi tensions, including those pertaining to the June 2013 protests, the Syrian conflict and Turkey's policy (Arab Alawites in Syria and southern Turkey are a distinct Shia-related religious community, but are often likened to Alevis by the region's Sunni Muslims), and frustrated expectations among someAlevi leaders that the government reform package announced in September 2013 would address their grievances.[215]

APPENDIX E. ADDITIONAL FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

European Union[216]

The Turkish government uses its demographic profile to support its bid for EU membership, arguing that the country would bring a young, dynamic population to the aging ranks of Europe and boost EU influence in the Muslim world. Turkey first sought to associate itself with what was then the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1959, and Turkey and the EEC entered into an agreement of association in 1963. Since the end of 1995, Turkey has had a full customs union with the EU, which is viewed by many observers as one of the primary drivers of the competitive surge of Turkey's economy during the 2000s.[217] Turkey also is a member of the Council of Europe, along with several other non-EU states (including Russia), and is subject to the jurisdiction of the Council's European Court of Human Rights.

EU accession talks, which began in 2005, have been stalled owing to the opposition of key EU states—most notably France and Germany—to Turkey's full membership. Opponents generally give empirical reasons for their positions, but many analysts argue that resistance to Turkish EU accession is rooted in a fear that Turkey's large Muslim population would fundamentally change the cultural character of the EU and dilute the power of the EU's founding Western European states to drive the policy agenda. As mentioned above, Turkey's unwillingness to normalize diplomatic and trade relations with EU member Cyprus presents a major obstacle to its accession prospects.[218] Other EU concerns over Turkey's qualifications for membership center on the treatment of Kurds and religious minorities, media freedoms, women's rights, and the proper and transparent functioning of Turkey's democratic and legal systems.[219] One U.S.-based European analyst writes, "Turkey's process of alignment with EU laws and standards is still very incomplete and interest in this goal seems to have weakened as political forces that once embraced the goal [as a means for facilitating Turkish domestic reform] have become stronger and more self-reliant."[220] Debate regarding Turkey's alignment with EU standards has intensified as a result of the June 2013 protests[221] and (as discussed above) recent domestic controversies and laws on the judiciary and the Internet, though accession talks opened on a new chapter of the *acquis communautaire* in November 2013.

Turkish domestic expectations of and support for full accession to the EU were apparently already waning before the June 2013 protests and post-December 17, 2013, controversies, and before fundamental concerns arose over the economic and political soundness of the EU as a result of the eurozone crisis.[222] In September 2013, Turkey's then Minister for EU Affairs and chief accession negotiator, Egeman Bagis, was quoted as saying, "In the long run I think Turkey will end up like Norway. We will be at European standards, very closely aligned but not as a member."[223] Nevertheless, the EU provides over $1 billion in

annual pre-accession financial and technical assistance to Turkey aimed at harmonizing its economy, society, bureaucracy, and political system with those of EU members.[224]

Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean[225]

Since Cyprus became independent of the United Kingdom in 1960, Turkey has viewed itself and has acted as the protector of the island's ethnic Turkish minority from potential mistreatment by the ethnic Greek majority.[226] Responding to Greek and Cypriot political developments that raised concerns about a possible Greek annexation of Cyprus, Turkey's military intervened in 1974[227] and established control over the northern third of the island, prompting an almost total ethnic and de facto political division along geographical lines. That division persists today and is the subject of continuing international efforts aimed at reunification.[228] Additionally, according to a *New York Times* article, "after the 1974 invasion, an estimated 150,000 Turkish settlers arrived in the north of Cyprus, many of them poor and agrarian Turks from the mainland, who Greek Cypriots say are illegal immigrants used by Turkey as a demographic weapon."[229] The ethnic Greek-ruled Republic of Cyprus is internationally recognized as having jurisdiction over the entire island, while the de facto Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in the northern third has only Turkish recognition. Congress imposed an embargo on military grants and arms sales to Turkey from 1975 to 1978 in response to Turkey's use of U.S.-supplied weapons in the 1974 conflict, and several Members remain interested in Cyprus-related issues.[230]

The Republic of Cyprus's accession to the EU in 2004 and Turkey's refusal to normalize political and commercial relations with it are seen as a major obstacle to Turkey's EU membership aspirations. The Cyprus dilemma also hinders effective EU-NATO defense cooperation. Moreover, EU accession may have reduced incentives for Cyprus's Greek population to make concessions toward a reunification deal. The Greek Cypriots rejected by referendum a United Nations reunification plan (called the Annan plan after then Secretary-General Kofi Annan) in 2004 that the Turkish Cypriot population accepted. Turkey and Turkish Cypriot leaders claim that the Turkish Cypriot regime's lack of international recognition unfairly denies its people basic economic and political rights, particularly through barriers to trade with and travel to countries other than Turkey.

Turkey and Turkish Cypriots have assertively opposed efforts by the Republic of Cyprus and other Eastern Mediterranean countries—most notably Israel—to agree upon a division of offshore energy drilling rights without a solution to the question of the island's unification.[231] The Republic of Cyprus appears to anticipate considerable future export revenue from drilling in the Aphrodite gas field off Cyprus's southern coast. In the wake of the Republic of Cyprus's early 2013 euro bailout, and given analyses indicating that the most efficient way for the Republic to export its newfound energy resources would be by constructing a pipeline to Turkey, some observers speculate that the potential financial benefits of unification justify renewed diplomatic efforts to that end.[232] In testimony at a July 11, 2013, Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing considering her nomination as Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, Victoria Nuland (who was subsequently confirmed in September 2013) said:

> I think circumstances are changing, attitudes are changing, not just within Cyprus but also in Greece and in Turkey, and we have to capitalize on that. We also have natural gas off the coast of Turkey, which is off the coast of Cyprus, which is a powerful motivator for getting to the solution that we all want which is a bizonal bicommunal federation that can share the benefits.

Greek and Turkish Cypriots formally resumed negotiations in February 2014, and Vice President Biden visited Cyprus in May 2014 and offered U.S. assistance as part of his encouragement for a settlement.[233]

Armenia[234]

In late 2009, Turkey and Armenia, aided by Swiss mediation, agreed to joint protocols that would have normalized relations and opened borders between the two countries. They also would have called for a dialogue and impartial examination of the historical record with respect to "existing problems," widely believed to refer to the issue of World War I-era deaths of hundreds of thousands of Armenians through the actions of Ottoman Empire authorities. Turkish leaders were unwilling to push for parliamentary ratification of the protocols, however, due to Azerbaijani objections to Turkey-Armenia normalization prior to desired progress on the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh.[235] Azerbaijan influences Turkish policy on this issue because of its close cultural and economic ties with Turkey, particularly as Azerbaijan is a key energy supplier. Another possible cause for Turkish reluctance was a 2010 Armenian constitutional court ruling that indicated inflexibility on the genocide issue. Subsequently, Turkey and Armenia have made little or no progress toward ratifying the protocols or otherwise normalizing their relations, though the protocols remain under consideration in Turkey's parliament.[236] The tenor of relations between Turkey and Armenia could be an important factor in a potential congressional debate over a future genocide resolution.

Other International Relationships

As Turkey continues to exercise increased political and economic influence, it seeks to establish and strengthen relationships with non-Western global powers. As discussed above, it is expanding trade and defense industrial ties with China and Russia. It is doing the same with other countries in Asia and Africa.

Turkey additionally seeks to expand the scope of its geographical influence, with its officials sometimes comparing its historical links and influence with certain countries—especially former territories of the Ottoman Empire—to the relationship of Britain with its commonwealth. Through hands-on political involvement, as well as increased private trade and investment and public humanitarian and development projects, Turkey has enhanced its influence and image as a leading Muslim-majority democracy with Muslim-populated countries not only in the greater Middle East, but also in the Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa.[237]

APPENDIX F. CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE REPORTS OF ARMENIAN GENOCIDE-RELATED PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS

Date Reported or of Vote for Report	Proposed Resolution(s)	Committee
April 5, 1984	S.J.Res. 87	Senate Judiciary
September 28, 1984	S.Res. 241	Senate Foreign Relations
July 9, 1985	H.J.Res. 192	House Post Office and Civil Service
July 23, 1987	H.J.Res. 132	House Post Office and Civil Service
August 3, 1987	H.Res. 238	House Rules
October 18, 1989	S.J.Res. 212	Senate Judiciary
October 11, 2000	H.Res. 596 and H.Res. 625	House Rules
May 22, 2003	H.Res. 193	House Judiciary
September 15, 2005	H.Res. 316 and H.Con.Res. 195	House International Relations
March 29, 2007	S.Res. 65	Senate Foreign Relations
October 10, 2007	H.Res. 106	House Foreign Affairs
March 4, 2010	H.Res. 252	House Foreign Affairs
April 10, 2014	S.Res. 410	Senate Foreign Relations

End Notes

[1] For more information on the protests, the government's response, and continuing consequences, see the State Department's 2013 Country Report on Human Rights for Turkey; and Bipartisan Policy Center, *From Rhetoric to Reality: Reframing U.S.-Turkey Policy*, Ambassadors Morton I. Abramowitz and Eric S. Edelman, Co-Chairs, October 2013, pp. 7, 20.

[2] See http://www.tc-america.org/in-congress/caucus.htm.

[3] Daniel M. Kliman and Richard Fontaine, *Global Swing States: Brazil, India, Indonesia, Turkey, and the Future of International Order*, German Marshall Fund of the United States and Center for a New American Security, November 2012.

[4] For more background, see "Key Foreign Policy Issues" and Appendix E.

[5] For further information, see archived CRS Report R41761, *Turkey-U.S. Defense Cooperation: Prospects and Challenges*, by Jim Zanotti.

[6] See, e.g., Ahmet Davutoglu, "Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy and Regional Political Structuring," International Policy and Leadership Institute and Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV), Turkey Policy Brief Series, 2012 – Third Edition.

[7] See, e.g., Council on Foreign Relations, *U.S.-Turkey Relations: A New Partnership*, Madeleine K. Albright and Steven J. Hadley, Co-Chairs, Independent Task Force Report No. 69, 2012, p. 40.

[8] The incident took place in May 2010 in international waters under disputed circumstances and resulted in the death of eight Turks and an American of Turkish descent. It was predated by other signs of deterioration in Turkey's relationship with Israel.

[9] Sevgi Akarcesme, "Turkey's approval rating in Middle East down 10 percent from 2012," *Today's Zaman*, December 3, 2013. Arab interpretations of the "Turkish model" tend to emphasize the recent democratic and economic empowerment of Turkey's middle class and the connection between this and Turkey's emergence as a regional power with a foreign policy independent of the West. Many analysts and Turkish officials have stated that Turkey might more aptly be characterized as an inspiration than as a model because the historical experiences and characteristics of its people, society, and economic system are distinct from those of Arab countries.

[10] See, e.g., Tim Arango, "Turkey, Its Allies Struggling, Tempers Ambitions to Lead Region," *New York Times*, November 21, 2013.

[11] The proposed elements of the European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA) to missile defense proposed by the Obama Administration, which represents the U.S. contribution to NATO's ALTBMD system, and a deployment timeline were described in a September 15, 2011, White House press release available at http://www.whitehouse.gov/ the-press-office/2011/09/15/fact-sheet-implementing-missile-defense-europe. This document explicitly contemplates the EPAA as a means of countering missile threats from Iran. Then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control, Verification and Compliance Frank Rose gave a speech in Warsaw, Poland, on April 18, 2013 (available at http://www.state.gov/t/avc/rls/2013/207679.htm), that described how the EPAA has been implemented and revised. See also CRS Report RL34051, *Long-Range Ballistic Missile Defense in Europe*, by Steven A. Hildreth and Carl Ek.

[12] See, e.g., Ali H. Aslan, "Zero Problems with the US?," *Today's Zaman*, November 17, 2013.

[13] Aron Donzis, "Turkish PM: Rapprochement with Israel coming in weeks," *Times of Israel*, April 29, 2014. However, these prospects may change in light of the July 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict, heightened Turkish criticism of Israel, and possible Turkish political mediation on behalf of Hamas (with which Turkey has maintained positive relations for several years). Partial transcript of Prime Minister Erdogan's interview with CNN's Becky Anderson, July 23, 2014, available at http://cnnpressroom.blogs.cnn.com/2014/07/23/turkish-pm-erdogan-to-cnn-israel-is-a-terror-state/.

[14] Denise Der, "Why Turkey May Not Buy Chinese Missile Systems After All," *Diplomat*, May 7, 2014.

[15] Joe Parkinson and Emre Peker, "Iraq Hostages Show Turkey's Exposure in Violent Region," *Wall Street Journal*,

[16] Translated text of statement available at http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-pm-erdogans-april-23-statement-on-armenian-issue-in-english.aspx?pageID=238&nID=65454&NewsCatID=359. Erdogan made this speech on April 23, the eve of Armenians' annual remembrance day for the events in question. On April 10, 2014, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had favorably reported S.Res. 410 ("A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate regarding the anniversary of the Armenian Genocide.").

[17] See, e.g., Deniz Arslan, "Erdoğan pledges new reforms amid mounting Western criticism on rights," *todayszaman.com*, May 4, 2014.

[18] Sponsored by Edward Royce, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the bill would compel the Secretary of State to file an annual report on the status of Turkey's actions and the State Department's engagement with respect to the property claims of various Christian churches in Turkey and in the area of northern Cyprus that is de facto controlled by ethnic Turks.

[19] Julian Pecquet, "Turkey lashes out at Congress over Christian churches bill," *Al-Monitor Congress Pulse*, June 27, 2014.

[20] Gulsen Solaker, "Turkey's Erdogan acknowledges strains with Obama," *Reuters*, July 22, 2014.

[21] Council on Foreign Relations, op. cit., p. 7. Other prominent reports on U.S.-Turkey relations in recent years include an October 2013 report by the Bipartisan Policy Center that was co-chaired by former U.S. ambassadors to Turkey Morton Abramowitz and Eric Edelman, op. cit., and a 2011 report by the Istanbul-based Global Relations Forum. Global Relations Forum, *Turkey-USA Partnership: At the Dawn of a New Century*, Co-Chairs Fusun Turkmen and Yavuz Canevi.

[22] The Pew Research Global Attitudes Project indicates that 21% of Turks polled in 2013 had a favorable opinion of the United States, up from 10% in 2011. However, unlike citizens polled from other Muslim-majority countries in the region who had a significantly more favorable opinion of China than the United States, Turks' favorability of China was only six percentage points higher (27%). Poll results available at http://www.pewglobal.org/2013/07/18/americas-global-image-remains-more-positive-than-chinas/.

[23] Dietrich Jung, "Sèvres Syndrome: Turkish Foreign Policy and Its Historical Legacies," *American Diplomacy*, August 2003; Transatlantic Academy Scholars Views on Turkish Public Opinion, October 1, 2009. This refers to the Treaty of Sèvres agreed to in 1920 (but not ratified) by the defeated Ottoman Empire with the Allied victors of World War I. The Treaty of Sèvres would have partitioned the Empire among Britain, France, Italy, Greece, and Armenia. The treaty became obsolete with the Turkish War of Independence and the subsequent Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, which formalized the borders of the new Turkish Republic.

[24] Soner Cagaptay and James F. Jeffrey, "Turkey's 2014 Political Transition: From Erdogan to Erdogan?," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Notes No. 17, January 2014.

[25] "Report: US canceled delivery of Predators to Turkey," *Today's Zaman*, October 21, 2013, citing a report in *Taraf*.

[26] Scott Peterson, "Why President Obama stopped calling Turkish leader Erdogan," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 7, 2014.

[27] According to the State Department's International Religious Freedom Report for 2013, "In June and July, in response to the Gezi Park anti-government protests, Prime Minister Erdogan and several senior government officials repeatedly and publicly blamed 'shadowy' international groups for the unrest, including claimed involvement by an 'international Jewish conspiracy,' the 'interest-rate lobby,' and 'the Rothschilds.' In July Deputy Prime Minister Besir Atalay blamed the 'Jewish diaspora' for the unrest. These statements by senior political leaders were accompanied by anti-Semitic reports and commentaries in media outlets friendly to the government. The chief rabbi and the Jewish community lay board issued a joint press release condemning statements blaming Jewish groups for the unrest."

[28] CRS Report RL31555, *China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy Issues*, by Shirley A. Kan.

[29] For background information on this subject, see archived CRS Report R41761, *Turkey-U.S. Defense Cooperation: Prospects and Challenges*, by Jim Zanotti.

[30] Henri J. Barkey, "Turkey's New Global Role," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, November 17, 2010. The challenge for U.S. officials to manage cooperation with Turkey could be magnified by the way the U.S. government is structured to work with Turkey. Former U.S. ambassador to Turkey Mark Parris has written, "For reasons of self-definition and Cold War logic, Turkey is considered a European nation. It is therefore assigned, for purposes of policy development and implementation, to the subdivisions responsible for Europe: the European Bureau (EUR) at the State Department; the European Command (EUCOM) at the Pentagon; the Directorate for Europe at the [National Security Council (NSC)], etc. Since the end of the Cold War, however, and progressively since the 1990-91 Gulf War and 9/11, the most serious issues in U.S.-Turkish relations – and virtually all of the controversial ones – have arisen in areas outside "Europe." The majority, in fact, stem from developments in areas which in Washington are the responsibility of offices dealing with the Middle East: the Bureau for Near East Affairs (NEA) at State; Central Command (CENTCOM) at the Pentagon; the Near East and South Asia Directorate at NSC." Omer Taspinar, "The Rise of Turkish Gaullism: Getting Turkish-American Relations Right," *Insight Turkey*, vol. 13, no. 1, winter 2011, quoting an unpublished 2008 paper by Mark Parris.

[31] Robert S. Norris and Hans M. Kristensen, "US tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, 2011," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 67, no. 1, January/February 2011. Reportedly, the U.S. has approximately 150-200 B61 bombs in Turkey, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands left over from their deployment during the Cold War. This amount is a very small fraction of the over 7,000 U.S. tactical nuclear weapons stationed in Europe during the 1970s. Ibid.

[32] See, e.g., Nilsu Goren, "Turkey's Air and Missile Defense Acquisition Journey Continues," EDAM (Centre for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies), Discussion Paper Series 2013/13, October 2013.

[33] See, e.g., Daniel Dombey, "Doubts rise over Turkey's ties to the West," *Financial Times*, October 20, 2013. In April 2013, Turkey became a "dialogue partner" with the China- and Russia-led Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Turkey is the only NATO member with a formal affiliation with the SCO, though it does not appear to have significant influence with the organization.

[34] "Turkey's China deal on missile system not finalized, says President Gül," *Hurriyet Daily News*, September 30, 2013.

[35] The Senators are Mark Kirk, John Cornyn, Roger Wicker, John Barrasso, John Boozman, James Inhofe, and Ted Cruz. A copy of the signed letter was provided to CRS by a Congressional office on December 13, 2013. The letter states that if Turkey procures the CPMIEC system, possible responses could include "Turkish expulsion from the NATO Air Defense Ground Environment and intensified scrutiny of all Turkey-NATO security cooperation activities."

[36] A copy of the signed letter was provided to CRS by a Congressional office on December 13, 2013.

[37] Bulent Aliriza and Samuel J. Brannen, "Turkey Looks to China on Air and Missile Defense?," Center for Strategic and International Studies, October 8, 2013.

[38] Aaron Stein, "More thoughts on Turkey and Missile Defense Decision-Making," *Turkey Wonk*, November 25, 2013.

[39] CRS Report RL31555, *China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy Issues*, by Shirley A. Kan.

[40] Burak Ege Bekdil, "Turk Industry Could Face US Sanctions in China Air Defense Deal," *Defense News*, November 19, 2013.

[41] Ibid. See also CRS Report RL33476, *Israel: Background and U.S. Relations*, by Jim Zanotti.

[42] Andrea Shalal-Esa, "Turkey asks U.S. to extend pricing on Raytheon missile bid: sources," *Reuters*, October 28, 2013.

[43] Tulin Daloglu, "Turkey, China cooperation on ballistic missiles not new," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse*, December 13, 2013.

[44] Lale Kemal, "Turkish military very unhappy with Chinese missiles, mad at US," *Today's Zaman*, November 5, 2013.

[45] "Turkey's China deal on missile system not finalized, says President Gül," *Hurriyet Daily News*, September 30, 2013.

[46] Although such steps have taken place, including the increase of bilateral trade volume to around $24 billion (from $1 billion in 2000), some degree of tension between Turkey and China persists over the imbalance of trade between the two countries (in China's favor), as well as over Turkey's concerns regarding China's treatment of Uighurs (who are ethnically and linguistically akin to Turks) in its Xinjiang Province. Turkish and Chinese military units held joint air and ground exercises in Turkey during 2010, but have apparently not done so since. One project showcasing increased Turkey-China commercial relations is the involvement of two Chinese companies in the construction of a key section of an Istanbul-Ankara high-speed railway that began operating in July 2014. For additional information on the dynamics of the Turkey-China relationship, see

Karen Kaya, "Turkey and China: Unlikely Strategic Partners," Foreign Military Studies Office (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas), August 2013; and Chris Zambelis, "Sino-Turkish Partnership: Implications of Anatolian Eagle 2010," *China Brief*, vol. 11, no. 1, January 2011.

[47] See footnote 36.

[48] For a range of views on the Gulen movement, see Joshua D. Hendrick, *Gulen: The Ambiguous Politics of Market Islam in Turkey and the World*, New York: New York University Press, 2013; M. Hakan Yavuz, *Toward an Islamic Enlightenment: The Gulen Movement*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013; Helen Rose Ebaugh, *The Gulen Movement: A Sociological Analysis of a Civic Movement Rooted in Moderate Islam*, New York: Springer, 2010; "Hank, The Gulen Movement, The Role of a Lifetime," *60 Minutes*, CBS News, May 13, 2012; Alexander Brock, "What Is the Gulen Movement?," Council on Foreign Relations, op. cit., Appendix B; Claire Berlinski, "Who Is Fethullah Gulen?," *City Journal*, vol. 22, no. 4, autumn 2012.

[49] Gulen-inspired organizations have reportedly founded and operate approximately 136 publicly funded charter schools in 26 U.S. states. Hendrick, op. cit., p. 217. These schools have generated publicity both for their high academic quality and for questions, legal and state regulatory action, and possible federal investigations regarding their hiring and business practices and local approvals processes. Stephanie Saul, "Charter Schools Tied to Turkey Grow in Texas," *New York Times*, June 6, 2011; Martha Woodall, "Ex-teacher, school settle bias case," *philly.com*, May 14, 2013; Dan Mihalopoulos, "CPS says no to charter schools, but state commission says yes," *suntimes.com*, December 23, 2013; Danielle Nadler, "School Board Rejects Charter School," *leesburgtoday.com* (Loudoun County, VA), February 28, 2013; Elizabeth Stuart, "Islamic links to Utah's Beehive Academy probed," *Deseret News*, June 1, 2010. In 2011, a New Orleans school that some reports had linked to the Gulen movement was shut down—reportedly over an alleged bribery attempt—and a school in Baton Rouge overseen by the same foundation is reportedly the subject to an FBI inquiry. Diana Samuels, "Kenilworth charter school, subject of apparent FBI inquiry, has ties to Turkish education movement," *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), December 12, 2013. Tennessee's legislature passed a 2012 bill limiting the percentage of foreign employees permitted to work in its charter schools. The initiative was reportedly driven in large part by political activists citing various media reports on Gulen-inspired schools. Mark Todd Engler, "Legislature Passes Limits on Foreign Staffers at TN Charter Schools," *tnreport.com*, April 16, 2012.

[50] Adherents of Gulen's teachings are involved with Turkish and Turkish-American trade associations and foundations active in the United States—both regionally and in the Washington, DC, area. Such organizations reportedly include the Turkic American Alliance umbrella of organizations and the business confederation TUSKON. Ilhan Tanir, "The Gulen movement plays big in Washington," *Hurriyet Daily News*, May 14, 2010; Ebaugh, op. cit., p. 49.

[51] Gulen lives in seclusion at a retreat center with a few of his adherents in Saylorsburg, PA, in the Pocono Mountains. He came to the United States in the late 1990s for medical treatment for a cardiovascular condition, and elected to stay after an ultimately unsuccessful criminal case was brought against him in Turkey charging that he sought to undermine Turkey's secular government.

[52] Days after the Al Qaeda terrorist attacks on September 11, 2011, Gulen took out an advertisement in the *Washington Post* condemning the attacks as incompatible with the teachings of Islam.

[53] Alexander Brock, "What Is the Gulen Movement?," Council on Foreign Relations, op. cit., Appendix B. The criminal case charging Gulen with undermining Turkey's secular government, which was dismissed in 2006, was largely based on a video in which Gulen apparently stated: "You must move in the arteries of the system without anyone noticing your existence until you reach all the power centers…. You must wait until such time as you have gotten all the state power, until you have brought to your side all the power of the constitutional institution in Turkey." Berlinski, op. cit. Many of Gulen's supporters claimed that the video had been doctored.

[54] "Turkey's Fethullah Gulen denies corruption probe links," *BBC News*, January 27, 2014; "GYV: Hizmet a civilian movement, has no political ambitions," *Today's Zaman*, April 5, 2012.

[55] For a range of views on the Gulen movement, see Joshua D. Hendrick, *Gulen: The Ambiguous Politics of Market Islam in Turkey and the World*, New York: New York University Press, 2013; M. Hakan Yavuz, *Toward an Islamic Enlightenment: The Gulen Movement*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013; Helen Rose Ebaugh, *The Gulen Movement: A Sociological Analysis of a Civic Movement Rooted in Moderate Islam*, New York: Springer, 2010; "Hank, The Gulen Movement, The Role of a Lifetime," *60 Minutes*, CBS News, May 13, 2012; Alexander Brock, "What Is the Gulen Movement?," Council on Foreign Relations, op. cit., Appendix B; Claire Berlinski, "Who Is Fethullah Gulen?," *City Journal*, vol. 22, no. 4, autumn 2012

[56] Gulen-inspired businesses, media enterprises, schools, charitable organizations, and civil society groups now exercise considerable influence in Turkey. For example, adherents of Gulen's teachings launched the *Zaman* newspaper in 1986. It is now the most widely circulated newspaper in Turkey, and has an English-language sister publication, *Today's Zaman*. Gulen also encouraged a group of businessmen to launch the Samanyolu television channel—today a major channel in Turkey with a worldwide reach through satellite and Internet transmission—in 1993.

[57] One Turkish journalist, in attempting to contrast the Gulen movement with Islamists who supposedly have influence on the AKP, wrote, "The Gulen Movement, though it is pious and unmistakably Muslim, has always steered clear of Islamist ideology. Unlike the Islamists, who constitute an influential strain within the A.K.P., Mr. Gulen's followers have always valued Turkey's relations with the West, championed accession to the European Union, and have been friendly toward Jews and Christians. In return, some paranoid Turkish Islamists (and even some secular nationalists) have accused Mr. Gulen of being a 'C.I.A. agent.'" Mustafa Akyol, "More Divisions, More Democracy," *New York Times*, December 11, 2013.

[58] This probably at least partly owes to concerns about societal power dynamics and Gulen movement adherents' and sympathizers' perceptions of vulnerability, justice, and/or retribution involving the military and other guardians of Turkey's secular elite. Such concerns probably largely stem from the past imprisonment and prosecution of Fethullah Gulen under military-guided governments.

[59] See, e.g., Bayram Balci, "Turkey's Gülen Movement: Between Social Activism and Politics," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 24, 2013; Piotr Zalewski, "Turkey's Erdogan Battles Country's Most Powerful Religious Movement," *time.com*, December 4, 2013.

[60] Joe Parkinson and Jay Solomon, "Fethullah Gulen's interview with The Wall Street Journal in English," *wsj.com*, January 21, 2014.

[61] The resignations took place as part of a larger cabinet reshuffle that was portrayed as preparation for the March 2014 elections and beyond. In resigning as environment and urban planning minister on December 25 in connection with the corruption investigations, Erdogan Bayraktar called on Prime Minister Erdogan to resign, claiming that the prime minister had approved many of the zoning plans targeted in the investigations.

[62] Joe Parkinson and Jay Solomon, op. cit.; "Turkey's Fethullah Gulen denies corruption probe links," *BBC News*, January 27, 2014.

[63] See, e.g., Akyol, "More Divisions, More Democracy," op. cit.

[64] Semih Idiz, "US-Turkey crisis averted over corruption probe," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse*, December 24, 2013.

[65] Semih Idiz, "Does Erdogan really want Gulen in Turkey?," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse*, May 6, 2014.

[66] Previous to the February 2014 HSYK law, a 2010 popular referendum to amend Turkey's constitution had included a provision reportedly intended to keep the justice minister as chair of the HSYK, while preserving the judiciary's independence by preventing the justice minister from active participation in its work. *The Silent Revolution: Turkey's Democratic Change and Transformation Inventory: 2002-2012*, Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry, Undersecretariat of Public Order and Security, October 2013, p. 96. Turkey's Constitutional Court is considering the validity of the February 2014 law.

[67] For additional information, see the State Department's 2013 Country Report on Human Rights for Turkey.

[68] Sources for the Iran-related material in this textbox include Mehul Srivastava, "Turkey Crisis Puts Jailed Millionaire at Heart of Gold-Smuggling Ring," *Bloomberg*, January 29, 2014; Fehim Tastekin (translated from Turkish), "Iranian gold stars in Turkish corruption scandal," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse*, December 20, 2013; Jonathan Schanzer and Mark Dubowitz, "Iran's Turkish gold rush," *Sunday's Zaman*, December 27, 2013. Sources for the Al Qaeda-related material include United Nations Press Release, "Security Council Committee Concerning Afghanistan Issues a Further Addendum," SC/7180, October 19, 2001; United Nations Press Release, "Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee Deletes Entry of Yasin Abdullah Ezzedine Qadi from Its List," SC/10785, October 5, 2012; Ali Aslan Kilic, "Yasin al-Qadi escorted by PM's security detail, daily reports," *Today's Zaman*, December 30, 2013; Samuel Rubenfeld, "UN Removes Saudi Businessman from Al Qaeda Blacklist," *wsj.com*, October 8, 2012; Richard C. Morais with Denet C. Tezel, "The Al-Qadi Affair," *Forbes*, January 24, 2008.

[69] Al Qadi has also been listed on and de-listed from terrorism-related blacklists in the European Union, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

[70] Morais, op. cit.

[71] Freedom House, *Democracy in Crisis: Corruption, Media, and Power in Turkey*, February 2014.

[72] Mustafa Akyol, "McCarthyism Comes to Turkey," *New York Times*, March 20, 2014.

[73] Council on Foreign Relations, op. cit., p. 23: "In some areas, the AKP-led government has used the same nondemocratic tools as its predecessor, making it appear no more liberal than previous Turkish governments." According to Reporters Without Borders's 2013 World Press Freedom Index, Turkey is the 154th "freest" country out of 179 evaluated, down six places from 2012. The Committee to Protect Journalists reported in December 2013 that Turkey was the world's leading jailer of journalists for the second consecutive year (though the number reported declined from 49 in 2012 to 40 in 2013), closely followed by Iran and China. Freedom House's *Freedom of the Press* report for 2014, released in May, listed Turkey's media environment as "not free" (changed from the previous year's designation of "partly free"). Karin Deutsch Karlekar, "Why Is Turkey's Media Environment Ranked 'Not Free'?," Freedom House, May 12, 2014.

[74] For example, Erdogan's statements in November 2013 criticizing co-ed housing arrangements among university students has triggered heated public debate about the extent to which public officials should involve themselves in conduct that many Turks regard as private. See, e.g., Sinan Ülgen, "Turkey needs more liberalism with its democracy," *Financial Times*, December 3, 2013.

[75] Council on Foreign Relations, op. cit., p. 17.

[76] See, e.g., Omer Taspinar, "An Egyptian Model for Turkey?," *todayszaman.com*, January 12, 2014; Orhan Kemal Cengiz (translated from Turkish), "Will Turkish corruption scandal lead to return of military to politics?," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse*, January 12, 2014.

[77] The court's decision to overturn the convictions was based on due process concerns that had been raised throughout and after the initial trial. Some media commentators implied that the judicial reversal might be connected with Erdogan's public differences with the Gulen movement. Ceylan Yeginsu, "Turkish Officers Convicted in 2012 Coup Case Are Released," *New York Times*, June 19, 2014.

[78] Most recently, the early March 2014 death and funeral of Istanbul teenager Berkin Elvan from a wound he sustained from a tear gas canister during the June 2013 protests sparked demonstrations in Turkish cities that led to the death of a young man in Istanbul and a police officer in Tunceli.

[79] In June 2014, the two main opposition parties, the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Nationalist Action Party (MHP), nominated former diplomat and former Organization of Islamic Cooperation Secretary General Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu as their joint presidential candidate. In July, the Kurdish nationalist Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP), many of whose members previously belonged to the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), nominated one of its two co-chairs, Selahattin Demirtas, as its candidate.

[80] Soner Cagaptay, with Ege Cansu Sacikara, "Turks in Europe and Kurds in Turkey Could Elect Erdogan," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, PolicyWatch #2291, July 23, 2014.

[81] Murat Yetkin, "Turkey's future: Strong president or balanced democracy?," *Hurriyet Daily News*, July 7, 2014.

[82] The PKK is designated as a terrorist organization by the United States and the European Union.

[83] "Erdogan's sniping at Central Bank will not help," *Agence France Presse*, July 6, 2014.

[84] Bipartisan Letter to President Obama on Turkey (from 84 U.S. former policymakers and analysts, including two former ambassadors to Turkey and four former Members of Congress), Foreign Policy Initiative, February 20, 2014.

[85] Freedom House, op. cit. This report proposes that the United States pursue free trade agreement negotiations with Turkey in parallel with the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership talks it has initiated with the European Union, and that any final agreement ultimately should be linked to Turkey's transparency and accountability in all business and financial dealings.

[86] See, e.g., Soner Cagaptay and James F. Jeffrey, "Turkey's 2014 Political Transition: From Erdogan to Erdogan?," op. cit.

[87] Readout available at http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/02/19/readout-president-obama-s-call-prime-minister-erdogan.

[88] "Members of Congress express concerns over Erdoğan in letter to Obama," *Today's Zaman*, March 30, 2014. See also a letter from Representatives Eliot Engel and William Keating entitled "Relations with Turkey" in the *Economist*, June 14, 2014.

[89] European Parliament resolution of 12 March 2014 on the 2013 progress report on Turkey (2013/2945(RSP)).

[90] In footnote 2 of a September 2011 report, the International Crisis Group stated that Turkish government figures estimate that 11,700 Turks have been killed since fighting began in the early 1980s. This figure includes Turkish security personnel of various types and Turkish civilians (including Turkish Kurds who are judged not to have been PKK combatants). The same report states that Turkish estimates of PKK dead during the same time period run from 30,000 to 40,000. International Crisis Group, *Turkey: Ending the PKK Insurgency*, Europe Report No. 213, September 20, 2011.

[91] U.S. Treasury Department Press Release, "Five PKK Leaders Designated Narcotics Traffickers," April 20, 2011.

[92] However, northern Syria's more open terrain and comparably small and dispersed Kurdish population may make it a less plausible base of operations than Iraq. Syria hosted the PKK's leadership until 1998, and historical and personal links persist among Syrian Kurds and the PKK.

[93] Kurdish nationalist leaders demand that any future changes to Turkey's 1982 constitution not suppress Kurdish ethnic and linguistic identity. The first clause of Article 3 of the constitution reads, "The Turkish state, with its territory and nation, is an indivisible entity. Its language is Turkish." Because the constitution states that its first three articles are unamendable, even proposing a change could face judicial obstacles. Kurds in Turkey also seek to modify the electoral law to allow for greater Kurdish nationalist participation in Turkish politics by lowering the percentage-vote threshold (currently 10%) for political parties in parliament. In the 2011 election, 61 members of the Kurdish nationalist Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) or affiliated independents ran as independents for individual geographic constituencies because of a calculation that the party would not reach the 10% threshold. In the aggregate, these independents won 6% of the national vote.

[94] The International Crisis Group stated that the time period from the summer of 2011 until March 2013 featured the worst fighting between the PKK and Turkish authorities since the 1990s, reporting that at least 928 people had been killed in that time—"at least 304 security forces, police and village guards, 533 militants and 91 civilians." International Crisis Group, *Crying "Wolf": Why Turkish Fears Need Not Block Kurdish Reform*, Europe Report No. 227, October 7, 2013.

[95] Piotr Zalewski, "Turkey's Imperfect Peace," *foreignaffairs.com*, October 20, 2013.

[96] See, e.g., Ilter Turan, "Democratization from Above: Erdoğan's Democracy Package," *On Turkey*, German Marshall Fund of the United States, October 22, 2013.

[97] Bipartisan Policy Center, op. cit., p. 8.
[98] Interview of President Barack Obama by Pinar Ersoy of *Milliyet*, quoted in "Obama 'applauds' Turkey's effort to find peaceful solution to Kurdish problem," *hurriyetdailynews.com*, February 10, 2013.
[99] Christopher de Bellaigue, "Turkey Goes Out of Control," *New York Review of Books*, April 3, 2014 Issue (accessed online on March 25, 2014).
[100] Turkish Statistical Institute, *Turkey in Statistics 2013*, p. 78. Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Report: Turkey*, generated March 25, 2014.
[101] de Bellaigue, op. cit.; International Monetary Fund 2014 World Outlook Database, accessed August 1, 2014; Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Report: Turkey*, generated July 29, 2014.
[102] See, e.g., Daniel Dombey, "Six Markets to Watch: Turkey," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2014.
[103] See, e.g., *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Surveys: Turkey*, July 2012.
[104] Statistics on Turkey's status relative to other U.S. trading partners compiled by U.S. International Trade Commission, available at http://dataweb.usitc.gov/SCRIPTS/cy_m3_run.asp.
[105] Turkish Statistical Institute, cited in Kemal Kirisci, *Turkey and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership: Boosting the Model Partnership with the United States*, Brookings Center on the United States and Europe, Turkey Project Policy Paper Number 2, September 2013.
[106] American Business Forum in Turkey, *Business and Investment Climate in Turkey 2011*, October 2011.
[107] Michael Ratner, Specialist in Energy Policy, contributed to this subsection. See "Israel" and Appendix E for references to the possible relevance to Turkey of offshore natural gas finds by Israel and the Republic of Cyprus.
[108] Transatlantic Academy, *Getting to Zero: Turkey, Its Neighbors, and the West*, June 2010, citing Turkish government statistics.
[109] The U.S. energy strategy in Europe is designed to work together with European nations and the European Union to seek ways to diversify Europe's energy supplies. The focus of U.S. efforts has been on establishing a southern corridor route for Caspian and Middle Eastern natural gas supplies to be shipped to Europe, generally through pipelines traversing Turkey. See H.Res. 284, "Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to promoting energy security of European allies through opening up the Southern Gas Corridor." This draft resolution was unanimously approved for forwarding in September 2013 to the House Foreign Affairs Committee by its Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia, and Emerging Threats. See also, e.g., Tolga Demiryol, "Turkey's energy security and foreign policy," *Turkish Review*, January/February 2012; Transatlantic Academy, op. cit.
[110] Demiryol, op. cit.
[111] In June 2008, the United States and Turkey signed a 15-year "123 Agreement" for peaceful nuclear cooperation in line with international nuclear non-proliferation norms. Turkey is also a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and has a safeguards agreement and additional protocol in place with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). It is an observer to—not a full participant in—the International Framework for Nuclear Energy Cooperation (IFNEC, formerly known as the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership) founded by the United States, Russia, China, France, and Japan in 2007. IFNEC promotes the peaceful use of nuclear energy by helping establish reprocessing centers for nuclear fuel. Turkey is one of the regional countries that analysts routinely mention could decide to pursue its own nuclear weapons program in the event that one or more countries in the region, such as Iran, achieves or declares a nuclear weapons capability. Israel is generally believed by most analysts to have had a nuclear arsenal since the late 1960s, but it maintains a policy of "nuclear opacity" wherein its nuclear weapons status remains officially undeclared. For discussion of Turkey and nuclear weapons, see "Bilateral and NATO Defense Cooperation" and archived CRS Report R41761, *Turkey-U.S. Defense Cooperation: Prospects and Challenges*, by Jim Zanotti.
[112] The terms of Turkish-Azerbaijani agreement specified that 565 billion-700 billion cubic feet (bcf) of natural gas would transit Turkey, of which 210 bcf would be available for Turkey's domestic use.
[113] BP press release, "Shah Deniz targets Italian and Southeastern European gas markets through Trans Adriatic Pipeline," June 28, 2013. For more information, see CRS Report R42405, *Europe's Energy Security: Options and Challenges to Natural Gas Supply Diversification*, coordinated by Michael Ratner.
[114] In light of Russia's unilateral annexation of Ukraine's Crimean Peninsula in March 2014, Russia may be able to re-route South Stream in a way that does not traverse Turkish territorial waters. William J. Broad, "In Taking Crimea, Putin Gains a Sea of Fuel Reserves," *New York Times*, May 17, 2014.
[115] The report is available at http://go.ynet.co.il/pic/news/Palmer-Committee-Final-report.pdf. The panel was chaired by former New Zealand Prime Minister Sir Geoffrey Palmer, and included former Colombian President Alvaro Uribe and one participant each from Turkey and Israel. The report expressly provided that its findings were not intended to decide legal questions. Upon the report's leak, Turkish officials disputed the report's finding that Israel's naval blockade of the Gaza Strip was legal, notwithstanding the report's criticism of Israel's handling of the incident itself.
[116] Turkey similarly downgraded diplomatic relations with Israel in 1980 following Israel's enactment of a law on the status of Jerusalem that was deemed a violation of international law by U.N. Security Council Resolution 478. Resolution 478 passed on August 20, 1980 by a vote of 14-0, with the United States as the lone

abstention. Turkey reinstated Israel's ambassador in 1992 following the 1991 Madrid Conference that signaled the beginning of the Middle East peace process. Linda Gradstein, "No end in sight for downward spiral in Turkish-Israeli ties," *JTA*, September 6, 2011.

[117] Israeli officials have reportedly leaked to the press the name of a Hamas operational commander living in Turkey who may have links to West Bank-based plots to kidnap Israelis. Matthew Levitt, "Hamas's Not-So-Secret-Weapon," *foreignaffairs.com*, July 9, 2014. Three Israeli teenagers were kidnapped and murdered in June 2014, and this contributed to the outbreak of the July 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict. Hamas denied responsibility for the June 2014 kidnapping.

[118] Following the flotilla incident, the Senate passed S.Res. 548 by voice vote on June 24, 2010. The resolution condemned the attack by the "extremists aboard the Mavi Marmara," invoked Israel's right to self-defense, and encouraged "the Government of Turkey to recognize the importance of continued strong relations with Israel and the necessity of closely scrutinizing organizations with potential ties to terrorist groups" (a reference to the Turkish Islamist non-governmental organization IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation, the main organizer of the flotilla).

[119] James Traub, "Turkey's Rules," *New York Times Magazine*, January 20, 2011.

[120] Michael Koplow, "O&Z Goes to Turkey," *ottomansandzionists.com*, March 4, 2013.

[121] U.S. leaders may have felt compelled to broker some sort of improvement in Turkey-Israel relations following remarks Erdogan made in late February 2013 at the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations in Vienna, Austria that appeared to equate Zionism with fascism. Video and partial transcript of remarks and translation available at http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/02/28/video-of-turkish-premier-comparing-zionism-to-anti-semitism-and-fascism/?smid=tw-thelede&seid=auto. In a March 12 letter to Erdogan, 89 Members of Congress (including 23 Senators) called on him to retract what they termed his "appalling comment" about Zionism in Vienna, while also stating that they know that Turkey's government "shares a commitment to meaningful international involvement to advance security and peace", and expressing hope for the restoration of good relations between Turkey and Israel. Text of letter available at http://israel.house.gov/images/PDF/erdoganletteronzionismcomment.pdf. Erdogan's comparison also drew heavy criticism from Israel, the White House, Secretary Kerry, and some Members of Congress. In a March 19 interview with a prominent Danish news source, although Erdogan did not explicitly retract his Vienna remarks, he was quoted as saying that his criticisms "are directed at Israeli policies" and that "My several statements openly condemning anti-semitism clearly display my position on this issue." "Exclusive Erdogan-interview: 'We see a human tragedy before our eyes,'" *Politiken* (Denmark), March 19, 2013.

[122] Summary of conversation between Netanyahu and Erdogan from Israeli Prime Minister's Office website, March 22, 2013. Turkish officials indicated in the spring of 2014 that they might interpret Israel's allowance of Turkish humanitarian aid shipments to Gaza as a lifting of the closure regime, which is another condition that Erdogan had set forth for the normalization of Turkey-Israel relations.

[123] In December 2012, reports cited a Turkish official as saying that Turkey had withdrawn previous objections to Israel's non-military participation in NATO activities. Gulsen Solaker and Jonathon Burch, "Turkey lifts objection to NATO cooperation with Israel," *Reuters*, December 24, 2012. Israel is part of NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue, along with Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Mauritania, and Tunisia. In addition, trade between the Turkey and Israel has remained on an upward trajectory since the flotilla incident, and by February 2013, Israel had reportedly unblocked the delivery of electronic support measures systems—pursuant to a pre-existing contract—for early warning aircraft that Turkey is purchasing from U.S.-based Boeing. Burak Bekdil, "Israel abandons block on sales to Turkish AWACS," *Hurriyet Daily News*, February 22, 2013.

[124] See, e.g., Oded Eran, "Israel-Turkey Reconciliation Still Remote," *nationalinterest.org*, April 18, 2013.

[125] Amiram Barkat, "Turkish minister: We're interested in Israeli gas," *Globes*, October 31, 2013.

[126] Donzis, op. cit.

[127] For background information on Syria, see CRS Report RL33487, *Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and U.S. Response*, coordinated by Christopher M. Blanchard; and CRS Report R43119, *Syria: Overview of the Humanitarian Response*, by Rhoda Margesson and Susan G. Chesser. Rhoda Margesson, Specialist in International Humanitarian Policy, contributed to the portions of this section on Syrian refugees.

[128] Kadri Gursel, "NATO Patriot Missiles Show Turkey's Military Weakness," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse*, December 28, 2012.

[129] Bipartisan Policy Center, op. cit., p. 37. Turkey reportedly denies having assisted extremist organizations in Syria. Ibid., p. 11.

[130] Article 4 reads: "The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened."

[131] NATO countries also deployed Patriots to Turkey prior to the 1991 and 2003 wars in Iraq.

[132] Turkey's is seeking to address its lack of an independent missile defense capability through the possible deal for T-LORAMIDS with Chinese government-owned CPMIEC, as discussed earlier in this report.

[133] NATO press release, "All NATO Patriot batteries in Turkey operational," February 16, 2013.

[134] The Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C, sometimes known as "Dev Sol") claimed responsibility for the embassy bombing, which killed a Turkish security guard. The DHKP/C is a U.S.-

designated Foreign Terrorist Organization with a Marxist-Leninist ideology, a long track record of anti-U.S. and anti-NATO militancy, and some historical links with the Asad regime.

[135] On April 11, 2013, Air Force General Philip Breedlove addressed the potential for other uses of NATO's Patriot missile presence in a Senate Armed Services Committee hearing regarding his possible confirmation as U.S. European Command Commander and Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (he was eventually confirmed by the Senate on April 20). In his testimony, General Breedlove stated that the two batteries representing the U.S. contribution "could be used in a role to project into Syria. They have the capability to do it…. if Turkey and the U.S. were looking to do this in a bilateral fashion, or if we could convince our NATO partners to come alongside of us, to also be a part of that."

[136] For more information on Turkey's stance on possible U.S.-led intervention following alleged use of chemical weapons in August 2013 by the Asad regime in an outlying Damascus neighborhood, see CRS Report R43201, *Possible U.S. Intervention in Syria: Issues for Congress*, coordinated by Christopher M. Blanchard and Jeremy M. Sharp.

[137] Some reports had alleged that Turkish officials were lending support to "jihadist fighters" in campaigns against the PYD, but that by late 2013, Turkey may have reduced or ended this alleged support. PYD leader Salih Muslim was quoted as saying that Turkey may have reversed its policy "because of international pressure but also because these groups pose a grave threat to Turkey itself." Amberin Zaman, "Syrian Kurdish leader: Turkey may end proxy war," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse*, November 7, 2013.

[138] Dorian Jones, "Turkey Deports Jihadists Linked to Syria Fighting," *Voice of America*, December 3, 2013.

[139] Transcript of hearing testimony from Senate Foreign Relations European Affairs Subcommittee, July 15, 2014.

[140] See, e.g., Murat Yetkin, "Syria's foreign fighters in Turkey's target, too," *hurriyetdailynews.com*, June 7, 2014; Transcript of interview with Thomas Hegghammer of the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment on Syria Deeply blog, Karen Leigh, "Q+A: On Foreign Fighters Flowing into Syria," December 2, 2013. In the interview, Hegghammer, who researches militant Islamism with a focus on transnational jihadi groups, said that Turkey "is the main passageway for fighters from the West, and from the rest of the region."

[141] Constanze Letsch, "The sons feared lost to al-Qaida in Syria," *theguardian.com*, November 11, 2013.

[142] Fehim Tastekin, "Fall of Kassab will be costly for Turkey," *Al-Monitor* (originally published in Turkish in *Radikal*), March 31, 2014.

[143] The Turkish government estimates that there are approximately 1,000,000 Syrians in Turkey, when those not registered or soon-to-be registered as refugees are counted. UNHCR Turkey Syrian Refugee Daily Sitrep, July 25, 2014.

[144] United Nations, *2014 Syria Regional Response Plan*.

[145] International Crisis Group, *Blurring the Borders: Syrian Spillover Risks for Turkey*, Europe Report No. 225, April 30, 2013.

[146] Mac McClelland, "How to Build a Perfect Refugee Camp," *New York Times Magazine*, February 13, 2014.

[147] See, e.g., ORSAM (Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies), *The Situation of Syrian Refugees in the Neighboring Countries: Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations*, Report No: 189, April 2014, pp. 16-17.

[148] Kemal Kirisci, "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Bracing for the Long Haul," Brookings Institution, Up Front Blog, February 20, 2014.

[149] Michelle Nichols, "First U.N. aid convoy enters Syria without government consent," *Reuters*, July 24, 2014.

[150] "Turkey's state-run TPAO joins with Exxon, Iraqi Kurds in oil exploration," *Reuters*, May 15, 2013.

[151] Julia King and Peg Mackey, "UPDATE 1-Iraqi Kurds say new oil pipeline to Turkey to start soon," *Reuters*, June 19, 2013.

[152] The Maliki government's concerns appear to be exacerbated by reports that at least one company (the Turkish-British joint venture Genel Energy) is exporting oil from KRG-controlled sources via truck through Turkey, bypassing the Iraqi pipeline completely. Olgu Okumus, "US Complicates Turkey's Energy Interests in Iraq, Iran," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse*, May 7, 2013.

[153] Reportedly, because Iraq does not have diplomatic relations with Israel, it would have difficulty taking legal action in Israel's jurisdiction. Jackie Northam, "Kurds May Have Oil To Export, But Buyers Are Harder To Find," *NPR*, July 15, 2014. Oil trucked from KRG-controlled areas has reportedly already been shipped and sold to buyers in the United States, Israel, Europe, and Latin America. Julia Payne and Ron Bousso, "EXCLUSIVE-Israel, U.S. import disputed oil from Iraqi Kurdistan," *Reuters*, May 15, 2014. See also Dan Murtaugh and Jack Kaskey, "One Kurdish Tanker Waits Off Texas, Another Heads to U.S.," *Bloomberg*, August 1, 2014.

[154] See footnote 11. The radar was activated in late December 2011. "Part of NATO missile defense system goes live in Turkey," *CNN*, January 16, 2012. It is reportedly operated by U.S. personnel from a command center in Diyarbakir, with a Turkish general and his team stationed in Germany to monitor the command and control mechanisms headquartered there for the entire missile defense system. "Malatya radar system to be commanded from Ramstein," *Hurriyet Daily News*, February 4, 2012.

[155] Thom Shanker, "U.S. Hails Deal with Turkey on Missile Shield," *New York Times*, September 15, 2011.

[156] "Erdogan, in Iran, says NATO radar could be dismantled if needed," *Today's Zaman*, March 30, 2012.

[157] According to U.S. officials, despite this Turkish insistence, information collected from the radar is coordinated as necessary with the U.S. missile defense radar deployed in Israel. One senior Administration official has been quoted as saying, "Data from all U.S. missile defense assets worldwide, including not only from radars in Turkey and Israel, but from other sensors as well, is fused to maximize the effectiveness of our missile defenses worldwide; this data can be shared with our allies and partners in this effort." Josh Rogin, "Amid tensions, U.S. and Turkey move forward on missile defense," *thecable.foreignpolicy.com*, September 19, 2011. Some Members of Congress had insisted that sharing information for Israel's potential defense be a condition of the radar's placement in Turkey. The text of a September 19, 2011, letter to President Barack Obama from six Senators on this subject is available at http://kirk.senate.gov/?p=press_release&id=299.

[158] Reva Bhalla, "Letter from Kurdistan," Stratfor Geopolitical Weekly, December 10, 2013.

[159] John Daly, "How Far Will Turkey Go in Supporting Sanctions Against Iran?," *Turkey Analyst*, July 5, 2013.

[160] For more general information on this subject, see CRS Report RS20871, *Iran Sanctions*, by Kenneth Katzman.

[161] Asli Kandemir, "Exclusive: Turkey to Iran gold trade wiped out by new U.S. sanction," *Reuters*, February 15, 2013.

[162] Olgu Okumus, "US Complicates Turkey's Energy Interests in Iraq, Iran," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse*, May 7, 2013.

[163] Financial Action Task Force Public Statement, Paris, February 22, 2013; Daniel Dombey, "Turkey's last-minute terror laws: will they be enough?," *blogs.ft.com*, February 8, 2013.

[164] "New Iranian firms in Turkey stir front company worries for Ankara," *todayszaman.com*, February 17, 2013.

[165] The text of the letter is available at http://jeffduncan.house.gov/sites/jeffduncan.house.gov/files/Turkey-Iran%20Letter%20%28April%2011%202013%29.pdf.

[166] For more information, see CRS Report RL33460, *Ukraine: Current Issues and U.S. Policy*, by Steven Woehrel; and CRS Report RL33407, *Russian Political, Economic, and Security Issues and U.S. Interests*, coordinated by Jim Nichol and Steven Woehrel.

[167] From the U.S. Energy Information Administration website.

[168] Turkey permits access to the Black Sea through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits pursuant to the terms of the 1936 Montreux Convention, which can sometimes limit the size and volume of U.S. ships permitted to traverse the straits, as during the 2008 Russia-Georgia conflict. See "US warship crosses Bosphorus towards Black Sea," *Agence France Presse*, March 7, 2014.

[169] See, e.g., Soner Cagaptay and James F. Jeffrey, "Turkey's Muted Reaction to the Crimean Crisis," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, PolicyWatch 2219, March 4, 2014.

[170] Joshua W. Walker, "U.S.-Turkish Relations: Modesty and Revitalization," *On Turkey*, German Marshall Fund of the United States, December 15, 2011.

[171] According to *Jane's*, Turkey had sought to purchase four MQ-1 Predator drones and six MQ-9 Reaper drones (more advanced versions of the Predator). "Procurement, Turkey," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment - Eastern Mediterranean*, December 16, 2010. Potential sales of Reapers to NATO allies such as the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and France have been notified to Congress since 2008.

[172] See footnote 25.

[173] "US deployed Predators to Incirlik: Davutoglu," *Hurriyet Daily News*, November 13, 2011. According to then Secretary of Defense Panetta, the Iraqi government gave the United States permission to keep flying Predator drones on surveillance missions over northern Iraq. Craig Whitlock, "U.S. drones allowed in Iraqi skies," *washingtonpost.com/blogs/checkpoint-washington*, December 16, 2011.

[174] State Department FY2014 Congressional Budget Justification, Foreign Operations, Annex: Regional Perspectives, pp. 404-406. The United States and Turkey co-chair the Global Counterterrorism Forum. See Co-Chairs' Fact Sheet: About the Counterterrorism Forum, State Department website, April 2, 2014, at http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2014/04/224313.htm.

[175] Sebnem Arsu, "U.S. Embassy in Turkey Said to Be Targeted," *New York Times*, April 12, 2013.

[176] Unlike H.Res. 252 and some proposed resolutions similar to it, neither H.J.Res. 148 nor H.J.Res. 247 explicitly identified the Ottoman Empire or its authorities as perpetrators of the purported genocide. H.J.Res. 247 stated that "one and one-half million people of Armenian ancestry" were "the victims of the genocide perpetrated in Turkey".

[177] Additionally, in a May 1951 written statement to the International Court of Justice, the Truman Administration cited "Turkish massacres of Armenians" as one of three "outstanding examples of the crime of genocide" (along with Roman persecution of Christians and Nazi extermination of Jews and Poles). International Court of Justice, *Reservations on the Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: Advisory Opinion of May 28, 1951: Pleadings, Arguments, Documents*, p. 25.

[178] Robert Tait and Ewen McCaskill, "Turkey threatens 'serious consequences' after US vote on Armenian genocide," *Guardian* (UK), March 5, 2010.

[179] Translated text of statement available at http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-pm-erdogans-april-23-statement-on-armenian-issue-in-english.aspx?pageID=238&nID=65454&NewsCatID=359.

[180] Arslan, op. cit.

[181] The EU states recognizing a genocide are France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Belgium, the Netherlands, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Greece, and Cyprus. The European Parliament has also recognized the deaths as genocide.

[182] The two countries signed a Bilateral Investment Treaty in 1990 and a Trade and Investment Framework Agreement in 1999. Annual meetings for the U.S.-Turkey Framework for Strategic Economic and Commercial Cooperation began in 2010 at the cabinet ministerial level.

[183] See, e.g., Sidar Global Advisors, *U.S.-Turkish Economic Relations in a New Era: Analysis and Recommendations for a Stronger Strategic Partnership*, Turkish Industry & Business Association (TUSIAD) and U.S. Chamber of Commerce, March 2012.

[184] For more detailed information on bilateral efforts to promote trade, see White House Fact Sheet: U.S.-Turkey Economic Partnership, May 16, 2013; U.S. Department of Commerce Fact Sheet: U.S.-Turkey Framework for Strategic Economic and Commercial Cooperation, October 14, 2010.

[185] Information provided to CRS by Turkish Ministry of Economy, September 2011.

[186] Turkey's customs union with the EU (see Appendix E) apparently would preclude a free trade or preferential agreement between the United States and Turkey absent a similar U.S.-EU agreement. See Turkish Ministry of Economy website at http://www.economy.gov.tr/index.cfm?sayfa=tradeagreements&bolum=fta&region=0. The 2012 Albright-Hadley report encouraged the pursuit of a U.S.-Turkey free or preferential trade agreement or other measures emphasizing "market access, regulatory compatibility, business facilitation, assistance for small and medium-sized enterprises, and promotion of trade in cutting-edge technologies". Council on Foreign Relations, op. cit., pp. 12-13. Additionally, a March 2012 report jointly sponsored by the Turkish Industry & Business Association (TUSIAD) and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce recommended that U.S. and Turkish trade and investment promotion agencies align strategies and use resources efficiently to "achieve certain mutually set benchmarks and goals." See Sidar Global Advisors, op. cit.

[187] See, e.g., Mark Scott, "In Turkey, Western Companies Find Stability and Growth," *New York Times*, December 23, 2011.

[188] See, e.g., Kemal Kirisci, "Don't Forget Free Trade with Turkey," *nationalinterest.org*, April 15, 2013; Bahadir Kaleagasi and Baris Ornarli, Turkish Industry and Business Association (TUSIAD), "Why Turkey belongs to transatlantic economy," *thehill.com/blogs*, March 12, 2013.

[189] *Anadolu Agency*, quoted in "US House speaker tells TÜSİAD that Turkey should not be excluded from transatlantic trade alliance," *Hurriyet Daily News*, October 12, 2013.

[190] Turkish officials are now publicly raising the possibility of renegotiating the customs union because of this lack of mutuality.

[191] Two German reports cited in Kirisci, *Turkey and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership: Boosting the Model Partnership with the United States*, op. cit., footnote 29.

[192] Kirisci, *Turkey and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership: Boosting the Model Partnership with the United States*, op. cit. See also Tyson Barker and Cenk Sidar, "U.S.-EU Trade Talks Risk Damaging Turkey Ties," *Bloomberg View*, May 12, 2013.

[193] "Biden: US and Turkey to work for FTA," *worldbulletin.net*, May 17, 2013. Biden was also quoted as saying, "We will not only keep Turkey informed of every step of the negotiation with the EU, but we believe that if in fact, we can get by some of the divisions and the differences we have with regard to free trade agreements, that if we can get there before the time we settle the EU new trade agreement, that it will be a great opportunity for Turkey." Ibid. Officially, the two countries decided in May 2013 to "establish a bilateral High Level Committee led by the Ministry of Economy of Turkey and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, associated with the Framework for Strategic Economic and Commercial Cooperation, with the ultimate objective of continuing to deepen our economic relations and liberalize trade." White House Fact Sheet: U.S.-Turkey Economic Partnership, May 16, 2013.

[194] Mark Meirowitz, "A Realistic and Candid Look at Turkish-U.S. Relations," Magazine of American-Turkish Council: 32nd Annual Conference on U.S.-Turkish Relations, June 2-5, 2013.

[195] Adam Entous and Joe Parkinson, "Turkey's Spymaster Plots Own Course on Syria," *Wall Street Journal*, October 10, 2013.

[196] Peterson, op. cit. The Abramowitz-Edelman Report states that Erdogan places a high regard on U.S. praise. Bipartisan Policy Center, op. cit., p. 10.

[197] See, e.g., Semih Idiz, "Gul's next move depends on Erdogan," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse*, June 3, 2014; Gulten Ustuntag, "Parliament seeks formula to choose next prime minister," *todayszaman.com*, July 12, 2014.

[198] AKP members generally use the acronym "AK Party" or "AK," partly because the Turkish word *ak* means "clean" and "unblemished," thus presenting an image of incorruptibility.

[199] The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) included Turkey on its watch list from 2009 to 2011, and, in a decision disputed among the commissioners, recommended in 2012 that the State Department list Turkey as a "country of particular concern" (CPC). In USCIRF's 2013 report, Turkey was not included on either the watch list (now reclassified as "Tier 2") or the CPC list, but on a separate list of countries being "monitored." Four of the eight commissioners dissented, saying that Turkey's 2012 CPC listing was a mistake, but that it should remain on the watch list/Tier 2. Turkey was included in Tier 2 for the

2014 report, with one commissioner dissenting. For additional information on Turkey's religious minorities, see the State Department's International Religious Freedom Report for 2013.

[200] The Patriarchate traces its roots to the Apostle Andrew. The most commonly articulated congressional grievances on behalf of the Patriarchate—whose ecumenicity is not acknowledged by the Turkish government, but also not objected to when acknowledged by others—are the non-operation of the Halki Theological School on Heybeliada Island near Istanbul, the requirement that the Patriarch be a Turkish citizen, and the failure of the Turkish government to return previously confiscated properties.

[201] H.Res. 306 was sponsored by Representative Edward Royce, now Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. An identically worded proposed resolution was introduced in the Senate in March 2012 as S.Res. 392. Proposed resolutions from the 113th Congress include H.Res. 136 ("Urging Turkey to respect the rights and religious freedoms of the Ecumenical Patriarchate"), and H.Res. 188 ("Calling upon the Government of Turkey to facilitate the reopening of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's Theological School of Halki without condition or further delay."). H.Res. 188 was forwarded to the House Foreign Affairs Committee on November 19, 2013, by its Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia, and Emerging Threats.

[202] See footnote 18.

[203] John Kass, "With faith and hope, Turkey builds a new identity," *Chicago Tribune*, April 11, 2012. Some sources indicate that Prime Minister Erdogan promised at a March 2012 meeting with President Obama in Seoul, South Korea, that he would reopen the Halki seminary. See, e.g., David Ignatius, "Obama's friend in Turkey," *Washington Post*, June 7, 2012.

[204] "PM indicates opening Halki Seminary depends on reciprocal gesture by Greece," *todayszaman.com*, March 30, 2013.

[205] Peter Kenyon, "Some Turkish Churches Get Makeovers—As Mosques," *NPR*, December 3, 2013; Dorian Jones, "Turkish Leaders Aim to Turn Hagia Sophia Back into a Mosque," *Voice of America*, November 29, 2013.

[206] USCIRF website, "Turkey: Statement on Hagia Sophia," May 21, 2014.

[207] Ayla Jean Yackley, "Muslims pray to turn Turkey's greatest monument back into a mosque," *Reuters*, May 30, 2014.

[208] According to reports, the foundations would receive compensation for property since transferred to third parties. See Sebnum Arsu, "Turkish Government to Return Seized Property to Religious Minorities," *New York Times*, August 29, 2011.

[209] The ability for these foundations to acquire real estate has since been restored. The 1974 court ruling came at a time of high Turkish-Greek tensions with the outbreak of conflict in Cyprus.

[210] Dorian Jones, "Turkey: Making Room for Religious Minorities," *EurasiaNet.org*, October 3, 2011.

[211] For example, in January 2013, 190 hectares of forestland surrounding the Halki Theological School were returned to the Greek Orthodox foundation listed as its owner-of-record. Fatma Disli Zibak, "Turkey makes largest property return to Greek Orthodox community," *todayszaman.com*, January 11, 2013.

[212] For information comparing and contrasting Sunnism and Shiism, see CRS Report RS21745, *Islam: Sunnis and Shiites*, by Christopher M. Blanchard.

[213] For additional historical background, see Elise Massicard, *The Alevis in Turkey and Europe: Identity and managing territorial diversity*, New York: Routledge, 2013, pp. 11-18.

[214] According to a Boston University anthropologist who studies modern Turkish society, "Alevis suffered centuries of oppression under the Ottomans, who accused them of not being truly Muslim and suspected them of colluding with the Shi'i Persians against the empire. Alevi Kurds were victims of the early republic's Turkification policies and were massacred by the thousands in Dersim [now called Tunceli] in 1937-39. In the 1970s, Alevis became associated with socialist and other leftist movements, while the political right was dominated by Sunni Muslims. An explosive mix of sectarian cleavages, class polarization, and political violence led to communal massacres of Alevis in five major cities in 1977 and 1978, setting the stage for the 1980 coup." Jenny White, *Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013, p. 14. See also Bipartisan Policy Center, op. cit., footnote 62.

[215] Bipartisan Policy Center, op. cit., p. 28.

[216] For more information on this subject, see archived CRS Report RS22517, *European Union Enlargement: A Status Report on Turkey's Accession Negotiations*, by Vincent L. Morelli; and CRS Report RS21344, *European Union Enlargement*, by Kristin Archick and Vincent L. Morelli.

[217] Council on Foreign Relations, op. cit., p. 18.

[218] Turkey's unwillingness to open its ports to Greek Cypriot trade according to the Additional Protocol that it signed at the outset of the accession process in 2005 prompted the EU Council to block eight out of the 35 chapters of the *acquis communautaire* that Turkey would be required to meet to the Council's satisfaction in order to gain EU membership. France blocked five additional chapters in 2007 and the Republic of Cyprus blocked six in 2009. France unblocked one chapter in early 2013, in what some analysts interpreted as a portent for better prospects of Turkey's eventual accession. Thus far, one of the chapters has been fully negotiated, and 14 others have been opened.

[219] European Commission Staff Working Document, *Turkey 2013 Progress Report*, October 16, 2013.

[220] Emiliano Alessandri, "Turkey-EU Relations: Back to Basics?," *On Turkey*, German Marshall Fund of the United States, February 27, 2013.

[221] European Parliament Resolution of 13 June 2013 on the Situation in Turkey (2013/2664(RSP)).

[222] Dan Bilefsky, "For Turkey, Lure of Tie to Europe Is Fading," *New York Times*, December 4, 2011. According to the *Transatlantic Trends* surveys of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the percentage of Turks who think that Turkish EU membership would be a good thing was 73% in 2004 and 44% in 2013.

[223] Alex Spillius, "Turkey 'will probably never be EU member,'" *telegraph.co.uk*, September 21, 2013.

[224] See http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/instruments/funding-by-country/turkey/index_en.htm for further information.

[225] For more information on this subject, see CRS Report R41136, *Cyprus: Reunification Proving Elusive*, by Vincent L. Morelli.

[226] Turkey views its protective role as justified given its status as one of the three guaranteeing powers of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee that was signed at the time Cyprus gained its independence. The United Kingdom and Greece are the other two guarantors.

[227] Turkish intervention in Cyprus with U.S.-supplied arms prompted Congress to impose an embargo on military assistance and arms sales to Turkey from 1975 to 1978. This Cold War-era disruption in U.S.-Turkey relations is often cited by analysts as a major factor in Turkey's continuing efforts to avoid overdependence on the United States or any other country for military equipment or expertise.

[228] Turkey retains between 30,000 and 40,000 troops on the island (supplemented by approximately 5,000 Turkish Cypriot soldiers and 26,000 reserves). "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment -Eastern Mediterranean*, October 30, 2009. This is countered by a Greek Cypriot force of approximately 12,000 (including roughly 1,300 Greek officers and soldiers seconded to Cyprus) with reported access to 50,000 reserves. "Cyprus," *Jane's World Armies*, November 3, 2011. The United Nations maintains a peacekeeping mission (UNFICYP) of approximately 900 personnel within a buffer zone headquartered in Cyprus's divided capital of Nicosia (known as Lefkosa in Turkish). Since the mission's inception in 1964, UNFICYP has suffered 179 fatalities. The United Kingdom maintains approximately 3,000 personnel at two sovereign military bases on the southern portion of the island at Akrotiri and Dhekelia.

[229] Dan Bilefsky, "On Cyprus Beach, Stubborn Relic of Conflict," *New York Times*, August 3, 2012. As of July 2014, the CIA World Factbook estimates Cyprus's total population to be 1,172,458 (77% Greek, 18% Turkish, 5% other).

[230] See, e.g., from the 112th Congress, H.Res. 676 (To expose and halt the Republic of Turkey's illegal colonization of the Republic of Cyprus with non-Cypriot populations, to support Cyprus in its efforts to control all of its territory, to end Turkey's illegal occupation of northern Cyprus, and to exploit its energy resources without illegal interference by Turkey.); S.Con.Res. 47 (A concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress on the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus over all of the territory of the island of Cypress [sic].); and H.R. 2597 (American-Owned Property in Occupied Cyprus Claims Act).

[231] "Gas drilling heightens east Mediterranean tension," *UPI*, September 16, 2011.

[232] See, e.g., "Divided they fall," *Economist*, April 27, 2013. Additionally, Greek Cypriots elected Nicos Anastasiades as president of the Republic of Cyprus in February 2013. Anastasiades is one of the few Greek Cypriot leaders to have backed the 2004 Annan Plan for reunification.

[233] White House website, Remarks by Vice President Joe Biden at an Official Lunch with President Nicos Anastasiades of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus, May 22, 2014.

[234] For more information, see CRS Report RL33453, *Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests*, by Jim Nichol and Steven Woehrel.

[235] Nagorno-Karabakh is a predominantly ethnic-Armenian-populated enclave within Azerbaijan's international borders. Disputes over its status led to armed conflict in 1991 in parallel with the Soviet Union's dissolution and the independence of both Armenia and Azerbaijan. The conflict ended with a 1994 ceasefire, but Armenian troops still occupy portions of the territory. The Minsk Group of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (co-chaired by the United States, Russia, and France, and including both Armenia and Azerbaijan, as well as Turkey and a number of other European countries) has been trying to negotiate a permanent settlement since then.

[236] In the meantime, Turkey and Azerbaijan signed a 10-year security and mutual assistance agreement in August 2010.

[237] See, e.g., Hajrudin Somun, "Turkish Foreign Policy in the Balkans and 'Neo-Ottomanism': A Personal Account," *Insight Turkey*, vol. 13, no. 3, summer 2011; Yigal Schleifer, "Turkey's Neo-Ottoman Problem," *World Politics Review*, February 16, 2010; Greg Bruno, "Turkey's Near Abroad," Council on Foreign Relations Analysis Brief, September 19, 2008.

In: Encyclopedia of Turkey
Editor: Dennis Rivera
ISBN: 978-1-63482-757-7
© 2015 Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

Chapter 5

TURKEY 2012 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT*

U.S. Department of State;
Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Turkey is a constitutional republic with a multiparty parliamentary system and a president with limited powers. Legislative authority is vested in the unicameral Grand National Assembly (parliament). In the June 2011 parliamentary elections, considered generally free and fair, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) formed a parliamentary majority under Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Civilian authorities maintained effective control of the security forces.

The most significant human rights problems during the year were:

Deficiencies in effective access to justice: Broad laws against terrorism and other threats to the state and a lack of transparency in the prosecution of such cases significantly restricted access to justice. While legal reforms led to the release of thousands from jail, the judicial system was politicized and overburdened and authorities continued to engage in arbitrary arrests, hold detainees for lengthy and indefinite periods in pretrial detention, and conduct extended trials. The secrecy of investigation orders also allowed authorities to limit defense access to evidence and fueled concerns about the effectiveness of judicial protections for suspects. The close connection between prosecutors and judges gave the appearance of impropriety and bias, while broad authority granted to prosecutors and judges contributed to inconsistent and uncertain application of criminal laws, particularly during expansive investigations related to state security.

Government interference with freedom of expression: The penal code and antiterror law retain multiple articles that restrict freedom of the press and the Internet. Authorities imprisoned scores of journalists who remained incarcerated at year's end, most charged under antiterror laws or for connections to an illegal organization. As a result of the Third Judicial Reform Package, the publication of approximately 400 books was no longer prohibited.

* This document was released by the U.S. Department of State; Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, May 2013.

Journalists, academics, and authors reported self-censorship was common because individuals in many cases were afraid that criticizing the state or government publicly could result in civil or criminal suits or investigations. Political leaders, including the prime minister, sued their critics for defamation. The government harassed and prosecuted persons sympathetic to some religious, political, and Kurdish nationalist or cultural viewpoints. Authorities detained thousands of persons, including many students, during legal demonstrations and charged many under antiterror laws, significantly limiting freedom of assembly.

Inadequate protection of vulnerable populations: The government did not effectively protect vulnerable populations, including women, children, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals, from societal abuse, discrimination, and violence. While the passage of a new domestic violence law showed progress, violence against women, including so-called honor killings, remained a significant problem. Child marriage persisted.

Other significant human rights problems during the year included: Security forces committed unlawful killings. Authorities obstructed demonstrations. Security forces allegedly used excessive force during sometimes violent protests related to the Kurdish issue, students' rights, and labor and opposition activities. The government obstructed the activities of human rights organizations, particularly in the Southeast.

Impunity remained a problem. The government investigated reports of abuse by security forces, but the number of arrests and prosecutions was low, and convictions remained rare, although the number increased from previous years.

SECTION 1. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM

A. Arbitrary or Unlawful Deprivation of Life

Neither the government nor its agents committed politically motivated killings. However, hundreds of security personnel, members of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) terrorist organization, and civilians were killed in the three-decade old conflict with the PKK. Government sources indicated that the number of civilian and security personnel deaths decreased from 2011 while the number of alleged terrorists killed increased. The International Crisis Group estimated that 711 citizens were killed in the conflict from mid-June 2011 to mid-August 2012, concluding it was the most violent year for the country's PKK conflict since 1999.

The domestic nongovernmental organization (NGO) Human Rights Foundation (HRF) alleged that police, military, and Jandarma, a paramilitary force under the joint control of the Ministry of Interior and the military charged with policing rural areas, were responsible for 35 civilian deaths and 38 serious injuries through November 30, primarily due to airstrikes or the use of firearms. The number of civilian deaths decreased from 2011.

Human rights organizations and the opposition alleged that security forces caused the deaths of approximately four persons during demonstrations. Human rights organizations continued to assert that the government's failure to delineate clearly in the law appropriate situations for the use of lethal force contributed to cases of disproportionate use of force.

Reports from the security forces (military, Turkish National Police (TNP), and Jandarma) estimated that 17 civilians were killed and 65 were injured in armed clashes related to the struggle against the PKK in the first 10 months of the year. Approximately 147 members of the security forces were killed and 813 injured in the first 10 months of the year. The Ministry of Defense announced that 560 alleged terrorists were killed, 24 were injured, and 71 captured inside the country during the year. Most of the clashes between the PKK and security forces occurred in the Southeast.

During the year the government used military aircraft or ground operations on 55 occasions to attack areas where the PKK was active in northern Iraq. The Ministry of Defense reported that 413 persons alleged to be terrorists were killed and 304 were injured during such operations. According to press reports, an airstrike killed two civilians in the Iraqi province of Sulaymaniyah on November 7. In October the parliament also authorized troops to launch cross-border action and strikes against Syrian targets, if required by the government.

In December 2011 military aircraft killed 34 civilians, including 17 children, near the town of Uludere, near the Iraqi border, in an airstrike targeting the PKK. A parliamentary commission examined the incident but had not released its final report by year's end. The Diyarbakir public prosecutor's office also did not conclude its investigation. Opposition and human rights organizations alleged that the incident was the result of a failure to implement adequate controls to safeguard civilian life, accused the government of delaying the report for political purposes, and asserted that the delays were consistent with government reluctance to account for official wrongdoing.

According to the Jandarma, landmines killed three civilians and 32 security personnel and injured 24 civilians and 109 security personnel during the year. The HRF reported that land mines and unattended explosives killed 14 civilians and injured 34 during the year.

In addition to dozens of clashes with Turkish security forces and police, on September 19, PKK militants shot and killed civilian government prosecutor Murat Uzun in Tunceli. An investigation into his death was underway at year's end. Other attacks on civilians included one by two PKK militants, who detonated a suicide car bomb in central Kayseri province on May 26, killing themselves and one police officer and injuring 18 persons. On August 20, a bomb exploded aboard a bus in the southeastern city of Gaziantep, killing 11 civilians, including five children, and wounding 69. As the PKK denied responsibility, press reports suggested the Kurdistan Freedom Hawks, a separate terrorist organization, committed the attack.

B. Disappearance

There were no reports of politically motivated disappearances during the year.

According to the European Commission October progress report, there was an increase in kidnappings perpetrated by the PKK in 2012, including numerous instances of government officials, soldiers, and civilians held hostage. Republican People's Party (CHP) parliamentarian Huseyin Aygun was kidnapped in Tunceli on August 12 and released on August 14, the first time a parliamentarian had been kidnapped since the struggle against the PKK began in the 1980s.

The 2012 annual report of the UN Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights' Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances stated that the country still had

60 unresolved disappearance cases. Authorities did not make progress investigating previous cases of disappearances, many of which dated back to the early 1990s. In a September report Human Rights Watch warned that many of these cases would reach the 20-year statute of limitations by 2014.

C. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

The constitution and law prohibit such practices, but there were reports that some government officials employed them. Human rights organizations continued to report cases of alleged torture and abuse, especially while the alleged victim was in police custody but not in a place of detention, during demonstrations, and during transfer to prison. They alleged that torture and abuse largely occurred outside of detention centers in more informal venues where it was harder to document.

Prosecutors investigated allegations of abuse and torture by security forces during the year but rarely convicted or punished offenders. Authorities typically allowed officers accused of abuse to remain on duty during their trial. In its October progress report on Turkey, the European Commission noted that law enforcement bodies regularly filed countersuits against persons who alleged torture or mistreatment. In many instances the courts gave such cases priority. Domestic human rights organizations claimed this practice deterred victims of abuse from filing complaints.

A number of human rights observers claimed that only a limited number of detainees reported torture and abuse because many feared retaliation or believed complaining to be futile. Human rights organizations documented several cases of prison guards beating inmates and maintained that those arrested for ordinary crimes were as likely to suffer torture and mistreatment in detention as those arrested for political offenses, such as speaking out against the government. They also noted that LGBT persons, particularly gay men, were subject to abuse and harassment by police on "moral" grounds.

The HRF received 553 allegations of incidents of torture. Of these, 220 allegedly occurred during the year and the rest occurred in previous years. The Jandarma reported that it received 62 allegations of torture, while the TNP reported 26 allegations, 25 of which it dismissed, with one case continuing at year's end. In addition the Jandarma Human Rights Violation Research and Evaluation Center received 178 complaints, of which it investigated 10 cases and dismissed 168.

In July 2011 police took Fevziye Cengiz into custody because she did not have her identification card while at a nightclub with her husband in Izmir. Cengiz claimed abuse while in custody; the officers subsequently filed a countercomplaint, and in September 2011 prosecutors charged Cengiz with "injuring and insulting a civil servant." In November 2011 prosecutors charged the two police officers with "using excessive force" after an official videotape of her arrest showed Cengiz being beaten and slapped by officers while handcuffed. In February authorities transferred the officers to other duties in Istanbul and took them into custody in October to await trial. Judicial proceedings continued at year's end.

The government continued to pursue efforts to ensure compliance with legal safeguards to prevent torture and mistreatment through its ongoing campaign of "zero tolerance" for torture. The TNP reported that, in line with the zero tolerance for torture policy, it installed

digital audio and video systems in 1,839 of 2,122 detention centers and testimony rooms, up from only 15 systems that were installed in 2011. The TNP also issued a new directive to prevent the use of excessive force during TNP interventions at public events and demonstrations as well as a directive on tear gas weapons and munitions to educate officers on the appropriate use of these instruments.

According to the parliamentary Human Rights Investigation Commission, 175 military conscripts committed suicide between June 2010 and the end of 2012. The Soldiers' Rights Platform, a Turkish NGO monitoring human rights abuses and violations in the military, documented that the most common reasons for suicide were insults, beatings, and other abuses such as excessive physical activity, denial of access to proper health care, and institutionalized bullying. Increased media attention to the number of suicides prompted an official investigation by the chief of the general staff in December into the causes and circumstances surrounding suicides in the military.

Prison and Detention Center Conditions

Prison facilities remained inadequate and did not meet international standards. Underfunding was a problem and overcrowding was also problematic, although human rights organizations noted significant improvement following the passage of the Third Judicial Package in July. This package of legal reforms contained a number of provisions amending administrative procedures, enforcement, criminal and bankruptcy law. According to official government statistics, approximately 20,000 persons were released from jail because of Third Judicial Package reforms regarding releases pending trial or redefinition of crimes.

Physical Conditions

As of December 31, the Ministry of Justice reported the country had 373 prisons with a designed capacity of 141,775 that held 136,020 inmates, including 31,707 persons in pretrial detention and 104,313 who had been convicted. The military reported that 25 military prisons with a capacity of 5,300 inmates held 56 prisoners and 671 detainees. Authorities occasionally held detainees together with convicts as well as juveniles with adults. They sometimes held inmates convicted of nonviolent, speech-related offenses in high-security prisons.

As of May 31, 4,609 women were in prison, including 1,818 in pretrial detention. As of October 8, there were 1,917 children in prison, including 1,518 in pretrial detention. There were 693 children in prisons specifically for juveniles while 1,224 were in adult prisons in private wards. Human rights activists noted that children were not fully separated from adults in all prisons.

The domestic NGO Human Rights Association (HRA) forwarded allegations of sexual abuse of juveniles at the Pozanti Prison in Adana to the government in July 2011. According to the HRA, authorities put juveniles arrested on political grounds in cells together with violent offenders, who subsequently abused them. In March the Ministry of Justice transferred 200 juveniles out of Pozanti, reassigned four guards and released a report recommending the prosecution of 18 inmates, four high-ranking prison officials, and two prison guards. The case continued at year's end.

The HRF reported 69 suspicious deaths of inmates and detainees during the year. The Ministry of Justice reported that, as of October 8, 139 inmates and 42 detainees had died in

prison. The Turkish General Staff reported there were no deaths of detainees or convicts in military prisons during the year.

Fires broke out in Sanliurfa, Karaman, Adana, Gaziantep, and Osmaniye prisons in central and southeastern Turkey on June 16, 18, and 19, resulting in 13 deaths and 89 injuries. According to the government, the fires resulted from prisoner protests and riots; human rights organizations reported that overcrowding and poor ventilation contributed to the severity of the fires. An investigation continued at year's end.

According to human rights organizations, prisoners generally had access to potable water, proper heating, ventilation, and lighting.

The Council of Europe's Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) made an ad hoc visit to the country on June 21-28 to examine the Pozanti allegations and prison fires. The CPT also raised issues related to the situation of PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan and other prisoners held at Imrali high-security closed prison. The CPT had not released its report on the visit by year's end. In response to the visit, authorities issued a circular to all central and provincial police units that emphasized the need to avoid mistreatment and excessive use of force.

Human rights associations expressed serious concern over the inadequate provision of health care to prisoners, particularly the insufficient number of prison doctors. According to the HRA, prisoners receiving medical care often received hostile treatment from guards and doctors, particularly if they requested guards leave the examination room or remove handcuffs. No specific cases of denial of health care to prisoners were reported.

From September 12 through November 18, hundreds of Kurdish inmates staged a 68-day hunger strike, primarily in protest over PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan's alleged isolation and lack of access to lawyers. Government officials noted that the law provided for lawyer visits to sentenced convicts only for limited personal family reasons. The strikes ended immediately upon Ocalan's call to suspend them.

Administration

Prisoners and detainees had reasonable access to visitors and were permitted religious observance. Authorities permitted prisoners and detainees to see a judge once a month, although there was no prison ombudsman institution. Authorities at times investigated credible allegations of inhumane conditions but generally did not document the results of such investigations in a publicly accessible manner or take actions to hold perpetrators accountable.

Monitoring

The parliament's Human Rights Investigation Commission (HRIC) reported open authorization to visit and observe military prisons. The HRIC visited 11 civilian prisons and two military prisons during the year. The government permitted prison visits by representatives of some international and domestic human rights organizations, including journalists' groups and EU parliamentarian delegations.

Improvements

While overcrowding remained an issue, human rights organizations noted significant improvement following the July 5 passage of the Third Judicial Package, which contained a number of provisions amending administrative procedures, enforcement, criminal and

bankruptcy law. According to official government statistics, approximately 20,000 persons were released from jail because of Third Judicial Package reforms regarding releases pending trial or the redefinition of crimes.

During the year prison personnel began receiving five months of training before they started duty. In addition in September the government, in conjunction with the EU, completed a program that trained over 18,000 prison staff on providing professional, effective, and efficient prison services.

D. Arbitrary Arrest or Detention

The law prohibits arbitrary arrest and detention. There were numerous reports of government not observing these prohibitions in practice.

Role of the Police and Security Apparatus

Civilian authorities maintained effective control of the security forces. The TNP, under the control of the Ministry of Interior, is responsible for security in large urban areas. The Jandarma is responsible for specific border sectors where smuggling is common, although the military has overall responsibility for border control and overall external security. Village guards, who report to the Jandarma, are a civil defense force that assisted the state in fighting the armed opposition in the Southeast.

As of October 1, authorities dismissed 236 Turkish General Staff personnel for disciplinary and moral reasons but none for excessive use of force. As of October 8, the TNP reported that 870 investigations were opened against TNP personnel for excessive use of force, with 674 indictments. Authorities did not dismiss any Jandarma for excessive use of force, although they were investigating three cases at year's end.

Village guards, a civilian force that reports to the Jandarma, were less professional and disciplined than other security forces and were accused in past years of attacking civilians, destroying homes and property, drug trafficking, corruption, theft, rape, and other abuses. Kurdish activists demanded their disbandment. According to the Jandarma, the number of village guards increased to 45,861 from 45,081 in 2011, a reversal from the downward trend in the size of the force in previous years. Seven nonspecific complaints were filed against the guards, and Kurdish and human rights organizations continued to criticize the guards for violations and previous cases of impunity.

According to Amnesty International's 2012 report on the country, investigations into alleged human rights abuses by state officials remained inadequate. When investigations were opened, the likelihood of holding those accountable remained remote. The filing of counter charges was used as a tactic against those who alleged abuse. Impunity remained a problem, although there was some progress on prosecuting certain long-standing cases.

In January prosecutors opened a case against retired general and former president Kenan Evren and other former military members who led the 1980 coup and the subsequent three years of military rule. During Evren's seizure of power and rule, 50 persons were executed, 500,000 were arrested, hundreds died in jail, and many more disappeared. While the 94-year-old Evren did not appear in court due to health reasons, hearings continued throughout the year. The case marked the first time that coup perpetrators faced trial for their actions. In April authorities opened a case against the planners of the 1997 "coup by memorandum" (also

known as the "postmodern coup"). Authorities detained over 30 active-duty and retired military officers and others for their roles. Both cases continued at year's end.

Authorities arrested Engin Ceber in 2008 for participating in a press meeting and distributing a left-wing magazine. Police allegedly tortured him to death. A suit was filed against the suspects, four of whom were sentenced to life imprisonment in 2010 on the charge of murder by torture. In September 2011 an appeals court overturned the verdict on procedural grounds and sent the case back to the lower court. An October 1 ruling confirmed the earlier convictions, and an additional nine officials received prison sentences ranging from five months to 12 and a half years for their role. Amnesty International welcomed the result as a landmark verdict.

The TNP and Jandarma received specialized training in areas including human rights and counterterrorism. Thousands of security personnel received human rights training during the year. According to the government, the military emphasized human rights in training for both regular and noncommissioned officers. During the year 105,854 Jandarma officers and 1,250 public order personnel received human rights training. In addition 673 TNP personnel received 32 hours of human rights training, and 8,446 riot police received 106 hours of training, including on human rights.

Arrest Procedures and Treatment While in Detention

The law requires warrants issued by a prosecutor for arrests, unless the suspect is caught committing a crime. Authorities may detain suspects for 24 hours but have prosecutorial discretion to extend the period to 48 hours, excluding transportation time, before arraigning them before a judge. A prosecutor may apply to extend this period of custody before being brought before the court for up to four days. Authorities must tell suspects of the charges against them within 24 hours, although human rights activists claimed that suspects were not always told which specific statement or action was the basis of a given charge. After arraignment, a judge may release the accused upon receipt of an appropriate assurance, such as bail, for crimes that carry sentences of up to three years in prison. For more serious crimes, the judge decides either to release the defendant on his or her own recognizance or hold the suspect in custody prior to trial completion if there are specific facts that justify the suspicion that the suspect will flee, attempt to destroy evidence, or attempt to pressure or tamper with witnesses or victims. In practice judges often kept suspects in detention without demonstrating the public interest or otherwise articulating a justification.

The law provides that detainees are entitled to immediate access to an attorney and to meet and confer with an attorney at any time. The law also requires that the government provide indigent detainees with a public attorney in criminal cases where the defendant requests an attorney. In cases where the potential prison sentence is greater than five years or where the defendant is a child or is disabled, a defense attorney is appointed even absent the request of the defendant. Private attorneys and human rights monitors reported irregular implementation of these laws, particularly with respect to attorney access. According to local bar associations, attorney access for detainees continued to vary widely across the country.

Human rights observers noted in most cases where a defendant could not afford an attorney, one was provided. However, in terrorism-related cases, an attorney was frequently not provided and was explicitly denied until after the suspect had been detained and interrogated by security forces. As in previous years, the HRA and the bar associations claimed that police often intimidated detainees who asked for an attorney, for example, telling

them that a court would assume they were guilty if they consulted an attorney during detention.

Authorities generally allowed detainees prompt access to family members. However, particularly in the Southeast, human rights organizations reported difficulties in helping families find out whether a relative had been detained because the government refused to release such information to the organizations or the families.

Arbitrary Arrest

A suspect cannot, under the law, be held arbitrarily or secretly. However, there were numerous reports that the government did not observe these prohibitions in practice. Human rights organizations claimed the broad nature of antiterrorism laws and the criminal code allowed for the arrest of thousands of individuals for suspected antistate or terrorist activity. The organizations claimed that authorities detained, harassed, or arrested members of human rights organizations, academics, elected officials, political activists, media personnel, and human rights monitors for "membership in an illegal organization" and for "promoting terrorist propaganda." By law police and Jandarma may compel citizens to identify themselves without cause.

During the year police routinely detained demonstrators for a few hours at a time, and human rights organizations claimed this practice sharply increased from previous years.

In 2010 the government began trying cases against thousands of persons alleged to be members or supporters of the Kurdistan Communities Union (KCK), the umbrella political organization of the PKK terrorist group. The Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) and human rights organizations claimed that, over a three-year period, authorities detained approximately 20,000 persons, of whom they arrested 8,000, and approximately 4,000 remained detained awaiting trial, including 32 elected mayors, hundreds of political party officials, and numerous journalists and human rights activists. Arrests and hearings continued throughout the year, with judges normally rejecting defendants' requests for conditional release, permission to dispute the validity of the charges, and permission for the defendants to use their mother tongue. Arrests and indictments continued at year's end.

Pretrial Detention

The criminal procedure code limits to 10 years the maximum length of time a person can be held in pretrial detention for organized crime and terrorism-related offenses and limits to five years the maximum length of time a person can be held for other offenses, including three one-year extensions. Lengthy pretrial detention before a verdict remained a problem, primarily because there was no assurance of a speedy trial in criminal cases. Judges ordered some suspects held for long periods or even indefinitely without trial but with the right to come before a judge each month.

Out of 31,707 pretrial detainees, authorities held 74.8 percent for less than one year, 21.48 percent between one and three years, and 3.71 percent for three years or more. Authorities detained 177 persons for more than three years and 16 for more than seven years for continuing cases.

The European Commission's October progress report expressed concerns about the length of pretrial detention. It noted that detentions were generally longer than strictly necessary to defend the public interest, that there were generally limited opportunities for a

detainee to challenge the lawfulness of pretrial detention, and that those occasions offered little prospect of success.

Throughout the year prosecutors in Istanbul continued to arrest and indict prominent military officers, businessmen, academics, and members of the press on charges of plotting to foment unrest and topple the elected government as members of an alleged network known as Ergenekon. They indicted more than 275 persons by year's end. Among these, 17 indictments spanned over 8,000 pages. Some opposition politicians, members of the press, and critics of the government considered many of the indictments to be politically motivated. Authorities held dozens of defendants for over five years, although they released some pending trial during the year. Since the investigation began in 2007, there have been no convictions in the case. The Ergenekon trials continued at year's end.

The OdaTV case continued throughout the year, with OdaTV journalists Soner Yalcin, Nedim Sener, Ahmet Sik, and at least 11 other persons under indictment for allegedly plotting a coup related to Ergenekon and belonging to a terrorist organization. Their indictments sought 15 years' imprisonment. On March 12, authorities released Sener and Sik pending trial after over a year in detention and, on December 26, released Yalcin after 682 days in jail. Others remained in jail. The OdaTV trial continued at year's end.

The continuing case against suspected members of the KCK resulted in thousands of detentions and arrests during the year. As with other cases, after the passage of the Third Judicial Reform Package, the courts released some suspects pending trial. On July 13, prominent academic Busra Ersanli, accused of belonging to the KCK, was released pending trial after eight months in detention. Authorities released 15 others with Ersanli.

Detention of Rejected Asylum Seekers or Stateless Persons

Foreigners who claimed asylum after being detained by security forces were held in "guest houses for foreigners" operated by the Foreigners' Department of the TNP.

E. Denial of Fair Public Trial

The law provides for an independent judiciary. However, the judiciary was occasionally subject to outside influence. Broad authority granted to prosecutors and judges, as well as their inclination to protect the state over the individual, contributed to inconsistent and uncertain application of criminal laws. The law prohibits the government from issuing orders or recommendations concerning the exercise of judicial power.

In practice critics asserted that the government used its influence among judges and prosecutors to ensure the election of handpicked candidates to the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK). The HSYK selects judges and prosecutors for the country's courts and is responsible for court oversight. The constitution provides tenure for judges, but the HSYK controls the careers of judges and prosecutors through appointments, transfers, promotions, expulsions, and reprimands.

The close connection between public prosecutors and judges gave the appearance of impropriety and unfairness in criminal cases. Prosecutors and judges study together before being assigned by the HSYK. Once appointed they are often housed together, frequently share the same office space, and often work in the same courtroom for many years. International human rights organizations noted prosecutors receive special status, often

entering courtrooms with judges and sitting elevated above defense lawyers. Human rights and bar associations also noted that defense attorneys generally underwent less rigorous training than their prosecutorial counterparts and were not required to pass an examination to demonstrate a minimum level of expertise.

The constitution provides for the trial of military personnel in civilian courts if their alleged crime was committed against the state, constitutional order, or the functioning of constitutional order. The constitution also provides for civilian judicial review of decisions of the Supreme Military Council.

According to the 2012 Amnesty International report on the country, criminal defendants faced protracted and unfair trials, especially for violations of antiterror laws, which have led to additional abuses. The report also asserted that convictions under antiterror laws were often based on unsubstantiated or unreliable evidence, including the extensive use of secret witnesses, particularly in cases related to state security.

On September 21, the Istanbul 10th Heavy Penal Court convicted 324 military officers of conspiracy to commit treason in the "Sledgehammer" (Balyoz) coup case. The court sentenced the three most senior officers to imprisonment for life, commuted to 20 years' imprisonment, while it gave the other defendants sentences ranging from six to 18 years in prison. On October 22, a lower court rejected the appeal applications of 250 active-duty and retired members of the military. Some observers saw Balyoz as politically motivated, alleging that key parts of the prosecutor's indictment had been forged, while others saw it as part of the process of asserting civilian control over a military that had previously wielded undue political power. The convicted parties had not appealed the verdict to the Supreme Court of Appeals as of year's end. However, defendants did appeal to the UN Human Rights Council's Working Group on Arbitrary Detention to seek a determination that the government was holding the defendants in contravention of its international legal obligations. In their appeal, the defendants protested prosecutors' use of anonymous tips in their indictment, alleged authorities had forged evidence, and asserted the court had overlooked a range of other irregularities.

Trial Procedures

Under the law, defendants enjoy a presumption of innocence and have the right to be informed promptly and in detail of the charges against them. There were multiple confirmed reports that the government did not observe this law in practice. Courtroom proceedings are public for all cases except those involving minors as defendants and those with security concerns. Court files, which contain the indictment, case summaries, judgments, and other court pleadings, are closed to everyone other than the parties to a case, making it difficult to obtain information on the progress or results of court cases. There is no jury system, and a judge or a panel of judges decides all cases.

Defendants have the right to be present at trial and to consult with an attorney in a timely manner. Defendants or their attorneys can question witnesses for the prosecution and, within limits, present witnesses and evidence on their behalf. Bar associations reported that in practice a court usually did not allow defense attorneys to conduct the questioning but instead asked them to submit questions for the court to ask. Defendants and their attorneys have access to government-held evidence relevant to their cases. Defendants have the right to not testify or confess guilt and the right to appeal, although in practice appeals generally took several years to conclude. Defendants sometimes waited several years for their trials to begin,

and thus trials often last several years. Proceedings against security officials often were delayed because officials did not submit statements promptly or attend trials.

The Third Judicial Reform Package contained a number of provisions amending trial procedures. Under the new legislation, courts cannot put time limits on defendants and prosecutors for judicial processes, expel the accused or the defense from hearings on the grounds of behavior, or limit to one the number of defense lawyers while the suspect's statement is being taken or during custody. It appoints special judges to hear terrorism and organized crime cases and determine pretrial matters, such as detention and release.

While the law prohibits the use in court of evidence obtained by torture, prosecutors in some instances failed to pursue torture allegations, forcing defendants to initiate a separate legal case to determine whether the inclusion of evidence was lawful. Human rights organizations reported that, in such instances, the primary case frequently was concluded before the secondary case was decided, leading to unjust convictions.

The provision of interpretation services was limited to situations where defendants did not have sufficient command of Turkish to defend themselves or where the defendant or victim was disabled. Court decisions on the use of languages other than Turkish were inconsistent, however.

Political Prisoners and Detainees

The law does not provide a separate category for political prisoners. The HRA asserted that there were several thousand political prisoners from across the political spectrum, including journalists, political party officials, and academics. The government stated that those alleged to be political prisoners were in fact charged with being members of, or assisting, terrorist organizations. Consistent with the broad definition of terrorism and threats to national security, prosecutors often did not distinguish between persons who incited violence, those who supported the use of violence by the PKK, and those who rejected violence but sympathized with some or all of the political goals of the Kurdish nationalist movement.

According to the Ministry of Justice, as of December 31, there were 4,446 persons detained and 3,699 convicted on terrorism charges.

Civil Judicial Procedures and Remedies

There is an independent and impartial judiciary in civil matters. The law provides that all citizens have the right to file a civil case for compensation for physical or psychological harm, including for alleged human rights violations. Individuals were able to apply directly to the Constitutional Court for redress starting September 23.

Regional Human Rights Court Decisions

On September 23, a new legal mechanism allowed individual appeals to be directly submitted to the Constitutional Court. Until this date, individuals could appeal alleged violations of human rights by the state to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) after all avenues for a remedy in the domestic legal system had been exhausted. After September 23, the ECHR temporarily suspended the acceptance of new cases until the effectiveness of the new Constitutional Court mechanism could be determined, a process observers estimate could take up to two years.

According to the European Commission's October progress report, the state has abided by the majority of ECHR rulings but has not made the law consistent with some of the ECHR's rulings. As of September 30, there were 16,850 cases against the state pending at the ECHR. During the year 103 cases ended with a decision against the state while three were decided in the state's favor.

The Ministry of Justice's Human Rights Department is the sole responsible authority in the ministry regarding human rights issues. It is charged with facilitating the implementation of the country's obligations under the European Convention on Human Rights and coordinating the execution of ECHR decisions.

F. Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence

The constitution provides for the "secrecy of private life" and states that individuals have the right to demand protection and correction of their personal information and data.

The law allows for telephone tapping with a court order. Only the country's telecommunication agency is authorized to tap telephones, and only when presented with a court order directed against alleged drug traffickers, organized crime members, and terrorists. Assumptions of widespread use of eavesdropping bugs and wiretapping had a chilling effect on freedom of expression and encouraged self-censorship at home as well as in professional environments. There were numerous reports by individuals and public figures alleging that their telephones were illegally tapped without a court order.

SECTION 2. RESPECT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES, INCLUDING

A. Freedom of Speech and Press

The penal code and antiterror law contain multiple articles that restrict freedom of the press. International and domestic human rights organizations noted particular concern over the overly broad definition of terrorism under the antiterror law and the disproportionate use of the antiterror law by authorities against members of the press, academics and students, and members of the political opposition and Kurdish activist community. Human rights monitors also emphasized that the penal code contains multiple articles that directly restrict press freedom and free speech, including provisions on praising a crime or criminal, inciting the population to enmity or hatred and denigration, and protecting public order. Authorities indicted journalists for protecting the confidentiality of sources and investigations; attempting to influence the judiciary; insulting the Turkish nation, the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the republic, and organs and institutions of the state; and discouraging individuals from doing their military service.

The Third Judicial Reform Package contained reforms allowing authorities to suspend or abandon the prosecution of journalists accused of propaganda on behalf of terrorist organizations and also provided for the release of media personnel accused of belonging to or "collaborating" with outlawed organizations. The package also requires judges to justify in writing why authorities must keep detained suspect in detention before trial.

Freedom of Speech

Individuals in many cases could not criticize the state or government publicly without risk of civil or criminal suits or investigation, and the government continued to restrict expression by individuals sympathetic to some religious, political, and Kurdish nationalist or cultural viewpoints. Active debates on human rights and government policies continued in the public sphere, particularly on problems relating to political Islam, Kurds, and the history of the Turkish-Armenian conflict at the end of the Ottoman Empire. Government critics and human rights associations acknowledged that open debate was far more accepted than it was a decade ago. However, many who wrote or spoke on such topics risked investigation and some reported exercising self-censorship.

Article 301 of the penal code criminalizes insults to the Turkish nation. The Ministry of Justice reported receiving 247 complaints concerning Article 301 through November 13--down from 305 in 2011--of which, it rejected 222. As of November 13, the Ministry of Justice had given permission for 18 cases to proceed and was evaluating seven cases.

In June authorities charged pianist Fazil Say with inciting hatred and insulting the values of Muslims for retweeting the phrase, "I am not sure if you have also realized it, but if there's a louse, a nonentity, a lowlife, a thief or a fool, it's always an Allah-ist." If convicted, he faces up to 18 months in jail. On October 18, a court dismissed his plea for acquittal, and the case continued at year's end.

Freedom of Press

The country had active privately owned print media. Hundreds of private newspapers spanning the political spectrum appeared in numerous languages, including Kurdish, Armenian, Arabic, English, and Farsi. However, authorities routinely censored media with pro-Kurdish or leftist content, particularly in the Southeast, by confiscating materials or temporarily closing down the media source. The government's close business relationships with various media conglomerates further limited media independence and encouraged a climate of self-censorship.

Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) is a government-funded semiautonomous body. The High Board of Radio and Television (RTUK) registered and licensed a large number of privately owned television and radio stations that operated at local, regional, and national levels. In addition privately owned television channels operated on cable networks, and the RTUK granted 29 television and radio enterprises broadcast permits necessary for their operation. The wide availability of satellite dishes and cable television allowed access to foreign broadcasts, including several Kurdish-language private channels. Large, private holding companies that had a wide range of outside business interests owned most media. The concentration of media ownership influenced the content of reporting and limited the scope of public debate.

In addition to Turkish, the RTUK allowed radio and television stations to broadcast in Arabic, Armenian, Assyrian, Bosnian, Circassian, Laz, and Kurdish (both the Kurmanci and Zaza dialects) during the year. Public broadcaster TRT offered a Kurdish television channel (TRT 6).

According to the TNP, authorities confiscated 46 publications in 2012, including 12 newspapers. During the year authorities continued to file numerous cases against publications under the antiterror laws. As a result of the Third Judicial Reform Package, the government lifted a ban on hundreds of previously censored publications.

Violence and Harassment

Prosecutors continued to bring dozens of cases against writers, journalists, and political figures under various laws that restrict media freedom. Human rights and press freedom activists asserted that authorities filed numerous civil and criminal complaints against authors and publishers for ideological reasons. Authorities at times also ordered raids on newspaper offices; closed newspapers temporarily, issued fines, or confiscated newspapers for violating speech codes. Government officials, including political leaders, made statements throughout the year that appeared intended to influence media content, including but not limited to news coverage.

Scores of persons identified as journalists remain imprisoned at year's end, most charged under antiterror laws or for connections to an illegal organization. On December 20, Reporters without Borders reported that at least 61 journalists were arrested during the year, with approximately 42 journalists and 30 other media personnel detained awaiting trial. Authorities charged most of these journalists under the antiterror laws. In October the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) estimated that 70 percent of the imprisoned journalists were Kurdish or worked for Kurdish publications. In detailed responses to the CPJ and Reporters without Borders reports, the Ministry of Justice asserted that most of the detained journalists were under prosecution for crimes not related to their work.

After public and international pressure, the government released some journalists from detention while their cases were pending trial. OdaTV journalists Soner Yalcin, Nedim Sener, and Ahmet Sik were released pending trial on March 12 after more than a year in detention; Yalcin was released on December 26 after 682 days in jail.

Following significant international pressure, on April 10, authorities released on his own recognizance after five months' detention prominent journalist, publisher, and human rights activist Ragip Zarakolu. Zarakolu was charged in October 2011 as part of the KCK case with violating antiterror laws, "helping terror organizations by means of his international prestige," as well as publishing books on the Kurdish issue. Zarakolu had his first hearing July 13-21, during which his 2,500-page indictment was read. The court then adjourned proceedings; their resumption remained pending at year's end.

After the passage of the Third Judicial Reform Package, authorities dropped several cases against members of the press and released approximately 15 journalists from prison pending trial. For example, on July 23, Vedat Kursun, former editor in chief of the Kurdish-language newspaper *Azadiya Welat* (*Free People*), was released from prison after 43 months. A court had sentenced Kursun to 10 years and six months' imprisonment for membership in a terrorist organization and violating antiterror laws in connection with 102 articles he wrote in 2007 and 2008. Five additional *Azadiya Welat* journalists remained imprisoned in connection with the KCK case at year's end.

Censorship or Content Restrictions

Printing houses were required to submit books and periodicals to prosecutors at the time they were published. The Turkish Publishers' Association (TPA) reported that publishers often exercised self-censorship, avoiding works with controversial content in order to stay out of court.

The government maintained a list of banned publications; however, the Third Judicial Reform Package declared null and void the banning of all past publications unless a court issued a new order for the banning of a specific publication. As a result authorities no longer

banned publication of approximately 400 books. Prosecutors did not apply for renewal of previously banned publications, although they continued to ban new publications throughout the year. According to the TPA, authorities banned 10 books during the year, a decrease from 2011, although unofficial prohibition and recall of books, particularly those related to the Kurdish issue, remained a problem.

Writers and publishers were subject to prosecution on grounds of defamation, denigration, obscenity, separatism, terrorism, subversion, fundamentalism, and insulting religious values. According to the TPA, authorities investigated or continued court cases against 45 publications and publishers during the year, including numerous books related to the Kurdish issue.

Human rights activists and the media reported that authors increasingly practiced self-censorship to avoid prosecution. Observers also reported that, with the consolidation of media outlets into a few media conglomerates with other business interests, media entities increasingly practiced self-censorship in order for such conglomerates to remain eligible for government contracts. Journalists reported that media outlets fired some individuals for being too controversial or adversarial with the government over fears of jeopardizing other business interests.

Libel Laws/National Security

Observers reported that government officials used defamation laws to stop political opponents from voicing criticism. Antiterror laws had the greatest impact in limiting free expression related to Kurdish issues.

On December 25, Prime Minister Erdogan was awarded 15,000 lira (approximately $8,300) after he won a libel case against former *Taraf* editor in chief Ahmet Altan.

Erdogan's lawyers argued that Altan had violated Erdogan's personal rights by calling him "arrogant, uninformed, and uninterested" in a March 2011 newspaper column. According to the CPJ, thousands of journalists faced criminal charges, many of them multiple counts, for violations of the criminal code, including "denigrating Turkishness" or influencing the outcome of a trial as well as for offenses related to the antiterrorism law.

Publishing Restrictions

Printing houses were required to submit books and periodicals to prosecutors at the time they were published. Media activists reported that the Ministry of Culture sometimes denied approval of a barcode required for all publications as a means of censorship.

Internet Freedom

The government maintained restrictions on Internet access. The Internet law allows the government to prohibit a Web site if there is sufficient suspicion that the site is committing any of eight crimes: insulting Ataturk; engaging in obscenity; engaging in prostitution; gambling; encouraging suicide; encouraging sexual abuse of children; encouraging drug abuse; or encouraging provision of substances dangerous to health. Upon receiving a complaint or as a result of personal observations, a prosecutor may request that a judge prohibit access to the offending site or, in an urgent situation, the Telecommunication Internet Presidency (TIB) may prohibit access while the complaint is examined.

In either case, a judge must rule on the matter within 24 hours. Following a judicial decision to uphold the complaint, the Internet service provider (ISP) must block access within 24 hours. If the judge does not approve the block, the prosecutor must ensure access is restored. ISP administrators may face a penalty ranging from six months' to two years' imprisonment for failing to comply with a judicial order. The law also allows persons who believe a Web site has violated their personal rights to request the TIB to order the service provider to remove the offensive content. Authorities also used the antiterror law and other sections of the penal code to block Web sites.

There were no official figures on the number of blocked Web sites. However, Engelliweb, an NGO working on Internet freedom issues, reported that authorities had blocked 6,609 Web sites in 2012, for a total of 22,629 blocked sites, up from 15,595 in 2011.

The Information Technologies Institute (BTK) reported that 47 percent of the Web sites that were blocked contained pornography, a significant decrease from the previous year. Authorities also blocked Kurdish-related sites, including ozgurluk.org and firatnews.org, as well as Kurdish video and radio Web sites, such as medciwan.com, on antiterror grounds.

In November 2011 the BTK implemented a voluntary filter with "child" and "family" settings. Civil society organizations criticized the program, both for the government's involvement in deciding what was appropriate for family or child use on the Internet and a lack of transparency regarding the criteria used to block sites. The BTK met several times with civil society groups and came up with agreed procedures to address their concerns.

According to the *Google Transparency Report*, from January to June the company received 148 requests from the BTK to remove 426 YouTube videos, Blogger blogs, one Google document, and one search result on the basis of their alleged criticism of Ataturk, the government, or national identity and values. Google restricted Turkish users from accessing 63 percent of the BTK's YouTube videos of concern. The number of requests for removal of content that Google received between January 1 and June 30 increased by 1,013 percent compared with the last half of 2011.

Government authorities on occasion accessed Internet user records to "protect national security, public order, health, and decency" or to prevent a crime. Police must obtain authorization from a judge or, in emergencies, the "highest administrative authority" before taking such action and generally did so in practice. In December the ECHR found the country's Internet content regulation and supervision law, Law 5651, to be in violation of the European Convention on Human Rights and fined the state for violating freedom of expression. Law 5651 allows authorities to block Internet content that is obscene or promotes child abuse or gambling. Approximately 79 percent of Web sites blocked under the law were the result of administrative decisions by TIB, although some sites were blocked as a result of court orders.

The BTK reported there were approximately 28,000 Internet cafes in the country. Internet cafes were primarily used by young people. Under the Internet law, mass use providers, including Internet cafes, can only operate if they obtain an official activity certificate from a local authority representing the central administration. Internet access providers are required to deploy and use filtering tools approved by TIB. Providers who operate without official permission face administrative fines. Internet activists and the press reported that more than one million Web sites were blocked in Internet cafes in the country. The sites for many mainstream LGBT organizations were among those blocked. Additional Internet restrictions were applied in government and university buildings. These restrictions led to a flowering of

"tunnel" sites, which trick filters and allow users to reach blocked sites by altering Internet addresses.

According to International Telecommunications Union statistics, 47.2 percent of the country's population used the Internet in 2012, an increase from 42 percent in 2011.

Academic Freedom and Cultural Events

Government restrictions on freedom of speech at times limited academic freedom and cultural events. Some academics and event organizers stated they practiced self-censorship on sensitive topics. Human rights organizations and student groups continued to criticize constraints placed on universities by law and by the actions of the Higher Education Board (YOK) that limited the autonomy of universities in staffing, teaching, and research policies and practice.

In June authorities detained former YOK president and Turkish Science Foundation president Kemal Guruz, eight months after freeing him pending trial in the Ergenekon case. Human rights activists claimed that his arrest was part of a systematic intimidation of academics who opposed the government's efforts to introduce or assert Islamic elements into the country's academic institutions.

Prosecutors stated that in 1997, while Guruz was president of YOK, he helped the military to prepare the so-called postmodern coup by providing information about the religious orientation of Turkish university rectors. The case continued at year's end.

B. Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association

Freedom of Assembly

The law provides for freedom of assembly. However, the government selectively restricted meetings to designated sites or dates, and banned demonstrations outright particularly if they were concerned with sensitive issues or were critical of the government.

There were confirmed and/or credible reports that police beat, abused, or harassed demonstrators during the year. A report by the main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP), sourced to the HRF, the HRA, and the Migration Foundation, stated that four persons were killed and 555 wounded during demonstrations through November. According to the CHP report, police detained 46,529 persons and arrested 1,831 involved in demonstrations through November, a significant increase from 2011. The Jandarma reported that it detained 72 persons and later released them in 10 different demonstrations during the year. The detentions varied in length from several hours to several days.

Human Rights Watch criticized the use of terrorism laws to restrict freedom of expression and assembly and to punish demonstrators as though they were armed militants. On December 18, Prime Minister Erdogan attended a ceremony at the Middle East Technical University (METU), a prominent Ankara university, for the launch of a communications satellite. When students gathered to protest his attendance, approximately 3,000 police blocked roads and used tear gas, plastic bullets, and clubs against the crowd, some of whom threw stones. One student was injured and 12 students were detained; authorities charged eight with participation in a terrorist organization. The government denounced the

demonstrations as acts of violence and blamed the METU rector and professors for incitement, while the METU rector accused the police of excessive force. An investigation by YOK continued at year's end.

Throughout the year university students protested on a variety of topics, including the cost of tuition. According to the Ministry of Justice, authorities held 2,824 students as of the end of July, of whom they placed 1,778 in pretrial detention; courts convicted 1,046 students, including 178 for "being a member of an armed terrorist organization." As of July authorities had an additional 609 students on trial on the same charge.

On October 29, the Ankara governor's office banned opposition groups' Republic Day rally on the grounds that "some groups may seek to incite anarchy in the country." The opposition went ahead with the rally, which was attended by nearly 20,000 persons. Riot police used tear gas and water cannons against the crowd, which included the leader of the main opposition party, the CHP.

The government limited celebrations of the Kurdish holiday Newroz (New Year) to March 21, and the HRA reported that the Ministry of Interior banned or postponed 129 planned Newroz celebrations for arbitrary reasons. Clashes broke out, particularly in Diyarbakir, and police used gas bombs and water cannons against the crowd. According to the HRA, two persons were killed, 178 wounded, 1,014 detained, and 206 arrested during the celebrations. Haci Zengin, a BDP branch office head in Istanbul, died after being hit on the head by a tear gas canister.

On August 7, following the passage of the Third Judicial Reform Package, a criminal court released pending trial Sevil Sevimli, a 21-year-old French citizen and student, who was arrested during the May 1 Labor Day protests in Eskisehir for alleged involvement in the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C) while with the Erasmus student exchange program. She remained in Turkey awaiting trial at year's end.

Freedom of Association

While the law provides for freedom of association, the government maintained several restrictions on this right in practice.

Under the law, persons organizing an association do not need to notify authorities beforehand, but an association must provide notification before interacting with international organizations or receiving financial support from abroad and must provide detailed documents on such activities. Representatives of associations stated this placed an undue burden on their operations. LGBT and women's groups in particular complained that the government used regular and detailed audits to create administrative burdens and to intimidate through the threat of large fines.

According to the Third Sector Foundation of Turkey, an advocacy NGO, the criteria for NGOs to obtain public benefit status entitling them to certain tax exemptions were restrictive and complicated. The Council of Ministers must approve applications for public benefit status. The law does not allow applicants to appeal if the council rejects their petitions. In one case authorities fined the Ankara branch of the domestic NGO Association in Support of Contemporary Living (CYDD) 150,000 lira (approximately $85,000) in December for not paying taxes. The Finance Ministry declared some of the CYDD's activities were commercial in nature and thus should be subject to corporate tax. The CYDD filed a suit challenging the claim, and the case continued at year's end.

C. Freedom of Religion

See the Department of State's *International Religious Freedom Report* at www.state

D. Freedom of Movement, Internally Displaced Persons, Protection of Refugees, and Stateless Persons

The constitution provides for freedom of movement within the country, foreign travel, emigration, and repatriation. However, at times the government limited these rights in practice.

The government increasingly cooperated with the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other humanitarian organizations while providing protection and assistance to internally displaced persons, refugees, returning refugees, asylum seekers awaiting resettlement to third countries, stateless persons, and other persons of concern. While the government signed the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and its 1967 protocol, it ratified the protocol with a geographic limitation recognizing the rights granted in the convention only for refugees from Europe. While most asylum seekers are thus not considered refugees under the law, the government granted temporary asylum to all non-European asylum seekers who met the definition of a refugee as defined in the 1951 convention.

Authorities assigned UNHCR-recognized refugees to 62 satellite cities where they received services from local authorities under the responsibility of provincial governorates. These refugees needed permission from local authorities to travel to Istanbul or Ankara, including for meetings with the UNHCR or resettlement agencies. Local officials had significant discretion in working with refugees and NGOs, and the levels of assistance they provided varied widely.

Authorities required asylum seekers to register in order to legalize their temporary stay in the country. As prospects for integrating refugees in the country were limited and voluntary repatriation was not feasible for many refugees, resettlement in a third country was often the only option available for individuals in need of an immediate durable solution. A refugee accepted by a third country for resettlement needed to obtain exit permission before leaving Turkey. No data were available at year's end regarding the number of waivers granted.

The UNHCR reported that 298 LGBT refugees from Iran were living in the country at year's end. Human rights groups reported that these refugees faced numerous problems in addition to their refugee status due to their sexual orientation or gender.

In-country Movement

The constitution provides that only a judge may limit the freedom to travel and only in connection with a criminal investigation or prosecution. The government maintained roadway checkpoints in the Southeast, where it maintained a heavy security presence.

At times the PKK blocked roads, set up checkpoints, and kidnapped civilians and government authorities in southeastern provinces.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

The conflict between security forces and the PKK displaced hundreds of thousands of citizens since its start in 1984, the vast majority of whom were Kurds in the Southeast. During the year the Ministry of Interior reported there were 386,360 IDPs in the country, many of whom have not returned home due to continued insecurity and concerns about the presence of village guard militias, landmines, and lack of basic social services and economic opportunities in the region.

The law allows persons who suffered material losses due to actions by the PKK or security forces during the conflict with the PKK to apply to the government's damage determination commissions for compensation. In April authorities extended by one year the period for implementing the law on compensation for losses resulting from terrorism and the fight against terrorism. Between mid-2004 and October 2012, the Ministry of Interior reported 361,279 applications were made, of which 307,789 were completed. Compensation was awarded in 166,962 cases; at year's end the government agreed to pay a total of 2,847,532,798 lira (approximately $1.6 billion) to successful applicants. However, delays in payments continued. Several cases were pending before the ECHR, as local NGOs and regional bar associations maintained that the law included unreasonable documentation requirements and awarded levels of compensation far below standards established by the ECHR.

Voluntary and assisted resettlement continued. In a few cases, IDPs could return to their former homes, while in other cases centralized villages were constructed.

Protection of Refugees

Access to Asylum

An administrative regulation provides for the granting of asylum or refugee status.

The country accepts its obligations under the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 protocol only with respect to refugees from Europe. During the year the Ministry of Interior conducted a parallel refugee status determination process to that of the UNHCR's determination and issued parallel decisions to the latter's decisions in nearly all cases.

The law does not have a strict time limit for asylum seekers or require them to present a valid identity document. The TNP reported that, as of October 1, there were 38,568 asylum seekers in the country, 17,010 of them new during the year.

Safe Country of Origin/Transit

The UNHCR reported successful interventions in most cases where asylum seekers arrived lawfully in the country after transiting one or more other countries.

It also reported generally good access during the year to persons in detention who wished to apply for asylum and persons seeking asylum while they were in the international areas of the country's airports. The UNHCR reported problems related to access to asylum seekers from airports and seaports, and a lack of consistent implementation to ensure access to procedures by all applicants in these locations remained a concern. In one stowaway case, the government did not allow the disembarkation of five individuals, asserting that Turkey was not the first port of call.

Refoulement

The UNHCR sometimes had difficulty gaining access to interview potential refugees whom security forces had already detained or arrested for illegal entry into the country. According to press reports, authorities deported one Kazakh refugee to Kazakhstan on June 1.

The government's visa policies generally facilitated easy entry. Iraqi citizens were generally able to obtain a 90-day tourist visa upon arrival at the border gates in Turkey. Border authorities may deny entry if a foreigner has violated the country's visa policy or exceeded time limits during a previous stay in the country. Apart from such cases, the UNHCR reported no denial of visa or entry during the year.

Access to Basic Services

Provincial governments, working with local NGOs, are responsible for meeting the basic needs of UNHCR-recognized refugees and other asylum seekers assigned to satellite cities in their jurisdictions, including by providing access to employment, healthcare, and education. Basic services were dependent on the goodwill of local officials. Governors had significant discretion in working with refugees and with NGOs, and the response of local officials to refugee presence varied widely.

Temporary Protection

The government provided temporary protection to asylum seekers who may not qualify as refugees, including individuals of non-European origin.

Syrians began fleeing into Turkey in significant numbers in mid-2011 in response to the conflict in Syria. The government maintained an open border to Syrian arrivals (and to voluntary returns), although in August it began holding persons at the border pending availability of accommodation in Turkey.

The government responded robustly to the humanitarian needs of displaced Syrians, spending over an estimated one billion dollars on aid and assistance, primarily for the construction and administration of 14 camps in southeastern Turkey. From March 2011 to December 26, the government provided temporary refuge and assistance to 206,954 Syrian citizens, with 147,107 remaining in camps along the Turkish-Syrian border. In most cases the level of assistance was acknowledged to be above international standards. An additional 70,000 to 100,000 Syrians lived outside the camps and could be issued one-year residence permits if they provided proper documentation. Unlike those in the camps, these Syrians did not have access to free services, including food and healthcare.

SECTION 3. RESPECT FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS: THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS TO CHANGE THEIR GOVERNMENT

The constitution and law provide citizens with the right to change their government peacefully, and citizens exercised this right in practice through periodic, free, and fair elections based on universal suffrage. However, the government restricted the activities of some political parties and leaders.

Elections and Political Participation

Recent Elections

The 2011 parliamentary elections were held under election laws in line with international standards, according to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). In its observation report following the elections, the OSCE generally assessed that the government demonstrated a broad commitment to holding democratic elections. The OSCE also noted the previous legal prohibition against using any language other than Turkish in political campaigning had been partially repealed but expressed concern that laws continued to unduly limit freedom of expression, freedom of association, and electoral rights.

The law requires a party receive at least 10 percent of the valid votes cast nationwide to enter parliament, which some political parties and human rights groups criticized as unduly high. Only three of the 15 parties that competed in the elections in 2011 crossed this threshold. Candidates who ran as independents were able to bypass the threshold and a coalition of 36 victorious independent candidates banded together after the election to form a fourth bloc, the BDP.

Although members of parliament are entitled to immunity from prosecution while they are in office, courts blocked the release from prison of five successful BDP candidates, two successful CHP candidates, and one successful Nationalist Movement Party candidate previously imprisoned on charges related to the KCK, Ergenekon, and Balyoz cases. The eight elected parliamentarians were still in prison at the year's end.

Political Parties

Political parties and candidates could freely declare their candidacy and run for election. However, the chief prosecutor of the Court of Appeals can seek to close political parties for unconstitutional activities by bringing a case before the Constitutional Court. Throughout the year the police and judiciary pursued action against BDP members, mostly for alleged membership in or verbal support of the KCK/PKK or its actions. Prosecutors sought to lift the immunity of BDP deputy leader Gultan Kisanak and nine other BDP parliamentarians, who were filmed embracing PKK militants in August, in order to prosecute them on terrorism offenses. An effort to lift the immunities continued at year's end in the parliament.

Participation of Women and Minorities

There were 79 women in the 550-seat parliament and one woman in the 26-member cabinet. There was one Christian Syriac in the parliament; he was the first Christian to win a seat in approximately 50 years.

SECTION 4. CORRUPTION AND LACK OF TRANSPARENCY IN GOVERNMENT

While the law provides criminal penalties for official corruption, the government did not implement the law effectively, and some officials engaged in corrupt practices with impunity. Adopted in July, the Third Judicial Reform Package amended the provisions on corruption in the criminal code, redefining and extending the scope of bribery as an offense. The European

Commission noted in its October progress report that there has been no progress in limiting the immunity of members of parliament and senior public officials in corruption-related cases or in establishing objective criteria for lifting their immunity. Several motions for lifting the immunity of parliamentarians appeared to be politically motivated.

Authorities have not established a track record in investigating, indicting, and convicting individuals accused of corruption, and there were concerns about the impartiality of the judiciary in the handling of anticorruption cases.

In January the parliament adopted the Law on Presidential Elections. The law introduced rules on the transparency of presidential election campaigns that cover prohibited funding sources, donation limits, and disclosure of candidates' assets.

The law requires government officials to provide a full financial disclosure, including a list of physical property, every five years, and officials generally complied with this requirement. The Prime Ministry's Inspection Board, which advises the Corruption Investigations Committee, is responsible for investigating major corruption cases. Nearly every state agency had its own inspector corps responsible for investigating internal corruption. The parliament can establish investigative commissions to examine corruption allegations concerning cabinet ministers or the prime minister. A majority vote is needed to send such cases to the courts for further action. There was no coordination with civil society on oversight.

The law provides for public access to government information. However, the government occasionally rejected applications on national security, as the law restricts access to information pertaining to state secrets, the privacy of individuals, and intellectual property. The law requires institutions to provide the requested information within 15 or 30 working days, depending on the volume of the request. In such a case, the applicant will be informed of the extension and the underlying rationale within 15 working days. Processing fees are considered "reasonable," and are waived if the information can be obtained and provided via e-mail. Officials and other civil servants who negligently, recklessly, or deliberately obstruct the law are subject to disciplinary sanctions.

Denials of requests for information may be appealed. Within 15 days starting from the date of official notification, an applicant whose request for information is rejected may appeal to the Board of Review of the Access to Information, which then has 30 days to render a decision. Following the board's decision, individuals can also appeal for judicial review in an administrative court.

SECTION 5. GOVERNMENTAL ATTITUDE REGARDING INTERNATIONAL AND NONGOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Domestic and international human rights groups operated throughout the country, but some faced government obstruction and restrictive laws regarding their operations, particularly in the Southeast. Government officials were occasionally uncooperative and unresponsive to their views. Human rights organizations and monitors as well as lawyers and doctors involved in documenting human rights violations occasionally faced detention, prosecution, intimidation, harassment, and closure orders for their activities. Human rights

organizations reported that official human rights mechanisms did not function consistently and failed to address grave violations. Scores of lawyers, particularly those defending plaintiffs in high-profile cases such as the KCK trials, continued to be detained throughout the year.

Authorities arrested Muharrem Erbey, the president of the HRA in Diyarbakir and vice president of the national HRA, in 2009 on KCK-related charges. The HRA and many international human rights organizations asserted that Erbey was arrested for his work at the HRA and as a human rights lawyer. In 2010 his trial began along with the trial of other suspects in the KCK case in Diyarbakir; the trial continued at year's end.

On September 25, police raided the HRA's Mersin office and detained HRA Mersin chairperson Ali Tanriverdi as part of an anti-KCK sweep. The HRA claimed the police produced no search warrant, confiscated computers and electronic equipment, and did not immediately allow Tanriverdi to call a lawyer. Tanriverdi, Erbey, and 13 additional HRA employees remained in pretrial detention at year's end.

Government Human Rights Bodies

The Human Rights Presidency (HRP), a body in the Prime Ministry, is authorized to monitor the implementation of legislation relating to human rights and to coordinate the work of various government agencies involved in the field of human rights. All 81 provinces established provincial human rights councils under the HRP, which was generally accorded little to no credibility by human rights organizations. The HRP, which reports statistics on a year's lag, received 5,289 complaints in 2011, the majority of which related to health and patients' rights, environmental rights, and prohibition of inhumane treatment.

The Human Rights Agency and Ombudsman Institution were established on June 29 and June 30, respectively. The Human Rights Agency was intended to replace the HRP to act autonomously to protect and promote human rights, although the agency had not started full operations at year's end.

The Ombudsman Institution was established as an independent complaint mechanism to investigate, research, and make suggestions regarding government practices and actions, particularly in regards to human rights issues. On November 27, the parliament appointed former appeals court judge Nihat Omeroglu as ombudsman. The appointment immediately generated criticism among human rights activists and the political opposition as Omeroglu was widely viewed as affiliated with the AKP and was also a member of the court that ratified the guilty verdict against Turkish-Armenian journalist Hrant Dink for "humiliating Turkishness."

The Ministry of Justice's Human Rights Department is the sole responsible authority in the ministry regarding human rights issues. It is charged with facilitating the implementation of the country's obligations under the ECHR and coordinating the execution of ECHR decisions. Through October 30, the parliament's Human Rights Investigation Commission received 2,600 complaints of alleged human rights violations.

SECTION 6. DISCRIMINATION, SOCIETAL ABUSES, AND TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS

The law prohibits discrimination based on race, gender, religion, disability, language, or social status. The government did not enforce these prohibitions effectively. The constitution allows measures to be taken to advance gender equality as well as measures to benefit children, seniors, persons with disabilities, widows, and veterans without violating the constitutional prohibition against discrimination. The government maintained hotlines to prevent the exploitation of women, children, persons with disabilities, and senior citizens, although some human rights groups questioned their effectiveness.

Women

Rape and Domestic Violence

The law prohibits violence against women, but human rights organizations claimed that the government did not effectively enforce it. The law prohibits sexual assault, including rape and spousal rape, with penalties of imprisonment for a term of two to seven years. The government did not effectively or fully enforce these laws or protect victims, and victims often waited days or weeks to report incidents due to embarrassment or reprisals, hindering effective prosecution of assailants. Government statistics on violence against women were incomplete, and societal acceptance of domestic abuse in some cases contributed to its underreporting.

On March 20, the Protection of the Family and Prevention of Violence against Women Law entered into force, adding several measures to protect women against violence during marriage, after divorce, and while in a common law relationship. In an important change, the law covers all women, regardless of marital status, and provides for the police and local authorities to grant various levels of protection and support services to victims of violence or to those at risk of violence, requires government services such as shelter and temporary financial support, and provides for family courts to impose sanctions on those responsible for the violence.

The law provides for the establishment of prevention of violence and monitoring centers in 14 pilot cities. Economic, psychological, legal, and social assistance was provided in these centers. The Institution for Social Services and Orphanages opened 18 shelters during the year and operated 71 women's shelters with a capacity of 1,723 persons. Municipalities opened five shelters and operated 32 women's shelters with a capacity of 668 persons. NGOs operated two women's shelters. Regulations call for women's shelters in any city with a population of more than 50,000. Observers noted that there were an inadequate number of shelters, or no shelters at all, in many such cities. In addition NGO shelters suffered from a lack of financial support, and one shelter in Ankara closed in late 2012 due to insufficient funding. As of October 1, 9,889 calls had been made to the government's domestic violence hotline regarding violence, negligence, or exploitation.

Despite the new law, violence against women, including spousal abuse, remained a serious and widespread problem both in rural and urban areas. The criminal code does not specifically forbid "spousal abuse" but provides for crimes such as assault, wrongful

imprisonment, or threats. The civil code establishes spousal abuse as grounds for granting divorce. During the year courts regularly issued restraining orders to protect victims, but human rights organizations reported that police rarely enforced them effectively. Women's NGOs charged that government counselors sometimes encouraged women to remain in abusive marriages at their own personal risk rather than break up families. For example, on December 6, a former boyfriend killed schoolteacher Gulsah Akturk while she sought shelter with her family in Konya. A subsequent investigation revealed she had applied to the Van governor's office for protection but was refused after the deputy governor allegedly told her, "at the worst you will die."

The Turkish Women's Associations Federation reported that 256 women were killed through November, a significant increase from its 2011 count. A tally by the independent news entity BIANET counted at least 165 women killed and 150 raped in 2012. Of those, 24 women died and 21 were injured after they had demanded protection from authorities.

Harmful Traditional Practices

So-called honor killings of women continued to be a serious problem. Most honor killings occurred in conservative families in the rural Southeast or among families of migrants from the Southeast living in large cities. Individuals convicted of honor killings may receive life imprisonment. Because courts reduce sentences for juvenile offenders, observers noted that families often designated young male relatives to perform such killings. Due to penalties for honor killings, family members sometimes pressured girls to commit suicide to preserve the family's reputation. The Jandarma reported 19 honor killings occurred during the year through October.

On December 17, 15-year-old Hatice Dasci, who was four months pregnant, was found dead in Batman. A subsequent investigation established that her two cousins raped her after she returned home from a forced marriage. Authorities issued arrest warrants for the two cousins and arrested her grandfather and uncles on suspicion of murder. The case continued at year's end.

Sexual Harassment

The law provides different penalties for the crimes of sexual harassment and sexual assault, requiring three months to two years' imprisonment plus a fine for sexual harassment and two to seven years' imprisonment for sexual assault. Women's rights activists reported authorities rarely enforced these laws.

Reproductive Rights

Couples and individuals in most cases had the right to decide the number, spacing, and timing of their children and had the information and means to do so free from discrimination. The prime minister has called for married women to have at least three children. Women and men had equal access to diagnostic services and treatment for sexually transmitted infections. The UN Population Fund report, *State of World Population 2012*, estimated that skilled attendants assisted in 91 percent of all births, while 73 percent of married women used some method of birth control as of 2010.

Discrimination

While women enjoy the same rights as men under the law, societal and official discrimination were widespread. The constitution permits measures, including positive discrimination, to be taken to advance gender equality.

Women continued to face discrimination in employment and were generally underrepresented in managerial-level positions in business and government. According to the Turkish Statistic Institute (TUIK), women's participation in the labor market was at 30.3 percent, an increase from 25.6 percent in 2011. Women were mostly employed as unpaid family workers with no social protection apart from that afforded by other family members. The number of women in politics and senior management remained very small. Women were also underrepresented in management in trade unions. The government, working with the state employment agency Is-Kur and women's groups, developed programs to encourage the hiring of women. The government reported that men and women were offered equal opportunities in work and received equal pay for equal work.

Children

Birth Registration

There is universal birth registration in the country, and births were generally registered immediately. Citizenship is passed through a child's parentage, not through birth on Turkish soil. Only one parent needs to be a Turkish citizen to pass citizenship to a child. In special cases where a child, born in Turkey, cannot receive citizenship from any other country due to the status of his or her parents, then Turkish citizenship is granted to the child.

Child Abuse

Child abuse was a problem, and comprehensive social services to provide medical, psychological, and legal assistance were limited. The law provides police and local officials authority to grant various levels of protection and support services to victims of violence or to those at risk of violence, requires the government to provide services such as shelter and temporary financial support, and provides family courts authority to impose sanctions on those responsible for the violence. Through August 31, the government's domestic violence hotline received 5,177 calls from or regarding children.

Child Marriage

The law defines 17 as the minimum age for marriage, although children as young as 12 were at times married in unofficial religious ceremonies. Child marriage occurred particularly in poor, rural regions, and women's rights activists reported that the problem remained serious. According to TUIK and the End Violence against Women Platform, there were 181,000 child brides in the country during the year through November. According to the End Violence against Women Platform, 825 children under 18 gave birth in Diyarbakir Women and Children State Hospital through November.

Sexual Exploitation of Children

The constitution provides that the state shall take measures to protect children from exploitation. The law criminalizes sexual exploitation of children and mandates a minimum

sentence of eight years in prison. There were reports that children were subject to commercial sexual exploitation. A person convicted of encouraging or facilitating children into prostitution can receive a prison sentence of between four and 10 years; if violence or pressure is involved, the sentence can be doubled.

The age of consent in the country is 15. The law provides for imprisonment for six months to two years for statutory rape; the sentence is doubled if the offender is more than five years older than the victim. The law prohibits producing or disseminating child pornography and provides for a sentence of six months to two years in prison as well as a fine.

Incest remained a problem, although official statistics were incomplete and prosecutions remained minimal. The Jandarma received 95 reports of incest through October 1.

Child Soldiers

The terrorist group PKK regularly recruited children. A report released by the think tank TEPAV in February estimated that 42 percent of PKK members were under the age of 18. The exact number of PKK child soldiers was unknown.

International Child Abductions

The country is a party to the Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction. For information see the Department of State's report on compliance at travel.state 4308.html.

Anti-Semitism

There were some reports of anti-Semitic incidents against members of the Jewish community, who numbered approximately 20,000. A variety of newspapers, commercials, and television shows continued to carry anti-Semitic messages, and anti-Semitic literature was common in bookstores.

In March local and international Jewish groups, including the Anti-Defamation League, criticized a cosmetics company for featuring Adolf Hitler in a television commercial for men's shampoo that ran on state television. The company defended the commercial but pulled it off the air.

Jewish leaders in the country believed that occurrences of anti-Semitism were directly related to events in the Middle East, although members of the Jewish community did not report any incidents that suggested the public directed anti-Israeli sentiment toward them during the year. Two years after the "free Gaza" flotilla incident in 2010, government leaders continued to emphasize publicly that Jewish citizens of Turkey were distinct from both Israeli citizens and the Israeli government, and asserted that the country's Jews should be protected.

Trafficking in Persons

See the Department of State's *Trafficking in Persons Report* at www.state

Persons with Disabilities

The constitution permits positive discrimination for persons with disabilities and the law prohibits discrimination against persons with disabilities in employment, education, air travel and other transportation, access to health care, and in the provision of other state services. The government did not enforce the law effectively.

The law requires all governmental institutions and businesses to make necessary arrangements for access for persons with disabilities in public areas and on public transportation by July 2011, but the government made little progress implementing the law. Access in most cities was extremely limited, and there was no clear system of fines or other punishment for noncompliance. The Disabled and Senior Citizens Directorate General, under the Family and Social Policies Ministry, is responsible for protecting persons with disabilities, although human rights associations, including domestic advocacy organization Solidarity Association for the Physically Disabled, claimed the directorate was underfunded. Through August 31, the government's domestic violence hotline received 45,761 calls from individuals with disabilities and 2,186 from elderly persons.

Under the law, in companies with more than 50 workers, at least 3 percent of the workforce are required to be persons with disabilities; in the public sector, the requirement is 4 percent. According to the Labor Ministry, at the beginning of the year, the state employed 20,829 persons with disabilities.

The law provides that all public schools must accommodate disabled students, although activists reported instances of students with disabilities being refused admission or encouraged to drop out of school. According to the July report of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, a large number of school-age children with disabilities did not receive adequate access to an education. During the 2011- 12 school year, the Ministry of Education's Directorate General for Special Education and Counseling spent 70 million lira (approximately $40 million) and provided special accommodation and transportation to school for 41,000 students with disabilities. In addition 245,000 students with disabilities received eight hours of individual education and four hours of group education per month.

As reported by the Lantos Foundation for Human Rights and Justice, when boarding a Turkish Airlines flight from Istanbul to Amsterdam, airline staff refused Kersen DeJong a seat that would accommodate his two artificial legs, forcing him to separate them from his upper body, and then drag himself to his seat with his hands. Airline staff stored his artificial limbs in an overhead compartment away from his assigned seat. All of this occurred while the flight crew and passengers looked on.

National/Racial/Ethnic Minorities

The constitution provides a single nationality designation for all citizens and does not expressly recognize national, racial, or ethnic minorities. The European Commission's October progress report observed that the government's overall approach to minorities remained restrictive.

The country's law is interpreted to recognize only three non-Muslim minorities: Armenian Orthodox Christians, Jews, and Greek Orthodox Christians. Other ethnic or religious minorities, such as Alevis, Assyrians, Protestants, Roman Catholics, Caferis,

Yezidis, Kurds, Arabs, Roma, Circassians, or Laz, are prohibited from fully exercising their linguistic, religious, and cultural rights and continued to face varying levels of pressure to assimilate. While dialogue with non-Muslim religious communities continued, persons professing faith in minority religions or no faith continued to be subject to discrimination and threats from extremists.

Citizens of Kurdish origin constituted a large ethnic and linguistic group. More than 15 million of the country's citizens identified themselves as of Kurdish origin and spoke Kurdish dialects. Kurds who publicly or politically asserted their Kurdish identity or promoted using Kurdish in the public domain risked censure, harassment, or prosecution, although significantly less so than in previous years.

Restrictions remained on use of languages other than Turkish in political and public life. Children whose first language was Kurdish could not be taught fully in Kurdish in either private or public schools. However, with the introduction of the new "4-1-4-1-4" education system in September, Kurdish was taught as an elective course in the fifth grade, to be expanded into the next higher grade each year after that. At least three universities provided Kurdish language programs. The Kurdish inmates who conducted a hunger strike from September 12 to November 18 demanded, among other things, the right to use their mother tongue in schooling, courtroom defense, and local government administration.

On February 26, anti-Armenian signs and chanting were reported among the thousands of protesters gathered in Istanbul to mark the 20th anniversary of the violence in Khojaly. Authorities later charged 10 persons with "igniting hatred and revenge among public" for opening a banner that included hate speech. On December 10, a court sentenced six of the accused to five months of prison, later commuted to a fine of 3,000 lira (approximately $1,700). On December 7, the Second Criminal Court convicted Okan Bas, an ultranationalist columnist, of a hate speech for praising the 2007 murder of prominent Turkish-Armenian journalist Hrant Dink and imposed a five-year suspended sentence. Like the previous year, the gatherings on April 24 to commemorate events relating to the Armenian issue and the tragic events of 1915 were peaceful and received police protection where necessary.

On January 17, a court ruled that Yasin Hayal was guilty of masterminding the murder of Hrant Dink. The court sentenced Hayal to life imprisonment and two other men to 12 years' imprisonment each for helping him. The court rejected claims of a wider plot and dropped conspiracy charges against 19 suspects. Dink's family and human rights associations denounced the verdict, claiming that the court failed to address state officials' alleged involvement. On January 19, at least 40,000 persons marched in Istanbul to commemorate Dink's life and call for justice. An appeal at the 9th Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Appeals continued at year's end.

There was no firm estimate of the number of Roma in the country. The Romani community continued to face problems with access to education, health care, and housing. The European Commission's October progress report noted some progress was made regarding the situation of Roma. On April 8, numerous associations celebrated International Roma Day in Ankara.

The Labor Ministry and Is-Kur promoted the employment of Roma in temporary public benefit jobs, and three- to six-month vocational training programs for Roma continued in 15 provinces. During the year the government employed 1,365 Roma in various jobs, such as cleaning offices and maintaining and landscaping public parks. However, these positions did

not involve job or career training of the sort that would ensure continued employment after the project ends in 2014.

Romani populations also suffered displacement as housing projects extended into their traditional areas of residence. In the Sulukule neighborhood of Istanbul, redeveloped housing continued to sell for multiple times the amounts the mostly Romani occupants received as compensation for leaving the area. Most former residents declined the government's offer of new housing on the outskirts of the city. On September 13, the Istanbul Fourth Administrative Court halted the construction of new villa-style housing after a four-year court case brought by the Istanbul branch of the Chamber of Architects, the Chamber of Urban Planners, and the Sulukule Roma Culture and Solidarity Association. The municipality of Fatih took the case to court, which ruled that the construction and sale of the villas could continue to completion; however, the villas remained unoccupied pending the court's resolution of the issues of title and compensation. The case continued at year's end. Other similar urban renewal projects were successfully completed in Cannakale and Edirne and were occupied by Roma who were able to obtain the new housing at low cost; however, residents opposed a project in Izmir as an unnecessary relocation of the Romani community.

Some progress occurred on preserving cultural rights. *Sabro*, the first Assyrian newspaper in Turkey, started monthly publication in March and featured the writings of Turkish, Armenian, and Greek intellectuals. The Diyarbakir City Theater performed Shakespeare's *Hamle*t in Kurdish in a tour around Turkey, most notably at the Ankara State Theater on November 26 with the minister of culture in attendance.

Societal Abuses, Discrimination, and Acts of Violence Based on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity

While the law does not explicitly discriminate against LGBT individuals, organizations that worked with them stated that references in the law relating to "offenses against public morality," "protection of the family," and "unnatural sexual behavior" were sometimes used as a basis for abuse by police and discrimination by employers. The law also states that "no association may be founded for purposes against law and morality." Authorities applied this law in attempts to shut down or limit the activities of NGOs working on LGBT matters.

LGBT individuals continued to suffer discrimination, intimidation, and violent crimes. LGBT groups claimed that police harassed and arbitrarily arrested transgender individuals during the year. Human rights organizations reported many prosecutions for "offending public morals." Authorities often used the law on misdemeanors to impose fines on transgender persons when they frequented stores or walked on city streets. Police claimed they were acting on complaints they had received. Transgender NGO representatives reported they were subjected to violence but that there was no place where they could make a complaint or press for their rights. They alleged that police insulted and swore at them while doctors ridiculed them.

Domestic NGO KAOS-GL reported there were four killings during the year that it classified as LGBT hate crimes. Six transgender persons were also killed during the year. KAOS-GL recorded eight assaults, two lynching threats, two accusations of torture and inhuman treatment, one case of domestic violence, and one case of rape against LGBT persons during the year. On October 24, an unknown assailant in Antalya killed Sehap

Guneser, the second transgender woman to be killed in Antalya during the year. According to LGBT activists, police pepper-sprayed those who came to her aid after the attack. An investigation into her death continued at year's end.

Police provided protection to some "pride" events in Istanbul and other cities. During the Istanbul trans-pride parade in June, an extremist group attacked marchers; riot police broke up the altercation. In the Istanbul pride parade in July, no incidents of violence were reported.

There were active LGBT organizations in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Eskisehir, and Diyarbakir and unofficial groups in smaller cities and on university campuses. Groups reported harassment by police and government authorities. Many university groups in small cities complained that they had tried to organize, but the rector denied permission. LGBT organizations reported that the government used regular and detailed auditing to create administration burdens and threaten the possibility of large fines.

Authorities did not allow openly gay men to perform military service for "health reasons" due to their sexual orientation. Gay men requesting military exemption for reasons of sexual orientation had to undergo an invasive burden of proof, but authorities denied such requests many times, even after the men proclaimed their sexual orientation and underwent treatment and examination at several military medical facilities. LGBT groups complained that gay men were required to show photos or videos of themselves in overtly sexual positions and to undergo thorough medical evaluations to prove their homosexuality to military officials. The groups further complained that military officials "outed" gay men to their families and communities.

Other Societal Violence or Discrimination

The Ministry of Health reported 776 new cases of HIV/AIDS through November, a significant increase from the previous year. Human rights organizations complained that the media and medical professionals often did not respect the privacy of individuals with HIV/AIDS and often reported their names in the media. Many persons living with HIV/AIDS reported discrimination in access to housing, public services, benefits, and health care.

SECTION 7. WORKER RIGHTS

A. Freedom of Association and the Right to Collective Bargaining

The law protects the right of most but not all workers to form and join independent unions of their choice, to conduct their activities without interference, and to bargain collectively. Certain public employees, such as the military and police, cannot form unions. There are no restrictions on membership or participation of persons or unions in regional, national, or international labor organizations, but a notary public must certify such participation and report it to the government. The law requires unions to notify government officials prior to holding meetings or rallies (which must be held in officially designated areas), allow government representatives to attend their conventions, and record the proceedings. The law provides for the right to strike but prohibits strikes by white collar civil

servants; public workers engaged in safeguarding life and property; and workers in the coal mining and petroleum industries, hospitals and funeral industries, energy and sanitation services, national defense, banking, and education. The law requires the latter group of workers to resolve disputes through binding arbitration. The law prohibits antiunion discrimination, and workers have the right to sue when dismissed; if they win they can receive either reinstatement or compensation.

Employees cannot join two unions in the same industry unless working for different employers. The law allows for a person to participate in solidarity strikes and for public sector workers to bargain collectively. The law on trade unions allows collective bargaining, but not strikes, by civil servants.

The Unions and Collective Bargaining Law passed on October 18 revised regulations on trade union formation and collective bargaining. The new law lowered two thresholds for a labor union to be authorized as an agent of collective bargaining. It also rectified outdated accounting and redefined industry sectors, which unions claimed would make unionization and collective bargaining more difficult. The Labor Ministry stated these changes were realignments to fit constitutional tenets or EU and International Labor Organization standards. The ministry claimed that the new law also lifted some constraints on unions in keeping with the broader liberalization of legislation. Unions were skeptical of any apparent advances, stressing that all forms of antiunion discrimination continued to exist in practice. According to the International Trade Union Confederation, the law will deprive approximately six million workers in small and medium-size enterprises the protection of union membership.

The government maintained a number of restrictions on the right of association and collective bargaining. A minimum of seven workers is required to establish a new trade union without prior approval. By law, to become a bargaining agent, a union must represent 40 percent (reduced from 50 percent by the new law) of the employees at a given work site and 1 percent (reduced from 10 percent, and due to rise to 3 percent in a stepwise fashion) of all the workers in that particular industry. Labor law prohibits union leaders from becoming officers of or otherwise performing duties for political parties, from working for or being involved in the operation of any profit-making enterprise, and from displaying any political party logos or symbols in any union or confederation publications.

In practice, despite restrictions, workers exercised their rights of association and collective bargaining and, in the private sector, the right to strike. The European Commission's October progress report noted that the country excessively restricted the right to strike. On May 29, a strike began after a call from Turkish Civil Aviation Union (Hava-Is). The union asked members to protest a legislative attempt to remove aviation workers' rights to strike by slowing down operations at their workplaces. After declaring the strike "lawless," the airline fired 305 employees who participated in the action at the country's largest airport in Istanbul. On December 25, the 12th Labor Court ruled 26 persons had the right to return to their jobs or receive compensation. The case of the remaining plaintiffs continued at year's end.

In practice government restrictions and interference limited the ability of unions to conduct their activities, including collective bargaining. Police were frequently present at union meetings and conventions.

Threats, violence, and systematic layoffs were common responses to unionized workplaces. On June 25, police carried out raids on the offices of KESK and KESK-affiliated unions, including Egitim Sen (Education and Science Workers Union), Tum-Bel-Sen (All

Municipality Workers Trade Union), SES (Health and Social Services Workers Union), and Birlesik Tasimacilik Calisanlari Sendikasi (BTS) under an operation against illegal terrorist organizations. In the raids, authorities arrested and detained 71 trade union members and leaders; 28 remained in detention pending trial at year's end.

Unions alleged that antiunion discrimination occurred regularly. If a court ruled that an employer unfairly dismissed and should either reinstate or compensate a worker, the employer generally paid compensation to the employee along with a fine. Service sector union organizers reported that private-sector employers sometimes ignored the law and dismissed workers to discourage union activity.

B. Prohibition of Forced or Compulsory Labor

The law prohibits all forms of forced or compulsory labor and the government effectively enforced such laws. There were no available data on the number of victims removed from forced labor during the year.

Also see the Department of State's *Trafficking in Persons Report* at www.state

C. Prohibition of Child Labor and Minimum Age for Employment

The law protects children from exploitation in the workplace, and the government effectively implemented the law with some exceptions. The use of child labor was found mostly in agriculture, carpentry, the shoemaking and leather goods industry, the auto repair industry, small-scale manufacturing, and street sales, although its incidence was thought to be low and difficult to detect. Some parents forced their children to work on the streets selling tissues or food, shining shoes, or begging.

The law prohibits the employment of children younger than 15 and prohibits children under the age of 16 from performing arduous or dangerous work. The government prohibits children under the age of 18 from working in certain professions or under hazardous conditions, such as working at night or in underground mining. The Ministry of Labor and Social Security effectively enforced these restrictions in most workplaces. Through June authorities rescued 294 children living or working on the streets and 434 children considered at risk of working on the streets from their situations and provided them access to education.

According to the Ministry of Labor, projects combating child labor expanded outside the ministry's own programs, such as an awareness and action campaign taken up independently by a local agricultural association in Ordu.

While businesses were subject to labor inspections, many workplaces that employed children were not routinely inspected, including farms employing 50 or fewer workers, maritime and air transportation, family handicraft businesses, and small shops employing up to three persons. These workplaces could be inspected if a complaint was submitted to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security.

While government statistics were not available, the frequency of child labor was believed to be moderate. Employment of young boys and young girls was not uncommon. While girls were rarely seen working in public, many were kept out of school to work in handicrafts or light assembly at home, particularly in rural areas. The Labor Ministry identified the worst

forms of child labor as working in the streets, in the informal urban economy, in seasonal commercial agriculture, and as domestic service workers. In agriculture children were often subjected to long hours involving work with heavy machinery and exposure to chemical pesticides. Children also migrated with their families following harvests, potentially disrupting their education.

Children legally employed at small enterprises must register with one of 39 Ministry of Education "lifelong learning centers" and were required to go to the center once a week for training. The law in turn obligates the centers to inspect their workplaces. The Social Services and Child Protection Institution operated centers in 30 provinces and had a hotline for reporting child exploitation and negligence. With TNP cooperation, the institution located "at risk" street children and directed them to child centers for care and reintegration into the educational system. Through June these centers supported 1,893 children.

Also see the Department of Labor's *Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labo*r at www.dol.gov/ilab/programs/ocft/tda.htm.

D. Acceptable Conditions of Work

The national minimum wage was 940.50 lira ($526) per month. The official poverty level was 3,091 lira ($1,717) per month in September according to unions. All workers covered by the labor law were also covered by the law establishing a national minimum wage; the law requires equal pay for equal work. The Ministry of Labor Inspection Board effectively enforced the law. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development indicated that the national minimum wage did not take sufficient account of regional variations in productivity and living costs.

The law establishes a 45-hour workweek with a weekly rest day and limits overtime to three hours per day for up to 270 hours a year. The law mandates premium pay for overtime but allows for employers and employees to agree to a flexible time schedule. The Labor Inspectorate of the Ministry of Labor effectively enforced wage and hour provisions in the unionized industrial, service, and government sectors. Workers in other sectors had difficulty receiving overtime pay to which they were entitled by law. The law prohibits excessive compulsory overtime.

While the law mandates occupational health and safety regulations, in practice the Ministry of Labor Inspection Board did not carry out sufficient inspection and enforcement programs. According to the worker advocate organization Assembly for Worker Health and Safety, 878 workplace deaths occurred during the year. Construction was the worst sector in terms of workplace casualties, with at least 279 deaths recorded during the year due to falls.

Because of previously high inflation, insufficient public services, lack of coordination between the public organizations, and ineffective supervision mechanisms, the country has historically had a large informal economy. In June the Ministry of Finance announced that, according to TUİK statistics, the informal sector's share of the economy had fallen to an estimated 27.7 percent of GDP from 32.4 percent in 2002.

In: Encyclopedia of Turkey
Editor: Dennis Rivera
ISBN: 978-1-63482-757-7
© 2015 Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

Chapter 6

TURKEY 2012 INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM REPORT*

U.S. Department of State;
Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The constitution and other laws and policies generally protect religious freedom, although there are some laws, policies, and constitutional provisions that restrict religious freedom. There were reports of abuses of religious freedom, including the imprisonment of at least one conscientious objector for his religious beliefs. The trend in the government's respect for religious freedom did not change significantly during the year. In general, members of religious groups that had formal recognition during the Ottoman period, including the Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, Armenian Protestant, and Jewish communities, reported they had freedom to practice their faiths. The government continued to return or provide compensation for property confiscated from religious community foundations in previous decades. The government did not clarify the legal authority under which the Greek Orthodox Halki seminary could reopen after being closed for more than 40 years. The ban on headscarves remained in effect in government offices and public primary schools, but the government did not enforce it in universities and in some workplaces. Some religious groups faced restrictions registering with the government, owning property, and training their members and clergy. Although religious speech and conversions are legal, some Muslims, Christians, and Bahais faced government restrictions, surveillance, and occasional harassment for alleged proselytizing or providing religious instruction to children.

There were reports of societal abuses and discrimination based on religious affiliation, belief, or practice. Christians, Bahais, many non-Sunni Muslims, including the sizeable Alevi population, and members of other religious minority groups faced threats and societal suspicion. Jewish leaders reported some elements of society continued to express anti-

* This document was released by the U.S. Department of State; Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, May 2013.

Semitic sentiments. Persons wishing to convert from Islam experienced harassment and violence from relatives and neighbors.

Embassy and consulate representatives, as well as visiting U.S. officials, met frequently with government officials and representatives of religious groups to discuss religious freedom, including property restitution issues, religious discrimination, and legal reforms aimed at lifting restrictions on religious groups.

SECTION I. RELIGIOUS DEMOGRAPHY

The Turkish Statistics Institution's 2011 population estimate is 74.7 million. The government estimates 99 percent of the population is Muslim, the majority of which is Hanafi Sunni. Representatives of religious groups state the actual percentage of Muslims is slightly lower.

Academics estimate there are between 15 million and 20 million Alevis, followers of a belief system that incorporates aspects of both Shia and Sunni Islam and draws on the traditions of other religious groups indigenous to the region. Alevi foundation leaders state the number at between 20 million and 25 million.

Other religious groups, mostly concentrated in Istanbul and other large cities, together constitute less than 1 percent of the population. While exact figures are not available, these groups include approximately 500,000 Shiite Jaferi Muslims; 90,000 Armenian Orthodox Christians (of which an estimated 60,000 are citizens and an estimated 30,000 are undocumented immigrants from Armenia); 25,000 Roman Catholics (mostly recent immigrants from Africa and the Philippines); 22,000 Jews; 20,000 Syrian Orthodox (Syriac) Christians; 15,000 Russian Orthodox Christians (mostly recent immigrants from Russia who hold residence permits); 10,000 Bahais; 5,000 Yezidis; 5,000 Jehovah's Witnesses; 7,000 members of other Protestant denominations; 3,000 Iraqi Chaldean Christians; and up to 2,500 Greek Orthodox Christians. There also are small, undetermined numbers of Bulgarian Orthodox, Nestorian, Georgian Orthodox, Syriac Catholic, and Maronite Christians.

SECTION II. STATUS OF GOVERNMENT RESPECT FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Legal/Policy Framework

The constitution and other laws and policies generally protect religious freedom, although some laws, policies, and constitutional provisions restrict religious freedom. The constitution defines the country as a secular state and provides for freedom of belief, worship, and the private expression of religious ideas. The constitution prohibits discrimination on religious grounds.

Despite these provisions, the government provides favorable and prejudicial treatment to Sunni Islamic groups. The Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet) regulates the operation of more than 85,000 registered mosques and employs more than 117,000 imams, Quran instructors, muezzins, and other religious workers, all of whom are civil servants. Its mandate

is to promote the belief, worship, and moral principles of Islam, educate the public about religious issues, and administer places of worship. Operating under the prime minister's office and with a president appointed by the prime minister, the Diyanet has five main departments: the High Councils for Religious Affairs, Education, Services, Publications, and Public Relations. The government does not employ religious leaders, instructors, or other staff for other religious groups.

The government donates land for the construction of mosques and in many cases funds their construction through the Diyanet or municipalities. Municipalities pay the utility bills for mosques located within their boundaries. These benefits are uniquely available to Sunni Muslims. The Diyanet Foundation, a quasi-governmental entity, owns many of the mosques around the country.

The government considers Alevism a heterodox Muslim sect and does not financially support religious worship for Alevi Muslims.

The penal code prohibits imams, priests, rabbis, and other religious leaders from "reproaching or vilifying" the government or the laws of the state while performing their duties. Violations are punishable by prison terms of one month to one year, or three months to two years if the crime involves inciting others to disobey the law. There are legal restrictions against insulting a recognized religion, interfering with such a religious group's services, or defacing its property.

The government interprets the 1923 Lausanne Treaty, which refers broadly and nonspecifically to "non-Muslim minorities," as granting special legal minority status exclusively to three recognized groups: Armenian Orthodox Christians, Jews, and Greek Orthodox Christians. However, the government does not grant legal personality to the leadership organs or administrative structures of these groups, leaving them unable to buy or hold title to property or to press claims in court.

The state provides training for Sunni Muslim clerics. Religious groups other than Sunni Muslims do not have schools to train clerics inside the country. The Greek Orthodox Halki seminary on the island of Heybeli closed in 1971 in response to a law that required all private colleges to be affiliated with a state-run university and meet government requirements that did not permit the operation of a seminary within a monastic community. The Greek Orthodox community thereby lost the only educational institution in the country for training its religious leadership. Co-religionists from outside the country assume informal leadership positions in some cases, but according to a mandate from the Istanbul governorate, leaders of the Greek Orthodox, Armenian Apostolic, and Jewish communities must be citizens.

Religious groups generally face administrative challenges when seeking to employ foreign religious personnel because there is no visa category for religious workers. The government does not recognize conscientious objection to military service, and those who oppose mandatory military service on religious grounds face charges in military and civilian courts as well as prison sentences.

Although registration with the government is not mandatory for religious groups, unregistered religious groups cannot request legal recognition of places of worship, and holding religious services at a location not recognized as a place of worship is illegal. All organizations, including religious groups, can register as associations or foundations. Religious groups must associate themselves with a charitable or cultural cause in order to register as either type of entity. Religious community foundations are the only religious groups permitted to own real estate. Associations by definition must be nonprofit and may

receive financial support only in the form of donations. A foundation has greater fiscal freedom and may earn income through companies and rent-earning properties. Associations have fewer legal rights than foundations at the local level. However, the process for establishing a foundation is substantially lengthier and more expensive than that for establishing an association.

The General Directorate of Foundations (GDF) regulates the activities and affiliated property of all charitable foundations and assesses whether they are operating within the stated objectives of their organizational statute. There are several categories of foundations, including religious community foundations. Associations have fewer legal rights and protections than foundations at the local level. To register as a foundation, a group of persons or legal entities must agree to dedicate private property to public use. A foundation becomes a legal entity when it is registered in the records of the civil court with jurisdiction for that location. When a court approves the registration of a foundation, it is registered in the central register of the General Directorate of Foundations, at which point it is considered fully constituted. A foundation of any category may be closed only by court orders.

Parliament determines on an annual basis the minimum capital requirement for creating a foundation. Membership in the foundation cannot be limited to any one ethnic or religious group; technically, a foundation to support a specific religion is not possible under the law.

To register as an association, a group must submit a registration application to the provincial governor's office and may immediately begin operating while awaiting confirmation from the governor's office that its bylaws are constitutional.

Associations can be closed by court orders and are bound by the civil code not to discriminate on the grounds of religion, ethnicity, or race.

The constitution establishes compulsory religious and moral instruction in public primary and secondary schools, with content determined by the Ministry of National Education's Department of Religious Instruction. Members of recognized non-Muslim religious groups are legally exempt from religious instruction.

Only Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, and Jewish religious community foundations may operate schools under the supervision of the Education Ministry. Other religious groups may not operate schools of their own. The curricula of these schools include information unique to the cultures of the three groups and may be taught in the minority groups' languages. Beginning in the 2012-2013 school year, the government permits Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, and Jewish students who are not citizens, including children of undocumented Armenian migrants, to enroll in the community schools. However, because these children are legally classified as "visitors" they are ineligible to receive a degree from those schools.

Because the government does not recognize the Syrian Orthodox community as a protected minority under the Lausanne treaty, it is not allowed to operate its own schools as are the Greek, Jewish, and Armenian communities. As a result, Syrian Orthodox children are not able to receive education in neo-Aramaic, the language of their community and church.

A change during the year in the law governing compulsory education now requires 12 years of education divided into four years of elementary, four years of intermediate, and four years of secondary school. As before, students may choose to attend vocational high schools, including "imam-hatip" (Muslim preacher) vocational high schools. The new law creates imam-hatip schools at the intermediate level, enabling students to attend after the first four

years of elementary school instead of after eight years as was previously the case; this change effectively reduces the age at which a religious-track education becomes available. Additional religious courses can now be taken as electives for two hours per week for each grade in regular schools. The new law also abolishes all age limits for Quran courses.

Although the constitution stipulates that no one shall be compelled to reveal his or her religious beliefs, there is a space in which to note one's religious affiliation on national identity cards. A few religious groups, such as Bahais, Alevis, and Yezidis, are unable to state their religious identity on national identity cards because their groups are not included among the available options. Despite a 2006 regulation allowing persons to leave the religious identity section of their identity cards blank or change the religious identity section by written application, the government restricts applicants' choice of religion. Applicants must either leave the religious identity section blank or choose from the following: Muslim, Greek Orthodox, Christian, Jew, Hindu, Zoroastrian, Confucian, Taoist, Buddhist, no religion, or other.

The government observes the following religious holidays as national holidays: three days at the end of Ramadan (Ramazan Bayrami) and four days for the feast of the sacrifice (Kurban Bayrami).

Government Practices

There were reports of abuses of religious freedom, including the imprisonment of a conscientious objector for refusing to serve in the military due to his religious beliefs. The government imposed numerous restrictions that affected members of religious groups. Local government officials did not enforce constitutional guarantees on freedom of religion for members of minority religious groups. Conscientious objectors to military service continued to experience difficulties. According to Jehovah's Witnesses officials, members faced prosecution and fines for their refusal to serve in the military forces. One objector, Baris Gormez, had been charged 13 times for "disobedience of orders" since 2007. In February Gormez was acquitted by Isparta Military Court and released from prison. The prosecutor appealed the decision, and at year's end the case was before the Military Court of Appeals. Gormez also had a case stemming from his status as a conscientious objector pending before the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). In January another Jehovah's Witness, Fethi Demirtas, won a decision in the ECHR against the government for violating the right to a fair trial and freedom of religion, conscience, and thought. In May the United Nations Human Rights Committee, upon application by two other Jehovah's Witnesses, Cenk Atasoy and Arda Sarkut, found that the government had violated Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights by denying them conscientious objector status. In May Turkish national Ugur Bilkay requested asylum in Italy based on his religious objection to military service.

The government continued to impose significant restrictions on religious expression, including Muslim expression, in government offices and state-run institutions for the stated reason of preserving the "secular state." However, many state buildings, including universities, maintained mesjids (small mosques) in which Muslims could pray. The government denied a request from an Alevi member of parliament to establish a small Alevi place of worship in the parliament building, which had a mesjid.

Mystical Sufi and other religious-social orders (tarikats) and lodges (cemaats), banned officially since 1925, remained active and widespread. The government did not enforce this ban.

Some religious groups reported difficulties opening, maintaining, and operating houses of worship. Although a 2003 amendment to the law permits cultural associations as well as foundations to establish legal places of worship, authorities have approved only one new Christian church as a place of worship since the founding of the republic in 1923.

The majority of Protestants met in unregistered places of worship. The government reportedly recognized only 15 Protestant churches as official places of worship throughout the country, including several chapels run by foreign diplomatic missions. Protestant groups reportedly used approximately 40 rented buildings and more than 100 residences for unregistered worship services. Several Protestant churches reported difficulties obtaining permission to modify rented space and to use public space for community activities, as other civil groups were allowed to do. Jehovah's Witnesses reported that by year's end they had made 46 unsuccessful attempts in 27 different municipalities to register Kingdom Halls as places of worship. On occasion, police broke up worship services in unregistered locations. Some lay leaders reported multiple arrests.

Many local officials continued to impose zoning standards on churches, such as minimum space requirements, that they did not impose on mosques. In numerous instances, local officials required Protestant groups to purchase 27,000 square feet of land (approximately 0.6 acres) to construct churches, even for very small congregations. Officials did not apply this requirement to Sunni Muslims, who were permitted to build smaller mesjids in malls, airports, and other spaces.

The Syrian Orthodox community continued to seek a second church in Istanbul to accommodate its growing population. The community had one church in Istanbul to serve an estimated local population of 17,000 to 20,000. In 2011, President Gul and Prime Minister Erdogan publicly endorsed a second church. While the Syrian Orthodox community did not request government funding for construction as mosques receive, it did request that the municipality provide free land upon which to build, as was provided for mosques. At year's end, the municipality had not designated land on which to build.

Non-Sunni Muslims faced difficulty obtaining exemptions from compulsory religious instruction in primary and secondary schools, particularly if their identification cards listed "Muslim." Members of other minority religious groups, including members of the Syrian Orthodox community and Protestants, also had difficulty obtaining exemptions. The government claimed the compulsory instruction covered the range of world religions, but religious groups asserted that the courses largely reflected Hanafi Sunni Islamic doctrine and contained negative and sometimes incorrect information about other religious groups.

Many Alevis alleged discrimination in the government's failure to include any of their distinct doctrines or beliefs in the compulsory religious education curriculum for Muslim students. A 2007 ECHR decision allowed an Alevi parent to request that his daughter be exempted from her school's compulsory religious instruction, but Alevis reported that school officials routinely ignored this right. Alevis had more than 20 unresolved discrimination cases against the Ministry of Education pending in court. Authorities added material on Alevism to the religious course curriculum after the ECHR decision, but many Alevis stated that this material was inadequate and, in some cases, incorrect. Alevi leaders reported that teachers

sometimes slapped children attempting to opt out of classes or singled them out for mistreatment by other students.

Because non-Turkish citizens may not receive degrees from licensed community schools, many Armenian immigrant parents remained reluctant to enroll their children in these schools and opted instead for unlicensed "basement" schools organized on the same model as schools in Armenia and whose degrees were accepted upon transfer back to Armenia. The government tolerated, but did not approve, these schools.

In general, members of religious groups formally recognized during the Ottoman period, including the Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, Armenian Protestant, and Jewish communities, reported they had freedom to practice their faith. However, the government placed significant restrictions on the administration of their churches and synagogues, such as the requirement that leaders of the Armenian Apostolic, Greek Orthodox, and Jewish communities be citizens.

Many prosecutors and police continued to regard religious speech and religious activism with suspicion. Protestant evangelical churches and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), which engaged in proselytizing, reported significant government interference, including surveillance and arbitrary police action. Anti-missionary rhetoric remained in required school textbooks, and police occasionally reported students who met with Christian missionaries to their families or to university authorities.

Many foreign Protestants, Mormons, and religious workers from other minority religious groups reported they were unable to obtain or renew residence permits. Some religious workers whose residence permits were not renewed, including individuals who had lived in the country for years, were forced to leave. In response to inquiries, government officials stated that a religious worker residence permit existed, but could not explain how one could be obtained.

The government brought blasphemy charges against individuals or organizations on several occasions. In June prosecutors charged concert pianist Fazil Say with insulting religious values and fomenting hatred and enmity among the public for sending tweets on his Twitter account referring to a poem by 11th-century Persian poet Omar Khayyam and describing "heaven's promise of rivers of wine" as a tavern and comparing the poem's promise of virgins in the afterlife to a brothel. Say also tweeted about a muezzin who recited the evening call for prayer in 22 seconds, questioning whether he was in a rush to reunite with his lover or go drink raki. The charges carry a penalty of up to 18 months in prison.

The Higher Education Council continued to refrain from enforcing the ban on headscarves in universities. This policy did not extend to primary and secondary schools, and the ban remained in force for civil servants in public buildings, although some government offices unofficially allowed employees to wear headscarves. On November 27, the Ministry of Education announced new regulations, to take effect in 2013, abolishing school uniforms and permitting the wearing of headscarves by female students in elective Quran classes and at "imamhatip" schools.

Alevis stated they often faced obstacles when attempting to establish cemevis (places of worship). Those constructed had no legal status as places of worship and received no financial support from the Diyanet. Alevi leaders reported there were approximately 2,500 to 3,000 cemevis in the country, an insufficient number to meet their needs; they stated that if their communities had the same number of cemevis per capita as Sunni Muslims had mosques, there would be more than 40,000 cemevis in the country.

At year's end, the second appeal of a lower court's dismissal of a complaint to shut down the Cankaya Cemevi Building Association awaited a final verdict by the country's highest court, the General Assembly of the Court of Cassation. The Ankara Governor's Office Provincial Directorate in charge of associations had filed a complaint against the building association for refusing to remove a description from its charter referring to cemevis as houses of worship. In November 2011 the lower court found, pursuant to the constitution's guarantee of freedom of religion and precedents from the ECHR, that Alevis were entitled to designate their own houses of worship. However, in July the Supreme Court of Appeals overturned the lower court's decision, ruling that no places other than mosques and mesjids could be considered places of worship under the law, which allows only "mosques or mesjids" approved by the Diyanet to be classified as legitimate places of worship. Following that decision, the Supreme Court of Appeals sent the case back to the lower court to act on the original complaint, requesting that the Cankaya Cemevi Building Association be closed. In November the lower court reaffirmed its original verdict; the judge's decision stated that for hundreds of years cemevis had been known as places of worship for Alevis and that the charter's reference to cemevis as places of worship was not in contravention of the constitution or prohibited by law. The prosecutor appealed the lower court's decision.

In January, following municipalities' denial of requests by some Alevi foundations that they pay utility bills for cemevis as they do for mosques, the Alevi Cem Foundation filed a petition with the ECHR seeking legal recognition of cemevis as houses of worship entitled to equal treatment under the law. The suit was pending at year's end.

The Armenian Orthodox and Ecumenical Greek Orthodox communities continued to seek legal recognition of their patriarchates, which operated as conglomerations of religious community foundations. Without legal personality, the patriarchates did not have the right to own and transfer property; associated foundations held property on their behalf. Because of Higher Education Board requirements, the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox patriarchates were unable to train their clerics in monastic seminaries within the country.

The Greek Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate continued to seek to reopen the Halki seminary as an institution for religious training. Several high-level officials expressed support for reopening Halki, including Diyanet President Mehmet Gormez in his first meeting with the Ecumenical Patriarch in July. However, by year's end, the government had not clarified the legal authority under which the seminary could reopen.

The government continued not to recognize the status of the Ecumenical Patriarchate as the leader of the world's 300 million Orthodox Christians. The government's position remained that the Ecumenical Patriarch was not "ecumenical," but only the religious leader of the country's Greek Orthodox minority population. The government continued to permit only citizens to vote in the Church's Holy Synod or be elected Patriarch. Because of significant decline in the Greek Orthodox population, there were only a handful of candidates eligible to become the next Ecumenical Patriarch. The government eventually granted citizenship to 20 of the 26 Greek Orthodox metropolitans who applied to become Turkish citizens under the terms of a stop-gap 2011 solution offered by the government to widen the pool from which to select the next patriarch. At year's end, it was unclear whether the remaining candidates would be reconsidered for citizenship or whether the government would agree to offer the same process in the future.

In November the General Assembly of the Court of Cassation ruled against Mor Gabriel, a 1,600-year-old Syriac monastery in Midyat, in a case challenging the monastery's ownership of parcels of land inside and outside the monastery walls. Beginning in 2008, the Undersecretariat of the Treasury, the Department of Forestry, and nearby villages initiated a series of court cases against the monastery. Local courts decided in favor of the monastery in two cases and against it in a third. A fourth case remained pending. When the Department of Forestry appealed the cases that the monastery had won, evidence favorable to the foundation's claim of ownership was reportedly lost in the transfer of the case. In June the Court of Cassation ruled against Mor Gabriel, and in November the General Assembly of the Court of Cassation rejected the monastery's appeal. The monastery has the option of applying to the Constitutional Court and ultimately to the ECHR.

Foundations reported they were frequently rebuffed in efforts to acquire and restore ruined churches, especially if restoration would restore the building to use as a church as opposed to a museum or cultural center. The Protestant Church of Istanbul reported it had been attempting for seven years to obtain permission to restore and use a former Roman Catholic chapel that was seized by the Treasury Department after the chapel's foundation became inactive. The authorities continued to decline permission to restore the chapel. Authorities enforced regulations specifying that restoration or construction carried out on buildings and monuments considered "ancient" could take place only with authorization of the regional board for the protection of cultural and national wealth.

The government did not implement the 2011 ECHR ruling that suggested omitting reference to religion on national identity cards. The ruling was in response to a case brought by an Alevi man who wished to list "Alevi" as his religion. Some local officials reportedly harassed persons who converted from Islam to another religion when they sought to amend their identity cards. Some non-Muslims maintained that listing their religious affiliation on the cards exposed them to discrimination and harassment. Many religious groups complained that by not including a religious identity or listing an identity other than Muslim, individuals were precluded from obtaining jobs in the state bureaucracy or government and discriminated against in the private sector.

The government continued to permit annual religious worship services at religiously significant sites previously converted to state museums, such as the Sumela Monastery near Trabzon, Akdamar Church near Van, St. Peter's Church in Antakya, St. Nicholas' Church near Demre, and the House of the Virgin Mary near Selcuk. Some municipal and minority religious group leaders called for these sites to be opened to worship without restrictions, and for other sites to be considered for religious services as well.

In July President Abdullah Gul hosted the leaders of minority religious foundations in Istanbul. Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Jewish, and Bulgarian foundation representatives attended.

In September high-level government officials participated in a conference held in Istanbul titled "Arab Awakening and Peace in the Middle East: Muslim and Christian Perspectives." Conference organizers acknowledged that Jews were not invited or welcome to participate.

The municipality of Diyarbakir contributed a third of the funding for the renovation of St. Giragos Church, at one time the largest Armenian Orthodox church in the country, which was abandoned and partially destroyed in 1915. Following completion of the restoration, a mass

was held at the church in November for the first time in 97 years. Several municipalities around the country initiated plans to convert former churches, which had been abandoned or used as commercial venues, to cultural centers or museums with an emphasis on the religious significance of the building.

IMPROVEMENTS AND POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN RESPECT FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

In a February session held behind closed doors, the Ecumenical Patriarch addressed the parliament's Constitutional Reconciliation Sub-Committee, which was responsible for drafting a new constitution. This was the first time in the history of the republic that a leader of a religious minority group addressed the parliament. Subsequently, representatives of the Syrian Orthodox community also testified before the sub-committee.

The government continued to implement a 2011 decree allowing a one-year period for religious minority foundations to apply for the return of, or compensation for, properties seized by the government in previous decades. Between 1936 and 2011, the government seized thousands of properties belonging to Christian and Jewish religious foundations. A 1936 law required that religious foundations compile and officially register lists of all properties owned. Although it was widely recognized at the time that these lists were not comprehensive, the government then began seizing unlisted properties from religious foundations. A 1974 High Court of Appeals ruling interpreting the 1936 law stated it had been illegal for religious foundations to acquire any new property after 1936, enabling the government to seize without compensation religious foundation properties acquired between 1936 and 1974.

By August, the GDF had received approximately 1,560 applications for the return of seized properties from the Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Jewish, Syrian Orthodox, Bulgarian Orthodox, Georgian Orthodox, Chaldean, and Armenian Protestant communities. By year's end, the GDF had reviewed approximately 200 of the applications and returned 71 properties to religious community foundations, made offers of compensation for 15 properties, declined 19 applications for lack of evidence, and returned the remaining applications for the correction of technical problems. The government established an arbitration system for foundations that believed the amount of compensation received for a property was inadequate. If the arbitration process is unsuccessful, foundations will have access to the courts for redress.

The decree did not alter the law that made it possible to seize property acquired after 1936, nor did it change the complicated procedure for administering foundation properties that contributed to the seizure of many properties. Additionally, the decree did not cover properties taken from religious institutions or communities that do not have legally recognized foundations, including the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches.

The 2011 decree also permitted the formation of new religious community foundations as well as the reopening of foundations that had previously been closed and whose assets the GDF had confiscated. The GDF approved new or reactivated foundations for the Jewish community in Izmir, the Armenian Orthodox community in Istanbul, and the Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul. Prior to the 2011 decree, the government had approved only one new

religious community foundation since the founding of the republic—the Istanbul Protestant Church Foundation in 2003.

SECTION III. STATUS OF SOCIETAL RESPECT FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

There were reports of societal abuses and discrimination based on religious affiliation, belief, and practice. Many members of the public viewed religious pluralism as a threat to Islam and to "national unity." Non-Sunni Muslims, Christians, Bahais, and members of other minority religious groups faced threats and societal suspicion, and Jewish leaders reported some elements of society continued to express anti-Semitic sentiments. Because ethnicity and religion were often inextricably linked, it was difficult to categorize many incidents specifically as ethnic or religious intolerance.

The trial of those accused of involvement in the 2007 murder of Armenian-Turkish journalist Hrant Dink, a Christian, ended in January. One defendant was sentenced to life imprisonment for "instigating murder." Three others received sentences ranging from two months to 10 years. All defendants were acquitted of the serious charge of "membership in an armed organization," as the court found insufficient evidence of "organized crime."

The trial of the accused murderer of Roman Catholic Bishop Luigi Padovese in a 2010 attack in Iskenderun continued at year's end.

Prosecutors substantially broadened the scope of the investigation of suspects involved in the 2007 torture and killing of three members of a Protestant church (a German national and two Turkish converts) who were publishing Bibles and other religious materials in Malatya. Prosecutors attempted to connect the murders to the activities of suspected coup-plotters in the mass prosecution known as "Ergenekon." In the Ergenekon prosecution, military and intelligence officers were accused of trying to use the sensational murders of Christians to give the appearance that the Justice and Development (AK) Party government was unwilling or unable to stop the activities of religious radicals and Islamic terrorists, thereby creating public support for a military coup. Several noncommissioned officers, as well as the retired colonel who was the former gendarmerie regiment commander in Malatya, testified that prior to the murders, authorities monitored the missionaries and the handful of Christians in Malatya 24 hours a day. The case continued at year's end.

The military investigation into the 2011 murder of Armenian-Turkish soldier Sevag Balikci by another soldier, allegedly for celebrating Easter, continued at year's end.

Threats against non-Sunni Muslims created an atmosphere of intimidation for some members of minority religious groups. In July an angry mob threw stones at the home and burned down the stables of an Alevi family in the village of Surgu in Malatya, after the family allegedly asked a Ramadan drummer not to wake them for the meal before sunrise. After the incident, prosecutors indicted both the Alevi family and the Sunni mob. Prosecutors asked for a sentence of 14 years imprisonment for family members for allegedly inciting the mob to burn down their own stables, and they asked for 10 years for the drummer and a maximum of six and a half years for 48 "protestors." In October prosecutors filed another case against the Alevi family for "aspersion," requesting 15 years' imprisonment for allegedly giving the wrong date for the attack in their first statement. Both cases continued at year's end.

Jewish leaders expressed concern about anti-Semitism. Many attributed occurrences of anti-Semitic graffiti and threats to events in the Middle East. Local authorities continued to work with community leaders and synagogue officials to protect Jewish places of worship.

In March local and international Jewish groups, including the Anti-Defamation League, criticized a cosmetics company for featuring Adolph Hitler in a shampoo commercial that ran on state television. The company defended the commercial but stopped airing it.

Some Protestant pastors and congregants reported receiving threatening telephone calls or messages during the year, and some Protestant churches reported vandalism and damage. Several Protestant pastors, some Protestant church legal advisors, and several Protestant churches across the country received heightened police protection due to threats. On Easter morning, three men accosted a Protestant lay minister in Istanbul after he caught them inside his church. As they beat him, the men reportedly insulted Christianity and threatened him if he refused to leave, stating he had no right to be in a Muslim neighborhood.

SECTION IV. U.S. GOVERNMENT POLICY

The secretary of state, ambassador, embassy officers, and other U.S. officials met with government officials throughout the year to stress the importance of religious freedom, including legal reforms aimed at lifting restrictions on religious groups, property restitution, and specific cases of religious discrimination. Embassy officials issued public statements drawing attention to religious discrimination. U.S. consular officials met with government counterparts to discuss barriers encountered by U.S. citizens attempting to obtain visas as religious workers.

The secretary of state and the ambassador, in private meetings with government officials and publicly through local media, called for the reopening of the Greek Orthodox Halki seminary. In August the assistant secretary for European and Eurasian affairs, the consul general in Istanbul, and several other U.S. officials toured Halki and met with its abbot. Afterwards, these officials held a press conference calling on the government to reopen the seminary without preconditions.

The ambassador, consulate representatives in Istanbul and Adana, and staff at all three posts maintained close relations with “traditional” and emerging religious groups. The ambassador and other embassy and consular personnel met frequently with the leaders of religious groups and hosted or attended events including iftars during Ramadan, Jewish and Christian holidays, and Holocaust Remembrance Day. The embassy met regularly with religious leaders, individually and collectively, to discuss religious freedom concerns and promote interreligious dialogue.

In: Encyclopedia of Turkey
Editor: Dennis Rivera
ISBN: 978-1-63482-757-7
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Chapter 7

2013 INVESTMENT CLIMATE STATEMENT: TURKEY*

Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs

Turkey is the 17th largest economy in the world, with a GDP of USD 774.2 billion. Over the last three years, Turkey has been one of the fastest growing economies, with an ambitious target to become one of the ten largest economies in the world by 2023, the centenary of the foundation of the Turkish republic. Achieving this goal will require Turkey to triple its economy to more than USD 2 trillion, develop an export sector of USD 500 billion, and make significant upgrades to its energy, information technology, finance, and physical infrastructures. While this will be a challenge, Turkey has more than doubled the size of its economy since 1990 and transformed it from roughly 20% industrial/ 80% lightly processed or raw materials to 75% industrial and manufactured. Regardless of whether Turkey is able to become a top 10 economy by 2023, we believe many positive economic reforms will come out of trying to meet such an ambitious goal, and the U.S. strongly supports Turkey's efforts in this regard.

The Turkish Government announced a new investment incentive program in April 2012, which went into effect retroactively on January 1, 2012, aimed at encouraging strategic investments and investment in less developed regions in order to eliminate regional disparities, reduce Turkey's dependence on imported intermediate goods, and increase technology transfer. In December 2012, the World Bank and the U.S. Department of Commerce hosted an "Ease of Doing Business" seminar for the Turkish interagency to help the Turkish Government understand what reforms are needed to make Turkey more investor friendly and competitive in the international arena. The seminar highlighted that Turkey still needs to improve overall governmental transparency, continue regulatory reforms, increase predictability in regulatory development, better protect intellectual property, and translate rules and regulations into action. The World Bank's Ease of Doing Business Index (http://www.doingbusiness.org/reports/ global-reports/doing-business-2013), as well as the Heritage Foundation-Wall Street Journal's Index of Economic Freedom (http://www.heritage.org/index/country/Turkey), offer useful summaries of key issues regarding doing business in Turkey.

* This is an edited, reformatted and augmented version of Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, dated February 2013.

Turkey's economic growth will slow significantly in 2013, projected at 2.6%, due mainly from weakening demand in Turkey's main export market – the EU. As a result, Turkey is actively seeking new and expanded export markets in the Middle East, Africa, and the United States. Turkish exports are projected to be around USD 153 billion at the end of 2012, a 13% year-on-year increase. The Turkish Government has set its export target for 2013 at USD 158 billion.

Turkey's Current Account Deficit (CAD), which was around 8.5% of GDP at the end of 2011, declined significantly in 2012 and is expected to be 6.5-7% of GDP when final 2012 figures are released. This decline is mainly attributable to the decreasing foreign trade deficit, increasing net services income and decreasing net income outflows. Inflation increased to over 10% during 2012 but by the end of 2012 is expected to be around 6.5%. The Turkish Central Bank is aiming for an inflation rate of 5% in 2013. Due to these positive trends, in November 2012, Fitch Ratings upgraded Turkey to investment grade for the first time in almost two decades, citing a moderating debt burden, healthy banking system, and sound economic management. This should help to increase institutional investment in Turkey.

In Turkey, the proportion of urban to rural population has changed significantly over the last decade. Turkey has broadened the base of its economy beyond the traditional industrial centers of Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir to encompass a number of other Anatolian cities that exported more than USD 1 billion in 2012. This expansion is particularly notable in cities such as Adana, Denizli, Trabzon, Gaziantep, Hatay, Kayseri, Konya, Manisa, Sakarya, and Şırnak.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

In 2009, President Obama called for the elevation of U.S.-Turkey economic and commercial ties to the same strategic level as our security and political ties. In October 2010, the United States and Turkey held the first meeting of the Framework for Strategic Economic and Commercial Cooperation (FSECC), a Cabinet-level dialogue aimed at enhancing economic relations and boosting bilateral trade and investment. Under the FSECC process, the two governments hold a regular series of working groups, including the Economic Partnership Commission (EPC) and the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement Council (TIFA), aimed at addressing specific trade and investment issues, as well as opening new areas of economic cooperation. Under the State Department-led EPC, the two sides are discussing specific steps to increase bilateral cooperation on finance, energy, innovation, and infrastructure sectors, as well as increasing cooperation in third countries. The two countries held the ninth EPC in November 2012 in Washington and will next meet in May 2013 in Ankara. The United States and Turkey have also established an FSECC Business Council, which held its first meeting in September 2011, and has suggested ways to improve bilateral business ties.

The United States and Turkey signed a Science and Technology (S&T) agreement that will deepen and diversify relations by facilitating more joint research; exchanges of scientists, researchers, and specialists; and establishment of science-based public-private partnerships. In April 2013, the inaugural meeting of the Joint S&T Commission will be held in Ankara, which will encompass working groups co-chaired by Turkish and American scientists on

issues such as biomedical research, engineering for a sustainable future, education technologies, material sciences, energy research, innovative technologies in agricultural research, and natural hazards.

The United States and Turkey continue to cooperate on a range of entrepreneurship programs, including the State Department's Global Entrepreneurship Program (GEP) and the private-sector-led Partners for a New Beginning (PNB). Turkey has been a leader in both initiatives, which are aimed at supporting growth of entrepreneurship and small and medium enterprises in Turkey and the region.

Strong bilateral political relations, as well as cooperation in the region, have helped support a significant increase in U.S.-Turkey bilateral trade over the last three years. According to Turkish Statistical Institute data, trade during 2009-2012 increased approximately 70%. In 2012, bilateral trade will be lower than 2011, but Turkey continues to be one of the top six U.S. export markets and an important part of the Administration's National Export Initiative (NEI).

U.S. - TURKEY BILATERAL TRADE		
YEAR	U.S. IMPORTS FROM TURKEY	U.S. EXPORTS TO TURKEY
2009	3,240,597	8,575,737
2010	3,762,919	12,318,745
2011	4,584,029	16,034,121
2012	5,614,819	14,131,309

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (In thousands of USD).

OPENNESS TO FOREIGN INVESTMENT

In 2011, the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) won a third term in office. As part of its election campaign, the AKP has heavily promoted its plan to become a top ten economy by 2023 (http://www.akparti.org.tr/english). In order to achieve this goal, the Government of Turkey (GOT) has developed specific strategies for 24 industrial sectors, including eight priority sectors. It has also established specific plans for physical infrastructure upgrades, as well as a major expansion of Turkey's health, information technology, and education sectors, all of which are geared to make the Turkish workforce and companies more competitive. GOT recognizes that the domestic economy alone will not be sufficient to reach these goals and that Turkey will need to attract significant new foreign direct investment (FDI).

Turkey has one of the most liberal legal regimes for FDI in Europe. In 2011, Turkey attracted USD 15.7 billion in FDI, although a significant portion of this came from portfolio investment. However, this level is still far below Turkey's potential, as well as below the levels needed for Turkey to reach its 2023 goal, and GOT is actively seeking greater U.S. FDI. In order to attract U.S. FDI, Turkey needs to increase trade advocacy and export promotion efforts, as well as access to credit, especially for small and medium-sized businesses involved in high value-added goods and services. Turkey must also better enforce international trade rules; increase engagement with foreign investors on policy issues; and pursue policies to promote strong, sustainable, and balanced growth.

According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) World Investment Report 2012, Turkey performed below its potential in 2011 despite the fact that it climbed six notches in its global ranking from 29th place in 2010 to 23rd place (http://www.unctad-docs.org/files/UNCTAD-Turkey). UNCTAD also ranked Turkey as the 12th most attractive destination for FDI among developing countries. A number of measures have served to increase national and foreign investors' confidence in Turkey's economy: structural reforms undertaken by GOT over the last decade, a strong banking sector, tight fiscal controls, efforts to reduce the size of the informal economy, increasing flexibility of the labor market, improving skills of workers, and continuing privatization of state economic enterprises. GOT has privatized state economic enterprises through block sales, public offerings, or a combination of both. Transactions completed under the Turkish privatization program generated USD 3 billion in 2012. GOT is committed to continuing the privatization process despite contraction in global capital flows.

With the exception of some sectors (highlighted below), areas open to the Turkish private sector are also generally open to foreign participation and investment. However, all investors – regardless of nationality – face some challenges: excessive bureaucracy, a slow judicial system, high and sometimes inconsistently applied taxes, weaknesses in corporate governance, sometimes unpredictable decisions made at the local government level, and frequent changes in the legal and regulatory environment. The Parliament amended the Law of Obligations (debt regulations), and a new Commercial Code became effective in July 2012. Major structural reforms are expected in 2013 that will create a more transparent, equal, fair, and modern investment and business environment and improve Turkey's rankings in global indices. Venture capital and angel investing is currently nascent in Turkey, but new legislation that went into effect in late 2012 will facilitate greater development of these sorts of financing opportunities.

TURKISH INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY

In January 2011, the Ministry of Science, Industry, and Technology (MSIT) announced Turkey's Industrial Strategy, which identifies 24 key areas to increase Turkey's competitiveness and productivity, and targets aimed at transforming Turkey into a technology base for manufacturing of medium- to high-technology products. MSIT has developed specific strategies and action plans for six priority sectors: iron and steel, automotive, chemicals, machinery, electronic equipment, and ceramics. GOT additionally announced in early 2013 that medicines and medical devices are now priority sectors; MSIT is working on the pharmaceutical industry sector strategy and action plan which is expected to be released in the first half of 2013. The Industrial Strategy identifies the following areas as major potential drivers that can help increase exports and FDI, and transform Turkey into Eurasia's technology base: innovation-led productivity; increasing production of medium- and high-technology goods; increasing capital for knowledge-intensive sectors; creation of a stronger knowledge-based economy; and a developing a well-educated and highly qualified work force. (http://www.sanayi.gov.tr/Default. aspx?lng=en)

PARTNERSHIPS IN IMPROVING THE INVESTMENT CLIMATE

Since 2001, GOT has pursued a comprehensive investment climate reform program aimed at streamlining investment-related procedures and attracting more FDI. The Coordination Council for the Improvement of Investment Environment (YOIKK), a national platform jointly formed by the public and private sectors, provides technical guidance for issues relating to the investment environment.

In 2004, the Investment Advisory Council of Turkey (IAC) was created to provide an international perspective for Turkey's reform agenda. IAC members include executives from multinational companies, representatives of international institutions such as the IMF, World Bank and European Investment Bank, and the heads of Turkish NGOs representing the private sector. The Council, chaired by the Prime Minister, convenes yearly to advise the Turkey Government on the direction of its reform program. The Council's recommendations serve as guidelines for the YOIKK platform, and Council recommendations are published in the Turkish Treasury's annual IAC Progress Reports.

In addition to structural reforms, Turkey's Investment Support and Promotion Agency (ISPAT), whose main objective is to support new investors throughout the business establishment process and solve problems that arise after establishment, plays an important role in facilitating a business and investment-friendly environment.

ISPAT serves as an advocate within the GOT for reforms that promote investment and works to raise both domestic and international awareness of the benefits of investment.

INVESTMENT ISSUES

Renewable Energy

GOT continues to promote investment in renewable energy production as well as equipment manufacture, with a goal to develop 20,000 megawatts (MW) of wind power, 600 MW of geothermal power, and up to 9,000 MW of solar power by 2023. Under the 2010 Renewable Energy Incentives Law, GOT offers power purchase guarantees and a feed-in tariff for electricity produced from renewable sources, but does not offer similar power purchase agreements for thermal power plants, which must sell to the spot market or through bilateral contracts. In 2012, the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources developed implementing regulations for the Renewable Energy Incentives Law that clarified minimum local content thresholds for a product to qualify for additional feed-in tariff bonuses. The Energy Market Regulatory Authority continues to award licenses for new wind and geothermal projects and is expected to begin accepting applications for new solar power projects in June 2013.

Health Care, Transportation, and Information Technology

To meet ambitious export goals, GOT is planning significant new investment in infrastructure, including in the health care (particularly hospitals) and transportation sectors

(ports, airports, and rail, light-rail, and road infrastructure). The Ministry of Health has thus far announced tenders for16 public-private partnership health campus projects all over Turkey at a cost of USD10 billion. Project agreements have been signed for three projects: the Kayseri Integrated Health Campus, Ankara Bilkent Integrated Health Campus, and the Ankara Etlik Integrated Health Campus.

Turkey plans to make significant infrastructure upgrades for ports, airports, road, and rail over the next decade. The Turkish private sector is also spear-heading projects with neighboring countries aimed at establishing an intermodal transportation network to revive the ancient Silk Road.

As part of an effort to improve Turkey's education system, GOT has embarked on a multibillion dollar project to provide Turkish students with tablet computers and schools with smart boards. The project will require expanding internet broadband throughout Turkey, as well as developing educational content and applications for tablets and smart boards. Turkey is also planning to develop greater cloud computing capacity. All these projects will provide significant opportunities for U.S. information and communication technology (ICT) companies, and the Turkish Government is actively seeking U.S. investors and partners, including for financing.

Pharmaceuticals

Turkey's pharmaceutical sector is a good example of a sector in which GOT policies complicate Turkey's ability to fully realize its development potential. Health sector reform in 2006 created a much larger pharmaceutical market dominated by Turkey's state health care system. Coupled with Turkey's young and growing population, this should have made Turkey an attractive market for pharmaceutical investment. However, two significant issues continue to inhibit innovative pharmaceutical firms' trade and investment in Turkey: a pricing/exchange rate issue and delays in obtaining GMP (Good Manufacturing Practices) inspection approvals from the Turkish Ministry of Health (MOH).

The MOH and the Turkish Ministry of Labor and Social Security (MLSS) both play important roles in pharmaceutical pricing. The MOH sets the maximum price that can be charged for medicines, and the MLSS negotiates pharmaceutical bulk prices for products that are distributed through Turkey's national health care system. In 2009 the MOH negotiated a pharmaceutical budget with industry that provided significant discounts on pharmaceutical purchases of products distributed through the Turkey's national health care system, within the context of an overall gradual increase in pharmaceutical spending each year through 2012. However, in mid 2010 and late 2011, MOH and MLSS noted budget shortfalls and requested greater discounts from companies, which they were compelled to give given GOT's dominant role in pharmaceutical spending. In December 2012, MLSS indicated to industry that the new pharmaceutical budget for 2013-2015 was almost finalized. However, new budget figures are well below industry's expectations, and GOT did not propose to provide any relief in regard to discounts or the exchange rate.

In addition to the pricing/exchange rate issues, innovative pharmaceutical firms complain about the slow pace of MOH GMP inspections. Two years ago the MOH began enforcing an existing law requiring that all companies applying to market pharmaceutical products in Turkey have a GMP certificate issued by the MOH. The MOH continues to build inspection

capacity, and its inspection rate has improved. Late in December 2012, after significant appeals from industry, the Minister of Health committed to start parallel submissions, which will allow for simultaneous marketing authorization and GMP inspections – an action that will likely expedite the entry of innovative pharmaceutical into the Turkish market and help reduce the GMP backlog. MOH also committed to publishing implementation guidelines for the parallel submission process beginning in February 2013.

There is increasing awareness among GOT agencies that the pharmaceutical sector should be a strategic sector for Turkey, and the dialogue between industry and GOT officials has improved significantly over the last two years. GOT announced in early 2013 that medicines and medical devices are now priority sectors. However, despite several new investments and positive policy developments in 2012, innovative pharmaceutical companies still complain about lack of predictability and transparency in regulation making, which continues to inhibit pharmaceutical investment in Turkey.

Business Registration

Recent reforms in Turkey have simplified procedures to establish a company, reduced permit requirements, instituted a single company registration form, and enabled individuals to register their companies through local commercial registry offices of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB). However, according to the International Finance Corporation/World Bank 2013 'Doing Business' Report for Turkey, Turkey ranked 71 among 185 world economies, dropping three places from its 2012 ranking. According to the report, Turkey did relatively better in dealing with construction permits, registering property, enforcing contracts, and resolving insolvency compared to the previous year. Starting a business in Turkey requires a similar number of procedures as in other European countries, but it takes half the number of days, and it costs almost 140% more to start a business in Turkey. The Doing Business in Turkey report can be found at: http://www.doingbusiness.org/data/ explore economies/turkey/

Judicial Reforms

GOT continues to implement judicial reforms aimed at attracting foreign investment to Turkey. The National Judiciary Network project on automation and integration, overseen by the Ministry of Justice, is speeding up processing of commercial cases by facilitating document-sharing and court records, as well as allowing for filing suits online. GOT has also improved foreign investors' access to judiciary recourse, including legal aid and Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanisms supported by the U.S., the EU, and the World Bank. The Competition Authority in Turkey is an autonomous agency that plays an important role in assuring equal, fair, and transparent competition and consumer welfare-oriented market mechanisms, regardless of corporate nationality.

Taxation

In recent years, Turkish Government policies have made the taxation system more investor-friendly. In 2006, the basic corporate tax rate was reduced from 30% to 20%. GOT also cancelled the withholding tax for foreign investors' holdings of bonds, bills, and stocks - while retaining it for bank deposits and repurchase agreements. In addition, the Tax Administration established a separate unit in 2007 to handle tax collection from large corporations. Despite these improvements, GOT has not yet been able to implement further planned tax reforms, including reducing the employment tax, which is among the highest among members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

In December 2010, the Turkish Finance Ministry announced new tax rates for capital accounts aimed at encouraging the issuance of corporate bonds with longer-term maturity. For non-domestic bonds, the withholding tax on interest is 0% for 5-year-maturity or higher bonds, 5% for bonds with 3 to 5-year maturity, and 10% for bonds with maturity less than three years. In addition, banking and insurance transactions tax applied to sale or repo transactions of domestically issued corporate bonds was reduced from 5% to 1. GOT also decreased withholding taxes on bank deposits with longer maturity aiming at attracting longer term savings.

Withholding tax on Turkish Lira time deposits with maturity longer than one year decreased to 10% from 15% while rates for the deposits up to 6 months are kept at 15%. On Foreign Currency (FX) accounts, withholding tax rate is decreased to 13% from 15% on deposits with maturity more than one year and the rate is increased to 18% for FX deposits up to six months.

The GOT is aware that between 30-50% of the economy is unregistered, which represents a competitive disadvantage for legitimate firms. Turkish industrialists anticipate that GOT will implement more tax reform in 2013 that will help to reduce the unregistered economy and broaden the tax base while also improving Turkey’s competitiveness.

CURRENCY CONVERSION AND CAPITAL TRANSFER POLICIES

Turkish law guarantees the free transfer of profits, fees, and royalties, and repatriation of capital. This guarantee is reflected in Turkey's 1990 Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) with the United States, which mandates unrestricted and prompt transfer in a freely-usable currency at a legal market-clearing rate for all investment- related funds. There is no difficulty in obtaining foreign exchange, and there are no foreign exchange restrictions. However, foreign petroleum companies operating in Turkey complain that amendments to the Turkish Petroleum law make it difficult for foreign companies to transfer profits.

Affected companies have unsuccessfully challenged this in court. A new Petroleum Law that would alleviate this problem and improve the investment environment for oil and gas exploration is in development.

EXPROPRIATION AND COMPENSATION

Under the U.S.-Turkey BIT, expropriation can only occur in accordance with due process of law, can only be for a public purpose, and must be non-discriminatory. Compensation must be reasonably prompt, adequate, and effective. The BIT ensures U.S. investors have full access to Turkey's local courts and the ability to take the host government directly to third-party international binding arbitration to settle investment disputes. There is also a provision for state-to-state dispute settlement.

GOT occasionally expropriates private real property for public works or for state industrial projects. The GOT agency expropriating the property negotiates the purchase price. If owners of the property do not agree with the proposed price, they are able to challenge the expropriation in court and ask for additional compensation. There are no outstanding expropriation or nationalization cases.

DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

There are some outstanding investment disputes between U.S. companies and Turkish governmental bodies, particularly in the energy sector.

Turkey's legal system provides means for enforcing property and contractual rights, and there are written commercial and bankruptcy laws. However, Turkey's court system is overburdened, which sometimes results in slow decisions and judges lacking sufficient time to grasp complex issues. Judgments of foreign courts, under certain circumstances, need to be upheld by local courts before they are accepted and enforced. Monetary judgments are usually made in local currency, but there are provisions for incorporating exchange rate differentials in claims. The Turkish Government is working on judiciary reform that aims at shortening the duration of judicial proceeding and bring greater efficiency to the Turkish judiciary system through specialized courts (such as Intellectual Property Rights courts, a number of which already exist in Turkey).

Turkey is a member of the International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) and is a signatory of the New York Convention of 1958 on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards. Turkey ratified the Convention of the Multinational Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) in 1987. There are no arbitration cases involving a U.S. company pending before ICSID. The U.S.-Turkey BIT affords protection to U.S. investments in Turkey by providing certain mutual guarantees and creating a more stable and predictable legal framework for U.S. investors.

Turkish law accepts binding international arbitration of investment disputes between foreign investors and the state. In practice, however, Turkish courts have on occasion failed to uphold an international arbitration ruling involving private companies.

PERFORMANCE REQUIREMENTS/INCENTIVES

Turkey is a party to the WTO Agreement on Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMS). Turkey's investment incentive system was substantially amended in 2006 and again

in 2012 to promote investment and encourage exports. In 2009 the Turkish Parliament passed a state investment incentive decree that provides tax benefits and increased credit opportunities. It is applied in diverse ways according to the location, scale, and subject of the investment and includes exemption from customs duties and fund levies, customs, and value-added (VAT) tax exemptions for locally-purchased or imported machinery and equipment. The Turkish Treasury also covers selected parts of investment credit interest rates for SMEs, research and development projects, environmental projects, and projects in prioritized development provinces that have annual per capita income below USD 1,500.

There are no performance requirements imposed as a condition for establishing, maintaining, or expanding investment in Turkey. There are no requirements that investors purchase from local sources or export a certain percentage of output. Investors' access to foreign exchange is not conditioned on exports.

There are no requirements that nationals own shares in foreign investments, that the shares of foreign equity be reduced over time, or that the investor transfer technology on certain terms. There are no government-imposed conditions on permission to invest, including location in specific geographical areas, specific percentage of local content – for goods or services – or local equity, import substitution, export requirements or targets, technology transfer, or local financing.

GOT requirements for disclosure of proprietary information as part of the regulatory approval process are consistent with internationally accepted practices. Enterprises with foreign capital must send their activity report submitted to shareholders, their auditor's report, and their balance sheets to the Treasury's Foreign Investment Directorate every year by May.

With the exceptions noted above under "Openness to Foreign Investment" and below under "Transparency of the Regulatory System," Turkey grants all rights, incentives, exemptions, and privileges available to national businesses to foreign business on a most-favored-nation (MFN) basis. U.S. and other foreign firms can participate in government-financed and/or subsidized research and development programs on a national treatment basis.

GOT announced new incentives in 2012 that give priority to high-tech, high value-added, globally competitive sectors and put in place new regional incentive programs to reduce regional economic disparities and increase regional competitiveness. The new investment incentives involve a "tiered" system which provide for greater incentives to invest in less developed parts of the country. The map and explanation of the program can be found at: http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/Maps/Pages/InteractiveMap.aspx.

Turkish law and regulations affecting the investment climate continue to evolve. Potential investors should check with appropriate Turkish government sources for current detailed information. ISPAT's web site provides the text of regulations governing foreign investment and incentives, as well as other useful background information: www.invest.gov.tr.

Offsets are an important aspect of Turkey's military procurement, and offset guidelines have been modified to encourage direct investment and technology transfer.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Turkey pays close attention to the impact microeconomic factors have on business development and growth and is seeking to foster entrepreneurship and small and medium-

sized enterprises (SMEs). Through the Small and Medium Enterprises Development Organization (KOSGEB), the Turkish Government provides various incentives for innovative ideas and cutting edge technologies, in addition to providing SMEs easier access to medium and long-term funds. There is also a number of technology development zones (TDZs) in Turkey where entreprenuers are given assistance in commercializing business ideas.

GOT provides support to TDZs, including infrastructure and facilities; exemption from income and corporate taxes for profits derived from software and R&D activities (through December 2013); exemption from all taxes for the wages of researchers, software, and R&D personnel employed within the TDZ (through December 2013); value-added tax (VAT) and corporate tax exemptions for IT specific sectors; and customs and duties exemptions.

Turkey's Scientific and Technological Research Council (TUBITAK) has special programs for entrepreneurs in the technology sector, and the Turkish Technology Development Foundation (TTGV) has programs that provide capital loans for R&D projects and/or cover R&D-related expenses. Projects eligible for such incentives include concept development, technological research, technical feasibility research, laboratory studies to transform concept into design, design and sketching studies, prototype production, construction of pilot facilities, test production, patent and license studies, and activities related to post-scale problems stemming from product design. In November 2012, TUBITAK announced a Technology Transfer Office Support Program, which will provide USD 1 million in grants to establish Technology Transfer Offices (TTOs) in Turkey.

RIGHT TO PRIVATE OWNERSHIP AND ESTABLISHMENT

Foreign-owned interests in the petroleum, mining, broadcasting, maritime transportation, and aviation sectors are subject to special regulatory requirements. In broadcasting, equity participation of foreign shareholders is restricted to 25%. Foreign equity participation in the aviation and maritime transportation sectors is 49%.

With the exceptions noted above, private entities may freely establish, acquire, and dispose of interests in business enterprises, and foreign participation is permitted up to 100%. Turkey has an independent Competition Board. With respect to access to markets, credit, and other business operations, competitive equality is the standard applied to private enterprises that seek to compete with public enterprises. Regulations governing foreign investment in Turkey are, in general, transparent. In most sectors Turkey does not have an investment screening system for foreign investors; only notification is required.

The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization completed a new draft law on title deed registration in 2012. This law abandoned the former requirement that foreign purchasers of real estate in Turkey had to be in partnership with a Turkish individual or company that owns at least a 50% share in the property and is much more flexible in allowing international companies to purchase real property. The new law also increases the upper limit on real estate purchases by foreign individuals to 30 hectares and allows further increases up to 60 hectares with permission from the Council of Ministers.

PROTECTION OF PROPERTY RIGHTS

Secured interests in property, both movable and real, are recognized and enforced, and there is a reliable system of recording such security interests. For example, there is a land registry office where real estate is registered. Turkey's legal system protects and facilitates acquisition and disposal of property rights, including land, buildings, and mortgages, although some parties have complained that the courts are slow to render decisions and are susceptible to external influence (see "Dispute Settlement").

Turkey is signatory to a number of international conventions, including the Stockholm Act of the Paris Convention, the Patent Cooperation Treaty, and the Strasbourg Agreement. In 2008, Turkey acceded to the WIPO Copyright Treaty and Performances and Phonograms Treaty. Turkey accepts patent applications in compliance with the TRIPS agreement "mailbox" provisions.

Turkey's intellectual property rights regime has improved in recent years, but deficiencies remain. In 2008, Turkey was on the U.S. Special 301 Priority Watch List. In 2009 it was upgraded to the U.S. Special 301 Watch List, where it remained in 2010, 2011, and 2012. Although there has been increased IPR enforcement actions and successful public awareness campaigns, piracy and counterfeiting remain serious problems. There is widespread and often sophisticated counterfeiting of trademarked items, especially apparel. Business software and online music piracy are increasing, and book and entertainment software piracy remain areas of concern.

Turkey has not yet completed legislative reforms needed to ensure effective IPR protection and enforcement. Delays in the judicial and legislative processes contribute to deficiencies in the overall IPR protection and enforcement regime. Turkey's copyright law, as amended in 2004, provides deterrent penalties for copyright infringement. The law contains several strong anti-piracy provisions, including a ban on street sales of all copyrighted products and authorization for law enforcement authorities to take action without a complaint by the rights holder. In 2012, the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism drafted amendments to Turkey's copyright law and undertook a lengthy process of soliciting stakeholder opinions, including other GOT agencies and 40 different collecting societies. These amendments are currently awaiting approval by the Turkish Prime Ministry. After Prime Ministry approval, the amendments will be submitted to the Turkish Parliament for ratification.

Turkey's patent law has been in force since 1995 and was amended in 2004. Patents are granted for 20 years to any invention in any field of technology which is novel, involves an inventive step, and has industrial applications. In 2012, the Turkish Patent Institute (TPI) completed a new draft patent law, which we expect will come before the Turkish Parliament in 2013.

The United States has a Copyright Working Group and the EU has an IPR Working Group with GOT to address intellectual property related issues and exchange views on developing more efficient and effective IPR enforcement.

In general, the Turkish Ministry of Health provides protection for confidential test data submitted in support of applications to market pharmaceutical products. However, several provisions undermine protection for confidential test data. Due to the relatively short six-year data-exclusivity period and delays by the Turkish MOH in granting Good Manufacturing

Practice inspection certificates and marketing approvals, pharmaceutical data protection remains a concern, particularly for innovative products. In addition, Turkey's patent law does not contain interim protection for pharmaceuticals in the research and development pipeline. Research-based pharmaceutical companies have criticized patent provisions which delay the initiation of infringement suits until after the patent is approved and published, permit use of a patented invention to generate data needed for the marketing approval of generic pharmaceutical products, and give judges wider discretion over penalties in infringement cases.

Trademark holders also note that Turkey provides protection for commercial seed under its Plant Variety Protection (PVP) Law.

Turkish intellectual property (IP) law allows both civil and criminal actions. In general, civil actions include requests for determination of infringement, cessation of acts of infringement, seizure of counterfeit goods, and compensation of damages. Criminal actions include imprisonment, pecuniary punishment, closure of job sites, and prohibition from commerce.

Turkey has specialized intellectual property IP courts, presided over by judges who have had training in intellectual property law, in Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. IP litigation in Turkey generally begins in these courts and moves to the Supreme Court if an appeal is filed. If the alleged offense does not occur in Istanbul, Ankara or Izmir, the case begins in civil courts that act as IP courts.

The Seventh Global Congress on Combating Counterfeiting and Piracy will be held in Istanbul in April 2013 under the auspices of Turkish Ministry of Customs and Trade. The Congress aims to build cooperation between countries to enhance public awareness, develop concerted action to confront problems arising from counterfeiting and piracy, and find sustainable solutions to stop trade in IPR-infringing goods.

Further information on the intellectual property situation in Turkey is available in the U.S. National Trade Estimate and Special 301 reports, available under the "reports" tab on the U.S. Trade Representative's website: www.ustr.gov.

TRANSPARENCY OF THE REGULATORY SYSTEM

GOT has adopted policies and laws that in principle should foster competition and transparency. However, foreign companies in several sectors claim that regulations are sometimes applied in a nontransparent manner.

Turkey is an observer to the WTO Government Procurement Agreement. Turkish legislation generally requires competitive bidding procedures in the public sector. A Public Procurement board exists to oversee public tenders, and there are minimum bidding thresholds under which foreign companies are prohibited from bidding on public tenders. The law gives preference to domestic bidders, Turkish citizens, and legal entities established by them, as well as to corporate entities established under Turkish law by foreign companies. The public procurement law has been amended eight times since its enactment and has been cited by the EU as not being in conformity with the EU *acquis communautaire*.

In general, labor, health and safety laws and policies do not distort or impede investment, although legal restrictions on discharging employees may provide a disincentive to labor-

intensive activity in the formal economy. Generous tax preferences for free zones have provided a stimulus to investment in these zones. Similarly, incentives for investment in certain low-income provinces appear to be stimulating investment there (see "Performance Requirements/Incentives").

EFFICIENT CAPITAL MARKETS AND PORTFOLIO INVESTMENT

GOT has taken a number of important steps in recent years to strengthen and better regulate the banking system. A 2005 revision of the Banking Law brought tighter bank regulation, notably by broadening the range of expertise inspectors can draw on when conducting on-site inspections. GOT adopted a new Capital Markets Law in 2012, which will bring about greater corporate accountability, protection of minority share-holders, and financial statement transparency.

As of January 2013, there are 26 deposit-taking commercial banks and 13 development and investment banks operating in Turkey. Sector assets as of September 2012 totaled approximately USD 690 billion according to data from the Banks' Association of Turkey. Total loans for the banking sector totaled USD 404.3 billion for the same period. The independent Banking and Regulation Supervision Agency (BRSA) monitors and supervises Turkey's banks. The BRSA is headed by a board whose seven members are appointed for six-year terms. In addition, bank deposits are protected by an independent deposit insurance agency, the State Deposit Insurance Fund (SDIF).

Because of historically high local borrowing costs and short repayment periods, foreign and local firms have frequently sought credit from international markets to finance their activities. In November 2012, Fitch Ratings upgraded Turkey to investment grade for the first time in almost two decades (since 1994), citing a moderating debt burden, healthy banking system, and sound economic management. With investors increasingly viewing Turkey as a strong emerging economy, Turkey's risk premium has begun to decrease, while accessibility to medium and long-term financing at lower costs has increased. However, growing economic problems in Europe are expected to continue to impede external financing in 2013.

The Istanbul Stock Exchange (ISE), formed in 1985, is becoming a significant emerging market stock exchange. Although Turkey must further develop its capital markets, the 2012 Capital Markets Law allowed ISE to expand to include the Istanbul Gold Exchange Market and the Futures Contract Market. As of October 2012, 402 companies were listed on the exchange with total market capitalization of USD 269 billion. The Capital Markets Board is responsible for overseeing activities, including activities of ISE-quoted companies and securities and investment houses. The Turkish private sector continues to be dominated by a number of large holding companies, many of which are family-owned, and most large businesses continue to float publicly only a minority portion of shares in order to limit outside interference in company management. There has been no recent hostile takeover attempt by either international or domestic parties. Capital market instruments are still developing in Turkey. Turkey's first mortgage law was adopted in 2007. Venture capital and hedging instruments are also currently very limited, but a new law came into effect in 2012 that will increase financing opportunities through venture capital and angel investing.

POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Terrorist groups operating in Turkey include the Kurdish separatists and Marxist-Leninists, as well as Al-Qa'ida and its affiliates.

The Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C) is a virulent Marxist-Leninist group with anti-U.S. and anti-NATO views and which has been designated by the United States as a terrorist since 1997. On February 1, 2013 a DHKP/C suicide bomber attacked U.S. Embassy Ankara at a security-check entrance, killing one security guard and seriously injuring a Turkish journalist. A DKHP/C suicide bomber also attacked a police station Istanbul on September 11, 2012, killing one police officer and injuring seven bystanders.

Most prominent among the terrorist groups operating in Turkey is Kongra-Gel (KGK, also known as the Kurdistan Workers' Party or PKK). Composed primarily of ethnic Kurds with a separatist agenda, the PKK has historically operated from areas in southeastern Turkey and northern Iraq and targeted mainly Turkish security forces. After a calmer 2011, due in part to a cease-fire in the lead-up to national elections in June 2011, the rate of PKK terror attacks and Turkish military operations to counter them increased significantly in 2012. Typical tactics included roadside checkpoints forcing vehicles to stop, kidnapping of political figures and teachers (although most victims were returned in a few days), ambushes of military patrols in the countryside, improvised explosive devices along known military or police routes, and bombings of both security and civilian targets in urban areas (nearly all in the southeastern part of Turkey). At the end of 2012, GOT revealed that it was in private talks with imprisoned PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan, aimed at a possible political settlement of the PKK armed conflict.

For the latest security information on Turkey and other countries, see http://travel.state, where current Worldwide Caution Public Announcements, Travel Warnings, and Public Announcements can be found.

CORRUPTION

Corruption is somewhat of a problem in Turkey. Parliament continues to probe corruption allegations involving senior officials in previous governments, particularly in connection with energy projects. The judicial system is also perceived to be susceptible to external influence and to be biased against outsiders to some degree.

Public procurement reforms were designed to make procurement more transparent and less susceptible to political interference, including through the establishment of an independent public procurement board with the power to void contracts. Turkey is not yet a signatory to the WTO Government Procurement Agreement (GPA), although it has maintained observer status for over a decade.

Turkish legislation outlaws bribery, and some prosecutions of government officials for corruption have taken place. However, enforcement is uneven. Turkey ratified the OECD Convention on Combating Bribery of Public Officials and passed implementing legislation in January 2003 to provide that bribes of foreign officials, as well as domestic, are illegal. In 2006, Turkey's Parliament ratified the UN Convention against Corruption.

Turkey's Criminal Code makes it unlawful to promise or to give any advantage to foreign government officials in exchange for their assistance in providing improper advantage in the conduct of international business. In the event that such a crime makes an unlawful benefit to a legal entity, such legal entity shall be subject to certain security measures. The provisions of the Criminal Law regarding bribing of foreign governmental officials are in line with the provisions of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act of 1977 of the United States (FCPA).

There are, however, a number of differences between Turkish law and the FCPA. For example, there is not an exception under Turkish law for payments to facilitate or expedite performance of a "routine governmental action" in terms of the FCPA. Another difference is that the FCPA does not provide for punishment by imprisonment, while the Turkish law provides for punishment by imprisonment from 4 to 12 years. The Prime Ministry's Inspection Board, which advises the Corruption Investigations Committee, is responsible for investigating major corruption cases brought to its attention by the Committee. Nearly every state agency has its own inspector corps responsible for investigating internal corruption. The Parliament can establish investigative commissions to examine corruption allegations concerning cabinet ministers; a majority vote is needed to send these cases to the Supreme Court for further action.

According to Transparency International's (TI) annual Corruption Perception Index Data, Turkey moved from 61st to 54th in TI's ranking of 176 countries and territories among the world in 2012 (see http://www. transparency.org/cpi2012/results). Transparency International has an affiliated NGO in Istanbul.

BILATERAL INVESTMENT AGREEMENTS

Since 1962, Turkey has been negotiating and signing agreements for the reciprocal promotion and protection of investments. As of January 1, 2013, Turkey had 75 bilateral investment agreements in force with: Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Austria, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, China, Croatia, Cuba, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lebanon, Libya, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Malaysia, Malta, Moldova, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Russian Federation, Serbia, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Tajikistan, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Yemen.

OPIC AND OTHER INVESTMENT INSURANCE PROGRAMS

The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) offers a full range of programs in Turkey, including political risk insurance for U.S. investors, under its bilateral agreement with Turkey. OPIC is also active in financing private investment projects implemented by U.S. investors in Turkey. OPIC-supported direct equity funds, including the USD 200 million

Soros Private Equity Fund, can make direct equity investments in private sector projects in Turkey. Currently, OPIC is looking to support increased lending for renewable energy and energy efficiency projects in Turkey. Small and medium-sized U.S. investors in Turkey are also eligible to utilize the Small Business Center facility at OPIC, offering OPIC finance and insurance support on an expedited basis for loans from USD 100,000 to USD 10 million. In 1987, Turkey became a member of the Multinational Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA).

LABOR

Turkey has a population of 75.6 million, with 30% under the age of 14. Over 76% of the Turkish population lives in urban areas. The Turkish labor force numbers 26.8 million, of which 24.3 million are employed. Approximately 26.2% of the workforce works in agriculture; 19% works in industrial sector. The official unemployment rate was 9.1% as of September 2012, with 18% youth unemployment (15-24 years old). Students are required to complete eight years of schooling and remain in school until they are 15 years old. 98.17% of Turkey's population completes primary school; 36% of those who complete primary school get vocational or higher education.

Turkey has an abundance of unskilled and semi-skilled labor, and Turkey's labor force has a reputation for being hardworking, productive, and dependable. Vocational training schools exist at the high school level. Some formal apprenticeship programs remain, but informal training in traditional occupations is decreasing rapidly. Although the Ministry of Education launched projects within the framework of EU programs to meet the needs of high-tech industries - which has increased the number of qualified high-tech workers in recent years - there remains a shortage. Individual high-tech firms, both local and foreign-owned, typically conduct their own training programs. The Ministry of Science, Industry, and Technology has launched a program with TOBB to provide skilled laborers to meet manufacturing sector needs. Turkey has also undertaken a significant expansion of university programs, building dozens of new colleges and universities over the last decade to increase the skills and competitiveness of its workforce. GOT has also initiated the FATİH project that will expand internet coverage to all Turkish schools, equip Turkish classrooms with interactive smart boards, and provide students with tablet PCs.

Labor unions report their relations with management of Turkish companies is often adversarial. Employers are obliged by law to negotiate in good faith with unions that have been certified as bargaining agents. Strikes are usually of short duration and almost always peaceful. The law prohibits discrimination on the basis of union membership. While exact unionization rates are not available, they are low - a percentage probably in the single digits. There is no obligation for a worker to become a member of a union, and there is no obligation to make a collective labor agreement for any sector. However, in order to be covered by a collective labor agreement, a worker must be a member of a union. Historically, in order to be a bargaining agent, a union must have membership of more than forty percent of the workers employed in a work place and include at least three percent of the workers employed in that specific work branch. Turkish labor law mandates that a series of steps be followed - including mediation by an Arbitration Board - before a union may initiate a strike.

In October 2012, the Turkish Parliament approved the "Unions and Collective Bargaining Law," which revised regulations on trade union formation and collective bargaining. The new law lowers two thresholds for a labor union to be authorized as an agent of collective bargaining. The first relates to any given work place: where previously the union had to represent 50 percent plus one of a firm's employees, the share is now 40 percent. The second measure relates to a nationwide industry branch: where a bona fide union was previously required to have membership of at least 10 percent of workers in its sector, the new rate has been lowered to one percent from January 1, 2013 through June 30, 2016; two percent from July 1, 2016 to June 30, 2018; and three percent after July 1, 2018.

Turkey's Economic and Social Council was established by law in 2001, headed by the Prime Minister. The Council aims to maintain an effective dialogue between the state and social parties to encourage compromise in industrial relations. It is composed of representatives from governmental bodies, labor and employer confederations, employee associations, and chambers of commerce and industry.

Turkey has signed many International Labor Organization (ILO) conventions protecting workers' rights, including conventions on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize; Rights to Organize and to Bargain Collectively; Abolition of Forced Labor; Minimum Wage; Occupational Health and Safety; Termination of Employment; and Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor. Since 1980, Turkey has faced criticism by the ILO, particularly for shortcomings in enforcement of ILO Convention 87 (Convention Concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize) and Convention 98 (Convention Concerning the Application of the Principles of the Right to Organize and to Bargain Collectively).

GOT maintains a number of restrictions on the right of association and the right to strike. Civil servants (defined broadly as all employees of central government ministries, including teachers) are allowed to form trade unions and to engage in limited collective negotiations, but are prohibited from striking. Certain vital public employees, such as military and police, cannot form unions. According to the new Unions Law, the list of sectors barred from striking has also been expanded to: life or property rescuing; funeral and mortuary work; production; refining/distillation; distribution of city water; electricity; natural gas and oil; petrochemical works, including with naphtha and natural gas; work places directly run by Defense Ministry, Gendarmerie, and Coast Guard; banking and public notaries; hospitals; firefighting; land, sea, railway service; and all urban public transportation. (Aviation is not included.)

The EU's October 2012 Progress Report underscores that Turkey's 2012 amended legislation on collective bargaining by civil servants "is not fully in line with the EU *acquis* and ILO conventions, especially with regard to the right to strike for public servants, the process of collective bargaining and dispute settlement, as well as restrictions on large categories of public servants to form and join trade unions."

FOREIGN TRADE ZONES/FREE PORTS

Firms operating in Turkey's free zones have historically enjoyed many advantages.

The zones are open to a wide range of activities, including manufacturing, storage, packaging, trading, banking, and insurance. Foreign products enter and leave the free zones

without payment of customs or duties. Income generated in the zones is exempt from corporate and individual income taxation and from the value-added tax, but firms are required to make social security contributions for their employees.

Additionally, standardization regulations in Turkey do not apply to the activities in the free zones, unless the products are imported into Turkey.

Sales to the Turkish domestic market are allowed, with goods and revenues transported from the zones into Turkey subject to all relevant import regulations. There are no restrictions on foreign firm operating in the free zones.

Taxpayers who possessed an operating license as of February 6, 2004, do not have to pay income or corporate tax on their earnings in free zones for the duration of their license.

Earnings based on sale of goods manufactured in free zones is exempt from income and corporate tax until the end of the year in which Turkey becomes a member of the European Union.

Earnings secured in a free zone under corporate tax immunity and paid as dividends to real person shareholders in Turkey, or to real person or legal-entity shareholders abroad, are subject to 10% withholding tax.

The tax immunity of the wage and salary income earned by persons employed in the zones by taxpayers possessing an operating license expired on December 31, 2008, except for producers that export more than 85% of their products.

GOT passed a law in November 2008, according to which producers' immunities from income and corporate tax and taxes on wage income earned in free zones were extended to coincide with Turkey's membership in the European Union.

More information can be found on the Ministry of Economy's website: www.ekonomi.gov.tr.

FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT (FDI) STATISTICS

According to Central Bank of Turkey data, FDI inflows to Turkey in 2007 of USD 22 billion decreased by 12% in 2008 to USD 19.5 billion and plummeted by 57% in 2009 to USD 8.4 billion, due largely to the negative impact of the global financial crisis on investment flows worldwide. In 2010, FDI inflows began to rebound - increasing by almost 11% over 2009 to USD 9.1 billion - and continued to grow in 2011 - reaching USD 16.04 billion. During the first eleven months of 2012, FDI reached USD 11.3 billion, of which USD 8.5 billion represented net foreign capital inflows, USD 2.3 billion represented real estate purchases by foreigners, and USD 446 million represented intra-company loans.

In the January-November 2012 period, EU countries accounted for 75% of FDI capital inflow to Turkey, as compared to 85.8% in 2011; Asian and Gulf countries accounted for 14.9%, as compared to 5.4% in 2011; U.S. companies accounted for 3.9%, as compared to 5.5% in 2011; European countries other than the EU accounted for 5.3%, as compared to 2.7% in 2011; Canada accounted for 0.2%, as compared to 0.15 % in 2011, and Central and South American and Caribbean countries accounted for 0.2%, as compared to 0.48% in 2011.

FDI INFLOWS BY YEAR *USD million*	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012 (JAN-NOV)
FDI Total (Net)	19.504	8.411	9.038	16.049	11.336
Equity Investment (Net)	14.712	6.170	6.258	13.712	8.549
Inflows	14.747	6.252	6.238	16.057	8.924
Outflows	-35	-82	-35	-1.991	-375
Intra Company Loans	1.855	459	341	-30	446
Real Estate (Net)	2.937	1.782	2.494	2.013	2.341

Central Bank of Turkey.

In the first eleven months of 2012, according to the Central Bank of Turkey, breakdown of FDI inflows into Turkey's manufacturing industry were:

- food products, beverages and tobacco 23.8%
- electrical and optical equipment 1.8%
- chemical products 5.2%
- textiles and textile products 4.1%
- transport equipment 1.2%
- other 9.5%

FDI INFLOWS BY COUNTRY/REGION *USD million*	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012 (JAN-NOV)
European Union	11.076	4.928	4.719	11.462	6.712
Germany	1.237	498	597	665	462
Austria	586	1.019	1.584	2.419	1.399
France	679	617	623	999	92
Netherlands	1.343	718	486	1.424	1.090
U.K.	1.335	350	245	905	1.992
Italy	249	314	25	111	161
Other EU Countries	5.647	1.412	1.159	4.939	1.516
Other European Countries (excluding EU)	291	306	201	1.093	480
African Countries	82	2	0	0	0
U.S.A.	868	260	323	1.402	346
Canada	23	52	55	21	26
Central-South America and Caribbean	60	19	7	61	18
Asia	2.345	673	928	2.011	1.334
Near and Middle Eastern Countries	2.184	361	473	1.516	890
Gulf Countries	1.963	209	38	196	236
Other Near and Middle Eastern Countries	96	78	45	1.316	654
Other Asian Countries	161	312	455	495	444
Other countries	2	12	5	7	8
TOTAL	14.747	6.252	6.238	16.057	8.924

Central Bank of Turkey.

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