THE TRANSFORMATION OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS IRAQ UNDER AHMET DAVUTOĞLU

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The Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy Towards Iraq Under Ahmet Davutoğlu

Ahmet DAVUTOĞLU döneminden itibaren; Türkiye'nin Irak dış politikasındaki dönüşüm

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Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)	Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)
1) AKP	1) AKP
2) Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun çok boyutlu dış politika anlayışı	2) Ahmet Davutoğlu's muti- dimensional foreign policy understanding
3) Terör	3) Terror
4) Petrol	4) Oil

ABSTRACT

I will answer the question " What are the reasons the recent transformation of Turkey's Iraq policy under Ahmet Davutoğlu's administration?" in this thesis. Turkey started to follow proactive foreign policy to increase it's influence in Iraq. I will try to explain historically on this issue. Especially, Turkey's Iraq policy transformed politically, economically, militarily and culturally. However, Ahmet Davutoğlu left form his duty to have failed on the Iraq policy. Because he wasn't analysed the some factors on this issue. He has same ideology ideology with Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. As a result; I will use Classical Realism in this thesis Morghenthau determined six fundememtal six principles of the realist approach and political realism. Ahmet Davutoğlu became of Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2009. He adopted " Zero problem with neighbors." and "multi-dimensional foreign policy Therefore, he wanted Turkey more powerful in politics, economics, military and culture than the other countries.

ABSTRACT(In Turkish)

Bu tezde "Ahmet Davutoğlu döneminden itibaren Türkiye'nin Irak Dış Politikasındaki dönüşüm neden ve ne yönde oldu" sorusuna cevap aranacaktır. Bununla beraber, Türkiye Irak'taki nüfuzunu arttırmak için, bu konuda proaktif bir politika izlemeye başladı. Bu konuyu, tarihsel olarak açıklamaya çalışacağım. Özellikle, Türkiye'nin Irak politikasında siyasi, ekonomik, askeri ve kültürel olarak bir dönüşüm yaşandı. Bununla birlikte, Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun dış politika stratejisinin başarısız olmasından ötürü; Ahmet Davutoğlu Başbakanlık görevinden ayrıldı. Çünkü Ahmet Davutoğlu, bu konuda bazı faktörleri iyi değerlendiremedi. Bilindiği üzere; Recep Tayyip Erdoğan ve Ahmet Davutoğlu aynı ideolojik görüşe sahiptir. Sonuç olarak; Bu tezde Türkiye'nin Irak dış politikasını açıklarken Klasik Realizm isimli siyasi düşünce yaklaşımını temel alacağım. Hans.J. Morgenthau, realist yaklaşımı ve siyasi realizmi altı temel prensiple tanımlamaktadır. Bununla beraber, Davutoğlu Dışişleri Bakanlığı görevini 2009 yılında geldi. Kendisi "Komşularla sıfır sorun politikası" ve " çok boyutlu dış politika" anlayışlarını benimsedi. Bu yüzden, Türkiye diğer ülkelerden siyasi, ekonomik, askeri ve kültürel alanlarda daha güçlü olmak istedi.

Keywords: AKP, Ahmet Davutoğlu's multi-dimensional foreign policy understanding, terror, oil

Abbreviations

AKP: Justice and Development Party

AL QAEDA: Terrorist Organization

ANAP: Motherland Party

BAATH: Arab Socialist Renaissance Party – Hizb al-Ba'ath

BOP: Greater Middle East Initiative

BRSA: Banking Regulation and Supervision Authority

CENTCOM: United States Central Command

DP: Democrat Party

DSP: Democratic Left Party

EU: European Union

GSP: Generalized System of Preferences

HADBA: Al-Hadba

HDP: Peoples' Democratic Party

IAEA: International Atomic Energy Agency

INM: Iraqi National Movement

KDP: Kurdish Democratic Party

MGK: National Security Council

MHP: Nationalist Action Party

MSP: National Salvation Party

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NILE: Northern Iraq Liaison Units

ONW: Operation Northern Watch

OPC: Operation Provide Comfort

PUK: Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

PYD: Democratic Union Party

SPO: State Planning Organization

TBMM: Turkish Grand National Assembly

TSK: Turkish Armed Forces

UN: United Nations

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

USA: The United States of America

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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INTRODUCTION

The Ottoman State conquered Iraq gradually starting from the first half of the 16th century. It captured Mosul in 1516-1517, Baghdad in 1534, and Basra between 1538 and 1546.[1] This region was strategically important for the Ottoman and Safavid Empires.[2] Being a buffer zone, Iraq was considered strategically important by the Ottoman State. Therefore, Iraq was a region where a power rivalry took place between the Ottoman and Persian States in the 16th century. Consequently, the political, economic and military events occurring in Iraq would be significant for Turkish Foreign Policy.[3]

The political transformation of the Ottoman State started with the French Revolution in 1789. The French Revolution had great influence on the Ottoman State, which was made up of differentnations. With this revolution, different ethnic groups gained the awareness of being a nation and revolted against the Ottoman State. These revolts were supported by other states.The Balkan nations won their independence from the Ottoman State. The idea of "Ottomanism", which aimed at keeping all ethnic groups together, lost its power.[4] As a result, the Ottoman State made a conscious effort to make all Muslim nations living within the borders of the State, particularly those living in the Middle East, to adopt the ideology of "Pan-Islamism" in the 19th century. The Middle East and Anatolia, the only lands left off of the Ottoman Empire, was very important in this regard. The Ottoman State tried to save these regions. In other words, the main objective of this ideology was to save the Ottoman State from disintegration.[5]

The Republic of Turkey adopted a policy of balance aimed at taking advantage of the conflicts between other states to maximize its own interests, and protecting what it already has, a policy which had been also adopted by the Ottoman State. In addition, it established good relations with Western states thinking that it would attain great political, economic and military gains. As a result, Turkey put its relations with Iraq in the back burner in line with this policy. A military coup occurred in Turkey on 12

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[1] ÇETİNSAYA, Gökhan, 2004,*The Ottoman Administration of Iraq,* Routledge, London and New York, p.4-5

[2] SANDER, Oral, 2010, *Anka'nınYükselişiveDüşüşü*, (The Rise and Fall of the Phoenix), İmgeKitabevi, Ankara,p.76

[3]Ibid,pp.78-79

[4] Ibid, pp.170-172

[5]ÇETİNSAYA,*The Ottoman Administration of Iraq*, p.11

September 1980.[6]ANAP (Motherland Party), led by TurgutÖzal, won the general elections held in Turkey on 6 November 1983. Turkey adopted an export-based economy, and started to regard the Middle East countries as a vast market according to this new economic model. As a result, Turkey developed its commercial relations with Middle Eastern countries, particularly with Iraq, and became engaged with them. As Turkey exported food products to Iraq, it imported oil from it, which led to a foreign trade deficit in Turkish economy.[7] Between 1991 and 1999, Turkey launched numerous military operations against PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party), a group considered a terrorist organization by the EU (European Union), the USA (United States of America) and Turkey, which increased its power in Northern Iraq during the Gulf War. During these military operations, Turkey collaborated with Masud Barzani, the leader of KDP (Kurdish Democratic Party), and Jalal Talabani, the leader of PUK (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan).[8]

When AKP came to power after winning the general elections held on 3 November 2002, this foreign policy changed considerably. During the Foreign Ministry of Ahmet Davutoğlu, this policy changed completely. In this period, Turkey applied a multi-dimensional foreign policy and increased its political, economic, military and cultural relations with Iraq. This led to a great political, economic, military and cultural transformation in various aspects of the Turkey and Iraq relations, unlike what was observed during previous governments.[9]

Turkey's relations with Iraq experienced great changes in terms of economic, political, military and cultural dimensions since Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The direction of the changes in Turkey's Iraq policysince 2011 and their reasons will be discussed in this thesis.

Since the Ottoman State had a very strong political, economic and military structure in the 16th century, it did not form any alliances with the Western countries in its foreign policy. However, in 18th and 19th centuries, it adopted a policy of balance and formed alliances with these countries since its political, economic and

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[6] HALE, William, *2003, Turkish Foreign Policy,1774-2000*, Frank Cass, Portland,p.163
[7] Ibid, p.164
[8] ROBINS, Philip, 2003, *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy Since the Cold War,*Hurst, London,p.324
[9] ORAN, Baskın, 2013, *TürkDışPolitikası 2001-2012*, (Turkish Foreign Policy, 2001-2012), İletişimYayınları, İstanbul, pp.404-405

military structure weakened. The French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, which occurred during these centuries, played an important role in this shift. The policy of balance, which was applied in foreign affairs, ended when the Committee of Union and Progress ("İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti") seized power in the Ottoman State. The Ottoman State lost the World War I it entered beside Germany. The Arabs revolted against the Ottoman State in order to establish their countries, particularly in Iraq, and changed the course of the war, as a result of which the Ottoman lands were occupied by the Allied States.

Atatürk organized the people living in Anatolia and won the Independence War. The Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923, wanted to resolve the Mosul issue. However, this could not be achieved during the Lausanne Conference. In the following period, Britain brought this issue before the League of Nations. Being a newly-founded country, Turkey did not have the necessary political, military and economy power. As a result, Mosul and Kirkuk were given to Iraq in 1925. According to an agreement made between Turkey and Britain, Turkey received the oil revenues generated in this region for some time. Turkey turned its face towards the West, in line with Atatürk's philosophy of "reaching the level of contemporary civilizations". In addition, Turkey wanted to grow domestically and abroad in line with Atatürk's philosophy of "peace at home, peace in the world" to become successful. In order to ensure its regional security, Turkey signed Saadabad Pact with Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan in 1937. After Atatürk died in 1938, İsmetİnönü became the president and avoided entering the World War II, which occurred between 1939 and 1945, although he promised to support both sides. In other words, just like Atatürk, İsmetİnönü adopted a policy of balance during this war. Both blocks were aware of Turkey's importance in this war since it was Iraq's neighbor, and wanted it to join the war on their side, but Turkey was not to gain anything in this war. During the cold war period, which started after the World War II, Turkey cooperated with the Western Block in political, economic and military areas through the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Support.

In the period between 1950 and 1980, Turkey joined the NATO in 1952 as a protection against the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) threat. It signed the Baghdad Pact with Iran, Iraq, Britain and Pakistan in 1955. The Kirkuk – Yumurtalık Pipeline was built between Turkey and Iraq in 1973. When we examine

the Turkey-Iraq relations between 1950 and 1980, we see that they are based mostly on security and economy. When ANAP (Motherland Party), led by TurgutÖzal, won the elections in 1983, and came to power, Turkey started to sell food products to Iraq and buy oil. Both of these countries needed each other in different areas. The embargo applied to Iraq following the Gulf War in 1990s affected the relations between them adversely. The trade between Turkey and Iraq stopped. The relations took a military turn in 1990s when PKK, which flourished in Northern Iraq because of a lack of authority in the region, attacked military and civilian targets in Turkey. Turkey launched numerous military operations in the region. The DSP, MHP and ANAP Coalition which came to power in 1999 wanted to reinvigorate the economic relations between Turkey and Iraq, which was severely damaged because of the UN embargo, as a result of which they opposed the USA-Iraq war. The coalition government resigned in 2001.

AKP, a conservative party, took office on 3 November 2002. At the beginning, AKP objected to the war in Iraq, fearing that the trade with the country would be harmed again. However, Turkey announced that it would support the USA in return for fighting against the PKK Elements in Northern Iraq. The USA stated that it would provide financial support to Turkey in return for its support in this war. Opposition parties in Turkey voted against this memorandumvoted on 1st of March stating that Turkey would be hurt by the sectarian strife that would erupt in Iraq, as a result of which the memorandumwas rejected in the Grand National Assembly. Following USA's invasion of Iraq, Turkey made official visits to Iraq on a very high level. During the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Abdullah Gül and Ali Babacan, the relations between the countries were mainly handled on an economic level. After Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Foreign Minister in 2009, numerous concepts mentioned in his book entitled "Strategic Depth", particularly the "Zero Problems with Neighbors Policy", were used to develop the Turkey-Iraq relations. As a result, they changed considerably on political, economic, military and cultural levels. In other words, they increased their relations in these areas. However, the "Zero Problems with Neighbors" policy lost its significance as a result of the political and military interventions made in Iraq.

After Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Turkey stopped ignoring the political developments in Iraq. Unlike the previous Ministers,

Davutoğlumade numerous high-level visits to Iraq. Construction companies in Turkey played an active role in the restructuring of Iraq in the post-war era. This resulted in the reinvigoration of the trade between Turkey and Iraq. Moreover, Turkey assistedin the exportation of oil from Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government to other countries. In other words, Turkey importedoil from Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government. Turkey provided military support to the peshmerga of MasudBarzaniin Iraq. It is also stated that, Turkey wanted to improve its cultural relations with Iraq because it was a Muslim country. Therefore, it provided political and military support to the Al Hadba Party led by Nujaifi, and KDP (Kurdish Democratic Party) led by MasudBarzani. In summary, after Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the foreign relations started to undergo a transformationaccording to which relations with the EU and the Middle East, particularly with Iraq, increased.

CHAPTER I

IRAQ IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY:FROM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO THE REPUBLIC

In this thesis, I will try to answer the questions why and in which direction Turkey's Iraq policy changed during the AKP government. In order to answer these questions, I will examine how military, political, social and economic developments affected the Ottoman Empire's foreign policy by examining its evolution since the 16th century, and which aspects of this policy the Republic of Turkey adopted, and how it developed them. First, I will discuss how Ottoman Empire's strong political, economic and military structure was reflected in the foreign policy. Although the Empire's political, economic and military structure started to deteriorate starting from the 18th century, the status quo was preserved. When the 19th century arrived, the Industrial Revolution and the idea of "nationalism" which spread around the entire world as a result of the 1789 French Revolution led to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. I will analyze how these events affected the Empire's political, economic and military structures adversely, and how this situation was reflected in its foreign policy. I will demonstrate how the Ottoman Empire's foreign policy affected the World War I. Next, I will explain how Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his friends organized Turkish people and won the Independence War, and how the Republic of Turkey, founded on 29 October 1923, also adopted a policy of balance with its reasons. I will explain the pacts signed with neighbor countries in chronological order along with their consequences while applying this policy. I will analyze the Turkey's Iraq policy between 1923 and 1983 by dividing the period into separate sections and by evaluatingthe outstanding events. I will discuss the transformation that occurred in Turkish Foreign Policy after ANAP, led by TurgutÖzal, came to office in 1983 in detail.

In the 16th century, Ottoman Empire had a strong political, economic and military structure. Therefore, it did not feel any need to form alliances with the European states in this period.[10] Starting from the 18th century, the Empire weakened in terms of politics, economics and military. However, it managed to preserve its stability. In this period, it formed alliances with the European countries.

[10] SANDER, Oral, op.cit., pp.74-75

As its foreign policy, Britain supported the Ottoman Empire against the Russians for a long time. The existence of a weak Ottoman Empire instead of a strong Russia on the routesleading from the Great British Empire to its colonies in Africa was very important for Britain's "balance policy". In the 19th century, certain developments occurred that conflicted with the interests of the Ottoman Empire. The greatest of them was the Industrial Revolution that took place in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries.[11] As a result, the Ottoman Empire lost its economic power. While the European countries started mass production, the Ottoman Empire failed to industrialize. Concurrently, the small manufacturers in the Ottoman State could not compete with the great factories in Europe. In other words, although there was not any direct competition between the artisans in the Ottoman Empire and the European factories, the Europeans managed to dominate the Ottoman market because of their cheap and high quality production, and the economic concessions they gained from the capitulations.[12] As a result, the Ottoman State could not collect taxes. Accordingly, the militaryand the economic and technological structure of the Ottoman State started to weaken starting from the 18th century. The economic structure of the Ottoman State was built upon the spoils and lands obtained from the wars won.[13] It must be added that the number of military failures increased in this period. The Ottoman State was beaten in the wars it fought in the 19th century because of its lagging military technology. As a result, the Ottoman State accepted the supremacy of Western countries in its foreign policy because it was unable to preserve its territorial integrity. Therefore, the Ottoman State formed alliances with European states and pursued a policy of balance against other states. It intended to exist within the system of states to be established in Europe with this policy.

With the introduction of the new concepts like rights, equality, fraternity, etc. as a result of the French Revolution in 1789, the national consciousness of the minorities living in the Ottoman Empire increased.[14] Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire in 1856. In order to protect their colonies in Africa, and to curbRussia's effect, Great Britain and France provided military and economic

[11]Ibid, pp. 209-210
[12] Ibid, p.165
[13]Ibid, p.166
[14]Ibid, p.178

support to the Ottoman State in the Crimea War.[15] Since it did not have its previous power in foreign affairs, the Ottoman State lost Crimea in 1856 with the Crimea Treaty. Meanwhile, Britain increased its political influence on the Ottoman State. The Ottoman State took its first foreign debt in its history from Britain during the Crimea War. It also announced the Edict of Reform in 1856.[16]

The Ottoman State declared the 1st Constitutional Monarchy in 1876 in order to avoid disintegration.[17] However, this democratization process did not last long.[18]Britain, who has been protecting the Ottoman State's territorial integrity against Russia, claimed the Egypt State. As a result, Britain invaded Egypt in 1882.[19]

These developments in domestic politics brought about very important political consequences in the Ottoman State. As a result, the Union and Progress Party increased its pressure on Abdulhamid. Second Constitutional Monarchy was declared by Abdulhamid II in 1908.[20] He was dethroned in 1909. Enver, Talat and Cemal Pashas formed the government. Due to the Ottoman State's weak political, economic and military state, the Balkan nations united against it and declared war.[21] The Ottoman State lost the Balkan Wars.[22] This was the final proof that the Ottoman State was unable to protect its territorial integrity on the military arena.[23]

The Ottoman State's foreign policy also changed. The great problems in domestic politics shaped the State's foreign policy. The Ottoman Empire approached Germany in order to reclaimthe lands it lost. The balance policy, which the Ottoman State had been pursuing, lost its significance entirely. No state, except for Germany, wanted to form alliance with a state that was too weak in politics, economy and military. Aware of its weakness in technology, the Ottoman State wanted to take advantage of Germany's technical power. In return, Germany wanted to benefit from the Ottoman State's caliphate power and geo-strategic position.[24]As a result, the

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[15] HALE, William, *2003,* op.cit,p.26
[16] Ibid, p.27
[17] SANDER, Oral, op.cit,pp.257-258
[18] HALE, William, op.cit, p.29
[19] Ibid, p.30
[20] SANDER, Oral, op.cit,pp.274
[21] AYDEMİR, Süreyya Şevket,1976, *Tek Adam MUSTAFA KEMAL,* (One Man MUSTAFA KEMAL), RemziKitabevi, p.168
[22] Ibid, p.174
[23] HALE, William,op.cit,p.*32*
[24] SANDER, Oral, op.cit,pp.263-264

Ottoman State entered the World War I beside the Central Powers led by Germany. In this period, the Ottoman State declared holy war (jihad) in order to take advantage of its caliphate power.The underlying purpose here was to open new fronts which would relieve the Ottoman State and Germany during this war. However, the Arabs sided with the British in order to protect their national interests. In Hedjaz, Jordan King Sharif Hussein and his military forces declared war against the Ottoman State by obtaining the support of tribes in Hedjaz, Iraq and other regions. Britain believed that the Central States would lose power in this region while fighting the Arabs. Therefore, the Britain provided military and economic support to the Arabs.[25] It must be emphasized that this development put the Ottoman State in a difficult position in terms of military and economy because it did not possess the roads or the railways which were necessary for sendingsupport to its armed forces in Iraq. There were people with different ethnicities in Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyahin addition to the Turkmen. Taking advantage of this situation, the Britain advanced in the region without any resistance,and won the war.[26] The Ottoman State lost the war on all fronts except for Çanakkale (Dardanelles), and Anatolia was occupied by the Allied Powers.[27] Its land was divided among the Allied Powers through secret agreements.[28]

1.1 Turkey's Iraq Policy between 1923 and 1939

In this period, Turkey turned its face towards the West and did not intervene in the problems related with Iraq, save for the Mosulissue. Thanks to its political, military and economic power, Turkey received a part of the oil revenues generated in Mosul through the Treaty of Lausanne for a certain period of time.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk organized the Turkish people and started the War of Independence. The Turkish nation won the war and put an end to the occupation of Anatolia. Turkish Republic was founded by Atatürk on 29 October 1923.[29] He formed the foreign policy by emphasizing rationality because the Republic of Turkey was a small country with a population of 16 million. As a result, it did not have a

[25] ROBINS, Philip, 2003, op.cit.,pp.96-97
[26] Ibid, pp.288
[27] HALE, William,op.cit. p.36-37
[28] SANDER, Oral, 2010, *SiyasiTarih,*(Political History),İmgeKitabevi, pp.380-382
[29] HALE, William,op.cit,p.56

strong political, military and economic structure. This situation demonstrated that Atatürk and other statesmen had to adopt a realist foreign policy which preserved the political, economic, military and cultural balances between the newly founded state and the other countries.[30] Therefore, Atatürk adopted the "Peace at home, peace in the world" philosophy in state government. These concepts were adopted with a forward-looking attitude. These two principles complement each other. The idea of "peace at home" aims to realize all social and economic objectives in Turkey and raise the Turkish nation to the "level of contemporary civilizations." This idea also aims to create a Turkey which is strong in terms of politics, military and culture. The idea of "peace in the world" aims to help Turkey solve political problems it had with other countries, and to emphasize political, economic, military and cultural cooperation with those countries. Such cooperations were manifested in the form of pacts Turkey signed with the neighbor countries. However, Turkey mainly collaborated with Western Countries in relation to its foreign policy.[31]

Being a newly-founded state, Turkey wanted to solve the Mosul and Kirkuk problem with minimum loss. Britain started to increase its political, economic, military and cultural influence on Iraq. Accordingly, its rules started to shape Iraq's state government. Before becoming a British Mandate, the Iraqi state did not exist. The modern Iraq emerged with the support of Britain. It had to face the minority problems inside, and border problems with its neighbors outside.[32]As a result, the Cairo Conference was organized in 1921. It was decided that the Iraqi people be governed under a new democratic constitution. Britain had taken an important step to control Iraq politically. King Faisal declared monarchy in Iraq on 27 August 1921[33] and became the first king of Iraq.[34] The agreement which stipulated that Iraq become a mandate of Britain was signed by the UK and Iraq in June, 1922.[35] As a result, the country became a mandate of Britain in 1922.[36] This made Iraq more important for Turkey. In its Iraq policy, Turkey argued that the Sunni, Shiite, Kurdish and Turkmen groups in Iraq should comply with the rules of the central government. The

[30] SANDER, Oral, op.cit. note 28, p.420
[31] Ibid,p.421
[32]P.Marr.P, 2011, *The Modern History of Iraq,*Westwiev Press,Boulder, CO,p.21
[33]BBC, 2014, Gertrude Bell: The uncrowned Queen of the Desert,http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-tyne-25775990 Date of Access: 17.1.2016
[34]P.Marr.P, 2011, op. cit, p.24
[35] POLK,R. William, 2005, *Understanding Iraq,* Cambridge University Press,Cambridge,p.88
[36] TRIPP,C, 2007, *A History of Iraq,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.52

idea of establishing an independent state started to spread among the Iraqi people starting from 1930. The political relationship between the representative government and the civil institutions in Iraq started to weaken. This government which was bound to the United Kingdom failed to perform its duty of representation, and started to resort to undemocratic practices. This situation had adverse effects on the Iraqi economy. As the people living in big cities and rural areas prospered, those living in small settlements impoverished.[37] For all these reasons, Iraq gained its independence in 1932 as a result of the efforts of Nuri Said and Rashid Ali. This situation led to the emergence of Turkey's Iraq policy.[38]

Turkey won the War of Independence. The Republic of Turkey signed the Treaty of Lausanne on 24 July 1923. This treaty is very important in that it is the founding document of the Republic of Turkey. With this treaty, Turkey achieved a great political success in the international arena. The area which Turkish Foreign Policy focused in the 1923-1926 period was the Mosul problem.[39] However, Turkey could not solve this problem with the Lausanne Treaty. The reason for this failure was that Turkey's and Britain's national interests with regards to Mosul conflicted. According to Turkey, giving Mosul to Iraq meant relinquishing its objectives stated in the National Pact ("Misak-ıMilli"). According to Britain, Mosul was a city that was important both for British and Iraqi political, economic and military interests. Turkey and Britain could not reach a joint decision regarding the solution of this problem. This situation led to a chaos in Turkey. As a part of the country's transition to multi-party regime, Progressive Republican Party ("TerakkiperverCumhuriyetFırkası") was established in addition to the Republican People's Party ("CumhuriyetHalkPartisi"). The opponents of the Republic started to raise their voices in this new party. When the Sheikh Said Rebellion, which was based on religious sentiments, broke out in the Eastern Anatolia Region in 1925, Turkey pushed its plans of transiting to multi-party regime to the background.[40] Britain took the matter to the League of Nations. Being a newly founded state, Turkey was not represented in the League of Nations. Mosul was given to Iraq as a

[37] POLK,R, William,op.cit., pp.89
[38] Ibid, pp.94
[39] HALE, William,op.cit.,,p.56
[40]HALE, William,op.cit.,,p.57

result of a decision issued in July 1925.[41]The Ankara Agreement was signed between Britain and Turkey on 5 June 1925 as a result of negotiations held about Mosul.[42] Accordingly, Turkey became entitled to receive 10% of the oil revenues generated in Mosul for 25 years.[43] This was a realistic foreign policy approach. Turkey solved this problem without suffering significant losses. Turkey did not have the political, economic and military power to defend itself against Britain regarding Mosul at that time. As a result, this situation caused Turkey to pursue a policy of balance in foreign affairs. Moreover, Anatolia was ruined during the war of independence. Since it did not have a strong economy, Turkey received the economic support of Western countries to realize its industrial and technological investments. Accordingly, it established good relations with Western Countries. For it did not believe that it had great interests in the Middle East in that period.[44] Turkey applied the foreign policy of the Atatürk-era to its neighbors in the Middle East. Turkey intended to build good relations with its neighbors. Being a newly-founded state, Turkey did not have much political, economic and military power. It signed the Saadabad Pact in 1937 with Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. With this treaty, Turkey intended to ensure the security of its eastern region.[45]

1.2 Turkey's Iraq Policy during World War II

Although Turkey essentially supported the Western alliance, it avoided joining the war by making promises to both sides. In essence, Turkey again pursued the policy of balance during this war. Two blocks were formed before the World War II. Accordingly, the USA, United Kingdom, France and Russia formed the Allied Powers, and Germany, Italy and Japan formed the Axis Countries. The World War II started in 1939 and ended in 1945. The position of Turkey in this war was very important for both blocks. France believed that Turkey's position in the Middle East was a very important. The Allied Powers believed that they had to collaborate with Turkey in a war that would be carried out in the entire Middle East, mainly in Iraq[46].

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[41] TRİPP,C, op.cit., pp.*58*
[42] Ibid, p.60
[43] HALE*,* William,op.cit.,,p.59
[44] SANDER, Oral, 2010*, SiyasiTarih,* (Political History), İmgeKitabevi, pp.420- 421
[45] TRİPP,C, 2007, op.cit.,,pp.90
[46] HALE*,* William,op.cit.,, pp.81-82

During the World War II, Turkey pursued a foreign policy close to Allied Powers because of the modern government philosophy of the Turkish Foreign Policy which was adopted during the Atatürk period.[47]At the beginning, Turkey sided with Britain.[48] However, certain problems arose in Turkey-Russia relations during this war. Russia demanded a base at the straits from Turkey in 1941 in order to protect its interests in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. In this way, Russia would be able to control the Mediterranean and Middle East Regions easily. This situation constituted a great threat for Turkey's domestic and foreign interests. As for the economic dimension, USSR would process the raw oil in Iraq and sell it to Turkey at higher prices. The third dimension of this situation was security. If USSR settled in Iraq and became Turkey's neighbor, this would cause a great threat for Turkey's territorial integrity.[49]

The government in Iraq was overthrown by a military junta, which included the supporters of Rashid Ali al-Gailani, a nationalist politician, in April 1941, which lead to the emergence of a great threat against the interests of Allied Powers in Iraq.[50] This junta increased its military power and captured a British base in Iraq, as a result of which Turkey's position in this war became very important for Britain. Britain and Germany were going to intervene in Iraq by using Turkish railways.[51] However, as a result of the negotiations Turkey conducted with British and German Ambassadors, it did not allow any of these countries to use its railways, and managed to protect its interests in the Middle East.[52]

1.3 Turkey's Iraq Policy between 1945 and 1980

Turkey established strong political, economic and military relations with the Western Alliance. On 12 March 1947, the USA announced the 'Truman Doctrine'. According to this doctrine, the USA would help defend 'free nations' whose existence was threatened by foreign pressure or by militant minorities inside their borders, and it would spread democracy all around the world. Accordingly, the USA decided to support Turkey and Greece in order to protect their territorial

[47] SANDER, Oral, 2010, *SiyasiTarih*, (Political History), İmgeKitabevi, pp. 422- 423
[48] DERİNGİL, Selim, 1994, *DengeOyunuİkinciDünyaSavaşı'ndaTürkiye'ninDışPolitikası,* (A Game of Balance – Turkish Foreign Policy During World War II), TarihVakfı, Yurt Yayınları, p.72
[49] HALE, William,op.cit.,pp.86
[50] Ibid,p.86
[51] DERİNGİL, Selim, op.cit., pp.150
[52]Ibid, p.152

integrity.[53]As per the recommendation of George Kennan, the USA's ambassador to Russia, the Marshall Plan was announced by the USA on 5 June 1947 within the scope of the Containment Plan in order to hinder Russia's aggression. According to the Marshall Plan, financial support on a gigantic scale was provided to 16 European countries, mainly to Turkey and Greece.[54] Turkey wanted to build stronger relations with the Western Alliance in the post-war era. Therefore it joined NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in 1952 in order to protect itself from Soviet Russia's aggressiveideas.[55]

Turkey wanted to cooperate with all Middle Eastern countries, mainly Iraq. In this period, Turkey was governed by the Democrat Party (DP) led by Adnan Menderes. The government had adopted conservatism as its political view. As a result, the political, economic and military relations between Turkey and Iraq gained importance again.[56] With the incentive of the USA; Turkey, Britain, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan signed the Baghdad Pact on 24 February 1955.[57]The underlying reason for the conclusion of this agreement by member states was to prevent USSR's influence in the Middle East. In other words, Turkey wanted to protect the balance in the Middle East.[58] However, this pact caused certain problems. With this pact, the countries in the Middle East were divided into three groups: The first group consisted of Pakistan, Iran and Iraq, which supported this pact; the second group consisted of Egypt, Syrıa, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen, which severely criticized this pact; and the third group consisted of Jordan and Lebanon, which took a neutral stance regarding it.[59] Consequently, the pact dissolved in 1959. For some domestic problems arose in Iraq in 1959.[60] With this pact, Turkey wanted to increase its regional cooperation

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[53] ARMAOĞLU, Fahir, 1994, *20. YüzyılSiyasiTarihi(1914-1980),* (Political History of 20th Century), İşBankasıYayıncılık, p.442

[54]Ibid ,p. 444

[55] Ibid ,p.449

[56]DEDEOĞLU, Beril*TÜRKİYE-IRAK İLİŞKİLERİ: "DOĞU"- "BATI" EKSENİ VE DEĞİŞKENLER*, (TURKEY-IRAQ RELATIONS: "EAST" "WEST" AXIS AND VARIABLES), p. 14http://cg.turkmap.uoa.gr/index.php/cg/article/view/4/3%2c%20%20http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11498/117/2009-BDuran.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y, Date of Access: 8. 6.2015

[57]TAŞKAN, Yüksel, *II. DÜNYA SAVAŞI SONRASI TÜRKİYE- IRAK SİYASİ İLİŞKİLERİ,(TURKEY – IRAQ RELATIONS AFTER THE WORLD WAR II)İ* pp.*314* http://uvt.ulakbim.gov.tr/uvt/index.php?cwid=9&vtadi=TSOS&c=ebsco&ano=96114_3960096df63c967cca27c22e72c44887&? *,Date of Access: 30.7.2015*

[58] ARMAOĞLU, Fahir, op.cit.,, p.491

[59]ARMAOĞLU, Fahir, Ibid., p.492

[60] ROBINS, Philip, op.cit.,, pp.99

with all countries in the Middle East, particularly with Iraq. However, it was severely criticized by the other Arab countries. As a result of the political disharmony among these countries, the pact dissolved.[61] In 1973, the CHP (Republican People's Party) and MSP (National Salvation Party) formed a coalition.[62] In the same period, Greece wanted to increase its pressure on Cyprus and annex it. Turkey organized a Peace Operation at Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit's discretion in 1974. As a result, the USA imposed economic embargo on Turkey, who turned to Iraq to increase its political and economic relations. This led to the construction of the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline between 1973 and 1977. Turkey was able to meet the majority of its oil requirements from Iraq, which was Turkey's border neighbor. In return, Iraq was able to export its oil to other countries via Turkey.[63] From this period on, Iraq managed to increase its income per capita thanks to oil revenues.

Economic Development

Table7.1Oil as Percentage of Iraq'sGrossDomestic 1960-1979 (in Current ID Millions) Source: P. Marr. P.,*The Modern History of Iraq, Boulder, CO: WestwievPress, 2011, p.159*

Years	Value in ID millions	% of GDP
1960	209.7	37.1
1965	285.9	33.0
1970	370.9	30.9
1975	2.287.7	57.6
1979	5.686.5	62.7

Turkey played a significant role in Iraq's economic development between 1960 and 1979 since Iraq's oil was exported to other countries over Turkey.[64]

1.4 Turkey's Iraq Policy between 1980 and 2002

Between 1980 and 1990, Turkey increased its economic relations with Iraq. However, in the period between 1990 and 2002, the economic relations gained a military dimension after the Gulf War as a result of the military operations against PKK. The SüleymanDemirel government announced significant decisions relating to

[61] HALE, William,op.cit., p.126
[62] TUNÇAY, Mete, KOÇAK, Cemil, ÖZDEMİR, Hikmet, BORATAV, Korkut et al., *TürkiyeTarihi 4 ÇağdaşTürkiye 1908-1980, (History of Turkey 4 – Modern Turkey: 1908-1980),* 1997, CemYayınevi, pp.239
[63]DEDEOĞLU, Beril, op.cit.,p. *13, Access to website*: 8. 6.2015
[64]P.Marr.P, op.cit.,pp.159

transition to liberal economy on 24 January 1980.[65] On 12 September 1980, a military coup occurred in Turkey, and the army took over the administration for three years.[66]ANAP (Motherland Party), led by TurgutÖzal, won the general elections in 1983 in Turkey.[67]Özal repeated this success in 1987.[68]He adopted the liberal economic model, just like Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, as a result of which Turkey transited to an export-based economy. As an economic consequence of this policy, Turkey increased its foreign trade with Iraq and Iran during the Iraq-Iran war between 1979 and 1988. Turkey purchased oil from Iraq and sold foodstuff in return. This was reflected in the foreign policy and Turkey-Iraq political relations improved in this period. The transformation in Turkish foreign policy started in this period both in political and economic terms. The economic transformation in Turkey's policy on Iraq which started with TurgutÖzalled to a political transformation in the relations between two countries. By adopting this policy, Turkey exhibited an important attitude which would form the foundation of good relations to be established between Turkey and Iraq in the years to come. Turkey increased its gains in its economic relations with Iraq. However, the Saddam government increased the tension with the USA and other western countries, which posed a serious threat for Turkey's interests in Iraq. The important developments in Iraq shaped Turkey's policy about it.[69]

Saddam Hussein annexed Kuwait on 8 February 1990.[70] Kuwait is an important country for the security of the USA and Israel in the Middle East.[71] Therefore, Saddam's action led to the First Gulf War. The coalition powers called this operation, "Operation Provide Comfort". Members of the UN formed a coalition under the leadership of USA, and bombed Saddam Hussein's forces for six weeks. As a result, Saddam's forces were stopped by the coalition forces.[72] Shi'ite groups in Iraq wanted to take advantage of Saddam Hussein's weakened political and military position and revolted against him in Southern Iraq. As a result, Saddam had the

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[65]http://www.dunyabulteni.net/haber/244303/turkiye-ekonomisinin-kirilma-noktasi-24-ocak-istikrar-kararlari Access to website: 23.12.2015
[66] TANÖR, Bülent, BORATAV, Korkut, AKŞİN, Sina, op.cit., p.26
[67] Ibid, p.57
[68] HALE, William,op.cit.,,pp.164
[69] ROBINS, Philip,op.cit.,,pp.15-16
[70]KELLY.C.Robert, COLEMAN, YOYNGBLOOD, Denise, M.A. Azevedo, Ann, Marry, KUMAR, Alex, SURNSON, Marie, Ann, ROSE, CESAR, ROSE, TORRES, John,2015, Iraq 2015 Country Review, p.11
[71] POLK,R, William,op.cit.,,pp.140
[72] TRİPP,C,2007, op.cit., pp.254

region where the Shi'ite lived bombed and many civilians lost their lives during these air bombings.[73]With the United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 660 issued on 2 August 1990, the UN prohibited Saddam from entering the Shi'ite region in southern Iraq. The purpose of this decision was to protect the civilians.[74]In the same period, the Kurds living in Northern Iraq revolted against Saddam's Baath government in order to establish an independent Kurdish state.[75] As a result of this revolt, 5000 Kurds were killed by the chemical weapons used by Saddam's forces in Northern Iraq.[76] Consequently, UNSC rendered its ResolutionNo. 661 in 1991. Accordingly, UNSC stated that Saddam Hussein's forces were forbidden from entering Northern Iraq's air space under no circumstances, and declared it a No-Fly Zone. In other words, Northern Iraq was closed to military flights by the UNSC. UN issued resolutions to implement economic sanctions on Iraq.[77] Therefore, 600,000 Kurds migrated from Northern Iraq to Turkey. These families were placed in refugee camps in South Eastern Region of Turkey under the supervision of the UN.[78]

Another issue which is very important with regards to Iraq-Turkey relations is water. All Middle-East countries, including Iraq, have very few water resources. The water flowing from Turkey to Iraq through the Euphrates River has a very important place in Turkish-Iraqi relations. Moreover, the living conditions of the Iraqi people had improved. As a result, the Iraqi people wanted to engage in certain economic activities related to agriculture and other areas. So, the Iraqi people's need for water resources increased.[79] In January 1990, Turkey wanted to increase the capacity of the dam lake behind the Atatürk dam. As a result, it closed the flow of the Euphrates River to other countries. This situation disturbed Syria and Iraq. The Baath government led by Saddam Hussein criticized this situation. Turkish Prime Minister YıldırımAkbulutmade a diplomatic visit to Iraq. A security treaty was signed between Turkey and Iraq in 1984. Accordingly, Turkey would be able to pursue PKK, which was recognized as a terrorist organization by the EU, US and Turkey, and which organized bombings from Iraq to military and civilian targets. This treaty

[73]P.Marr.P, op.cit.,p.228
[74] MERCILLE, *Julien, 2010,The Radical Geopolitics Of US Foreign Policy = The 2003 Iraq War Article,* pp.6
[75]TAŞKAN, Yüksel, op.cit., p.314 ,Date of Access: 30.7.2015
[76] ROBINS, Philip,op.cit.,p.319
[77] HALE, William,op.cit., p.174
[78]Ibid, pp.174
[79] Ibid., pp.303

was made by these countries for a period of 4 years. In other words, it would remain in effect until 1988. Turkey told Saddam Hussein that it wanted to extend the duration of this security treaty. However, Saddam Hussein did not accept this offer because the water problem between these two countries continued. In this period, Syria and Iraq also failed to reach an agreement about the water problem. However, these two countries managed to reach an agreement about water. Accordingly, Syria would use 42% of Euphrates's water whereas Iraq would use 58% of it. It is evident that Iraq's influence in the region ended after the Gulf Crisis.[80]

The situation emerging in Iraq was directly related to Turkey's political and economic interests in this country. For the vacuum of authority in Northern Iraq allowed PKK to flourishin this region.[81] The Regional Kurdish Government could also act more freely in this region. Another important matter was the economic sanctions imposed on Iraq by the United Nations. As a result, the economic relations between Turkey and Iraq suffered. Moreover, oil prices increased as a result of the First Gulf War.[82]

Turkey wanted to protect its political, economic and military interests in its relations with the USA and Iraq by pursuing a policy of balance and effectively managing the Gulf Crisis. For Turkey was dependent on the USA politically, economically and technologically, and on Iraq economically. If Turkey had lost the USA, it would have lost an important ally. If it had lost Iraq, it would no longer be able to import oil from there and sell its foodstuff to that country. Due to the fact that USA needed Turkey because of its geo-strategic position, Turkey's foreign policy changed towards supporting the USA during this war. Accordingly, the İncirlik military base was used during the military operations aimed at Iraq. According to TurgutÖzal, Turkey would reap economic benefits in this war since it would receive a share of the oil revenues.[83] However, during the Gulf War, Turkey suffered an annual loss of $5 billion.

The second biggest problem was security and refugees. The Kurdish refugees coming from Northern Iraq triggered a wave of nationalism in the Kurds in Turkey,

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[80] Ibid, p.304

[81] Wehrey Frederic, Kaye Dasse Dalia, Watkins Jessica, Martini Jeffrey, Guffey Robert A, 2010,*The Iraq Effect: The Middle East After the Iraq War, Rand USA Air Force,* p. *20*

[82] ORAN, Baskın,op.cit.,,p.402

[83] ROBINS, Philip,op.cit., p.17

and PKK also played a part in the strengthening of Kurdish nationalism just as it did in Northern Iraq. The coalition forces won the war in 1991. The USA and the international community passed the test. However, Turkey was unable to get anything it wanted in this matter. In other words, Turkey failed to protect its interests in this country because of the faulty strategies it pursued.[84] Since the USA was the leader of the Western coalition, Turkey did not want to disrupt its relations with this country regarding the Operation 2. Turkey requested the restriction of the Kurdish area in Northern Iraqwhereas USA terminated the influence of the Iraqi government in this area.[85]It is obvious that the interests of USA and Turkey contradicted on this matter. As a result, Turkey organized military operations with KDP leader MasudBarzaniand PUK leader Jalal Talabani, against PKK between 24 May 1993 and 1995 in order to decrease its power in the region, and prevented PKK from approaching Turkey's borders for some time.[86] PKK attempted to launch an extensive armed rebellion in Eastern and South Eastern Anatolia in 1995. Failing at this attempt, the PKK militants returned to their camps in Northern Iraq. This situation continued to pose a threat for Turkey's domestic security.[87] However, KDP and PUK changed their positions regarding this situation. As a matter of fact, PUK leader MasudBarzanicooperated with PKK since their interests overlapped now. PKK organized attacks on military and civilian targets in Turkey between 1993 and 1994. President TurgutÖzal died that year. TansuÇiller became the prime minister and was very successfulin handling the Kurdish problem.[88] Since KDP and PUK changed their positions in this event, Turkey became the first NATO member to open an embassy in Baghdad to build good relations with the Saddam Hussein government. Peshmerga from these two parties fought between 1994 and 1997 over the establishment of a regional parliament.[89] During this conflict, 1000 Kurds living in Northern Iraq died, and 70,000 Kurds migrated to cities close to Turkish border in order to flee war.[90]Turkey was worried that PKK would increase its power during

[84] Ibid, p.18
[85] Ibid, p.320
[86] Ibid, p.330
[87] HALE, William, 1992,Turkey , Middle East , Gulf Crisis Aticle ,International Affairs(Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944, pp. 689
[88] ROBINS, Philip,op.cit.,, pp.330
[89]KELLY.C.Robert, COLEMAN, YOYNGBLOOD, Denise, M.A. Azevedo, Ann, Marry, KUMAR, Alex, SURNSON, Marie, Ann, ROSE, CESAR, ROSE, TORRES, John,2015, *Iraq 2015 Country Review, 1 July 2015, Contry Watch/Watch, Inc.Houston, Texas,* pp.*11*
[90]P.Marr.,op.cit.,p.246

this conflict, and KDP or PUK would cooperate with PKK to win the war. In order to protect its position, Turkey restored its relations with Iraq, which had deteriorated before. But it did not take the USA on as well. For the USA and Iraq were enemies. As it can be seen, Turkey achieved a very good balance between the USA and Iraq.[91] Turkey launched numerous military operations against the PKK in Northern Iraq between 1993 and 1998. The USA did not criticize Turkey regarding this matter in that period. As a result, PKK's power in this region was diminished, even though partially, as a result of these operations.[92]

Between 12 May 1999 and 19 November 2002, Turkey was ruled by a coalition government formed by the DSP (Democratic Left Party), MHP (Nationalist Action Party) and ANAP (Motherland Party).[93] İsmail Cem was the Minister of Foreign Affairs in this government.[94] The coalition government wanted to realize two ideas in its policy on Iraq. According to the first idea, the UN sanctions imposed on Iraq had harmed the economic relations between Turkey and Iraq. Therefore, the coalition government made an effort to reinvigorate these relations, which were harmed by the UN sanctions. In other words, the main objective of the coalition government in this regard was to increase the foreign trade which was harmed by the UN Sanctions. Before the Gulf War, Turkey used to import oil from Iraq an export food in return. As a result, Turkey obtainedan economic benefit in the amount of $3 billion from this trade. Therefore, Turkey wanted to stop the USA's military intervention in Iraq via the UN. Thus Turkey would protect its political, economic and military interests in Iraq.[95] The second problem was that Turkey was worried that USA's military intervention in Iraq would lead to great problems regarding Turkey's security. Turkey believed that PKK would benefit from a military intervention the USA would make in Iraq. As a result of an American military intervention in Iraq, the central control in the country would completely be eliminated. Therefore, Turkey did not want the establishment of a Kurdish state in Iraq in this period. and wanted to participate in this war next to the USA and enter Northern Iraq. In this way, Turkey would enter Northern Iraq, provide arms aid to Kurdish groups in the region, and fight against PKK. Simultaneously, Turkey would

[91] ROBINS, Philip,op.cit.,, p.315
[92] HALE, William, op.cit.,,p.*304*
[93] ORAN, Baskın, op.cit.,, p.13
[94] HALE, William,2007, *Turkey, The US and Iraq*, Middle East Institute at Soas,London,p.84-85
[95] ORAN, Baskın,op.cit.,, p.402

protect the existence of the Turkmen in Iraq. In summary, Iraq was very important in terms of Turkey's security.[96]

However, the USA Foreign Affairs warned Turkey against certain issues. These were as follows: The USA would make a military intervention in Iraq; whether UN issues a negative or positive resolution regarding this matter would not have any effect on USA's decision to intervene; during the military intervention, USA would request Turkey's support; USA would make a military intervention even if Turkey did not act together with the USA. Following this important warning, Turkey started to negotiate with the USA about Iraq. Ankara was worried that PKK would increase its influence in the region during the authority vacuum that would be created in Iraq. As a matter of fact, the 1974 Iraq constitution included a provision which stated that the Kurds living in the region would be granted political rights which were in the same status as autonomy. This constitution also addresses the issue of expanding the rights granted to the Turkmen. However, Turkey did not want to risk the Turkmen population living in the region after the war. During the leaders' summit organized on July the 2nd and 10th, the PKK activities in the region were analyzed as two basic matters.[97] The fundamental subjects of these negotiations were as follows: the USA requested from Turkey that weapons be sent to PUK and KDP over Turkey during the military intervention to Iraq. However, Turkey was cautiousregarding this request. Turkey could not ignore the fact that these weapons could be acquired by PKK in the future, or KDP or PUK could use them against Turkey or the Turkmen population in the region. The USA, on the other hand, continued to insist on this matter, thinking that this would facilitate the military operation for it. Various negotiations were held between the USA, Turkish and two Kurdish groups regarding this matter. As a result, certain decisions were made on this matter.Turkey objected to the provision of heavy weaponry to Kurdish groups; the weapons transportation would be carried out by Turkey and the USA; finally, the weapons to be provided to Kurdish groups would have to be registered by observers, among which Turkey would be, and they would have to be returned to the coalition forces after the military operation ended. As a result, Turkey would prevent the seizure of these weapons by

[96] BÖLÜKBAŞI, DENİZ, 2008,*1 Mart VakasıIrakTezkeresiveSonrası,* (1 March Incident, Iraq Memorandum and Its Aftermath), DoğanKitap, pp.41
[97] YETKİN, Murat,2004, *TezkereKrizininingerçekÖyküsü*, (The Real Story Behind the Memorandum Crisis) RemziKitabevi, pp.51

PKK, although partially, and the other Kurdish groups would not use these weapons against Turkey in the future.[98] Turkey also requested that the Turkmen population living in Mosul and Kirkuk be not harmed during the air raids to be carried out by the coalition forces. As it can be seen, Turkey was very worried that its national interests in this region would be jeopardized in the post-war period. The sole objective of the USA in this war was to overthrow the Baathist Regime led by Saddam Hussein. Therefore, Turkey had to act together with the USA in order to have a say in Iraq's future.[99] An important problem broke out in domestic politics at this time. Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit fell ill in 2001. As a result, he was unable to perform his duties as a prime minister.[100] There was a crisis in Turkish banking system in November 2000. A tension broke out between President Ahmet NecdetSezer and Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit, and a great economic crisis erupted in Turkey on 19 February 2001 as a result of this political crisis in the government.[101] In order to overcome the adverse effects of this crisis, Turkey wanted to increase its foreign trade with Iraq. KürşadTüzmen, the foreign trade undersecretary in Turkish government, visited Iraq in March 2002 and met with Hikmet El Azzavi, the deputy Prime Minister of Iraq. It was said that they agreed on holding these negotiations on this matter annually.[102]

Turkey was very important strategically for the USA because it was a border neighbor of Iraq. In September 2002, the USA made certain demands from Turkey regarding its Iraq intervention.[103] Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit and Minister of Foreign Affairs Şükrü Sina Gürel and Chief of Staff Özkök held a meeting to assess the situation.[104] As a result, the USA and Turkey reached an agreement regarding certain issues. Accordingly, U2 airplanes of the USA would use the Turkish air space during the Iraq war, and USA NILE soldiers would be transferred to Northern Iraq under the protection of Turkish military teams. The main reason why Turkey and USA could not reach an agreement about Iraq was that Turkey was worried that a

[98] BÖLÜKBAŞI, Deniz,op.cit.,pp.49-50
[99] Ibid, p. 51
[100] HALE, William, *Turkey, The US and Iraq, London Middle East Institute at Soas, 2007,* p.87
[101] YETKİN, Murat,op.cit., p.54
[102] ORAN, Baskın,op.cit., p.403
[103] BİLA, Fikret,2003, *SivilDarbeGirişimiveAnkara'daIrakSavaşları*, (Civilian Coup Attempt and Iraq Wars in Ankara), ÜmitYayıncılık, pp.177-178
[104] Ibid, p.179

Kurdish state would be established in Northern Iraq.[105] As a result, Turkey started to assess the option of taking part in the military operation along with the USA, or organizing a separate military operation. Turkey shared the alternative strategies it would apply during this military operation with the USA on 26 September 2002. Accordingly, Turkey would remain neutral during the military operation to Iraq. It would even postpone or terminate its Northern Iraq Watch as long as the military operation continued.[106] It was also stated that the Turkey would make a significant military contribution to the land operation. It can be seen that Turkey would engage in a military intervention to Iraq by cooperating with the USA.[107] Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit fell ill and was hospitalized on 4 May 2002. His health was in bad condition.[108] MHP leader DevletBahçeli met with Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit. After this meeting, the coalition government resigned, and it was decided to hold an early election. As a result, it was announced that general elections would be held in Turkey on 3 November 2002.[109]

The Ottoman State did not cooperate with other states regarding its foreign policy strategy from 16th century to 18th century because it was a politically, economically and militarily strong. However, it started to lose its power in politics, economy and military in the 18th century. Due to the fact that the Ottoman State fell behind the modern times, it adopted a foreign policy of balance which was based on benefiting from the conflicts of interest between the other states in order to maintain its existence. This process continued by siding with Britain and France against Russia. However, this policy lost its significance in time. As the Committee of Union and Progress seized the administration of the state, the foreign policy of the Ottoman State underwent a massive transformation. As a result, it approach Germany and entered the World War 1, which it lost. Consequently, all territories of the Ottoman State were occupied by the Allied Powers.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk organized the Turkish people and won the Independence War, and the new Turkish state was officially founded on 29 October 1923. Atatürk adopted the principle “Peace at home, peace in the world” as the basis

[105] YETKİN, Murat,op.cit.,p.139
[106] BİLA, Fikret,op.cit, p.179
[107] Ibid, p.180
[108]Ibid, p. 61
[109] Ibid, p.127

of the foreign policy of Turkish State. With this policy, the new Turkish State aims to establish stability inside the country, and to act together with the neighbor countries regarding political, economic, military and cultural matters. The Lausanne Treaty, which was signed on 24 July 1923, and by which the other countries recognized the new Turkish State, did not resolve the Mosul problem. United Kingdom brought the issue before the League of Nations. Since Turkey was not represented in this international organization in those days, the problem was solved by givingMosul to Iraq in 1925. Pursuant to an agreement made with Britain, Turkey received a certain portion of the oil revenues generated in Mosul. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of Turkey, died on 10 November 1938. The second president İsmetİnönü continued to apply the same principle in foreign policy. For this reason, Turkey promised its allegiance to both sides during the World War II which took place between 1939 and 1945, and which causeda massive destruction, but did not enter the war beside any of them. In the 1950-1980 period, Turkey improved its relations with the Western Alliance. In 1952, Turkey joined NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). After the Democrat Party came to the power, it sought to collaborate with Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries. With the support of the USA, Turkey, Britain, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan signed the Baghdad Pact on 24 February 1955. However, this pact dissolved as a result of clashes. The USA imposed oil embargo on Turkey because of the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation. As a result, Turkey and Iraq built the Kirkuk oil pipeline in 1977.This event was very important because it increased both the economic and the political relations between Turkey and Iraq. Turkey had contributed significantly to the sale of the Iraqi oil to other countries in the previous years as well. As a result, Turkey and Iraq had common political and economic national interests.

ANAP (Motherland Party), led by Turgut Özal, came to power after winning the general elections following the military administration in 1983. Turkey changed its foreign policy philosophy with the advent of TurgutÖzal. When the USA imposed economic embargo on Iraq, governed by Saddam Hussein, during the Gulf War, these relations were interrupted. In 1990s, Saddam Hussein’s authority in Northern and Southern Iraq was restricted with the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, and Turkey launched military operations against PKK in Northern Iraq until 1999. An analysis of this situation with regards to Turkey-Iraq relations reveals that

the military dimension of these relations came into prominence. In other words, the Turkey-Iraq relationships underwent a significant transformation – it went from the economic dimensionto a military one. An examination of the 1990s demonstrates that a foreign policy with a security emphasis was pursued in Turkish-Iraqi relations. Turkey wanted to protect its domestic and foreign security against PKK which was based in Northern Iraq. DSP leader Bülent Ecevit, MHP leader Devlet Bahçeli, and ANAP leader Mesut Yılmaz, who governed Turkey between 12 May 1999 and 19 November 2002 by forming a coalition government, opposed the military operation to be performed by the USA against Iraq. In this period, Turkey based its foreign policy on Iraq on protecting its political, economic and military interests in the region. Turkey determined its foreign policy on Iraq as increasing the trade between Turkey and Iraq, which was terminated in the 1990s, to its previous level, ensuring the security of the Turkmen population in Iraq, and fighting the PKK forces in Northern Iraq which increased its power after the war in order. As it can be seen, the coalition government emphasized the economic and security dimensions in Turkey's policy on Iraq. Any adverse situation arising in Iraq would have a negative effect on Turkey's economy and border security.

CHAPTER 2

CLASSICAL REALISM

In this section, I will evaluate Turkey's policy on Iraq which changed when Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs based on the views of Hans J. Morgheantau, Niccola Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes about realism. Hans J. Morgenthau is considered the father of realism. According to him, people have a bad nature. Therefore they emphasize their interests in their relations. Accordingly, the nature of man is reflected in the world in this way. Therefore, people fight each other in order to increase their power. In other words, they cannot escape the negative situation brought about by this power struggle. As they use this power in their social relations they act in a selfish manner, they fail to find a common ground. Therefore, the conflict of interests and temporary balance of interests occur in the world. However, the moral principles cannot be applied completely. As a result, Morghentahu determined the six fundamental principles of the realist approach and political realism.[110] According to the first principle, politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have roots in human nature. In order to improve society, it is first necessary to understand the laws by which society lives, and apply them whether one likes them or not. In political realism, it is essential for the citizens to make decisions by putting themselves in the same circumstances of a statesman when applying a foreign policy.[111] The second principle is that the signpost that helps political realism is the concept of interest defined in terms of power. In other words, the concept of power sets politics apart from economics, ethics, aesthetics, or rational science. Therefore, without an understanding of the concept of power, people would not be able to understand the international or domestic politics.[112] Therefore, statesmen take national interests into consideration in order to determine national

actions. However, the analysis of the characters, moral and psychological values of the statesmen is not sufficient to understand how the foreign policy of a state is shaped.[113] The third principle states that according to political realism, the concept of interest is the essence of politics. However, this concept is not dependent upon a

[110]MORGENTHAU.J.Hans, 1993, Politics Among Nations= The Struggle Power and Peace,MCGraw-Hill, *Caledınia,*p.3
[111]Ibid, p.4
[112] Ibid, p.5
[113] Ibid,p.8

location or time. States maintain their existence through their power in their foreign policies. As a matter of fact, they maintain their political existence by competing with each other to attain this power.[114] For the states protect their political, physical and cultural powers against other states. The states' political and cultural environments shape their foreign policies. Therefore, the foreign policy characteristics of states are different from each other. Their foreign policy philosophies are not the same.[115] The fourth principle is that, universal moral principles cannot be applied to the foreign policy actions of states. They must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place. The responsibility of the statesmen is to protect the state's national interests. Therefore, their decisions may not conform to universal moral principles. The individual has the right to sacrifice himself in defense of a moral principle, such as justice, but the statesmen have no right to waive these values in the name of the individuals they are responsible for.[116] According to Morgenthau, the fifth principle states that the political realism is not interested in the conformity of the political actions of a state with the moral laws that govern the universe. All states wish to prove that their policies conform to the universal moral principles. Some states want to harmonize this situation with legal and religious principles. Therefore they have gone to extremes when applying these policies. According to political realism, if the power is defined in terms of power, these negative situations regarding foreign policies will be eliminated, and the states will no longer be subject to such political and moral extremes. Thus they will empathize with and apply policies which respect each other.[117] According to Morgenthau, the sixth principle states that political actions must be analyzed by considering political criteria. For politics is an independent science, just like economics, law, morals, etc. In other words, when the policy of states is discussed, the lawyers thinks in terms of its legality, a moralist thinks in terms of its morality, and a political realist discusses its conformity with the interest defined as power. He thinks about the effect of this policy on the power of the nation.

[114] Ibid., p.10
[115] Ibid,p.11
[116] Ibid, p.12
[117]Ibid,p.13

The political realist does not allow non-political events to misshape politics but subjects them to politics.[118]

Morgenthau defines politics as the power struggle among states. According to him, power constitutes the fundamental motive of politics and the basic motive of any political action. He also says that power is a form of relationship or a purpose for reaching a goal. In addition, the power struggle cannot explain the political interaction between the states, or the concept of struggle may not be able to indicate the truth when the relations between the states are considered.[119] Morgenthau explains the term "national power". According to him, national power means a nation's having more powerful elements than other nations.[120] The elements of national power are grouped into quantitative and qualitative categories. Quantitative elements such as geography, natural resources (food, raw material), industrial capacity, military capacity (technology, leadership, size of the army) and population (distribution of resources over the population, education level of the population) shape the foreign policy of states. Qualitative elements, such as national character, nature of national moral diplomacy, the nature of the government, shape the states' foreign policy just like the quantitative ones.

Of the qualitative factors of power, geographical ones, i.e. the geographical characteristics of a country is very important in shaping the foreign policy of that country. This factor affects the capacity and power of the country, which are very important for that country. In other words, geographical location determines its geostrategic position. The surface area of the lands of a country, having natural borders (being surrounded by mountains or impenetrable forests, being an island country) may provide great advantage in achieving the countries national goals. Second, natural resources and economic power.[121] Having rich and important natural resources and fertile lands is a quantitative component which is very important for a country. In other words, if a country does not have great food resources, it will have to import them from abroad. According to Morgenthau, in addition to good raw materials, a country must possess high technology to process them. This situation is directly related to increasing a country's political, economic, and military power. If a

[118]Ibid, pp.*13-14*
[119] Ibid, pp.*29*
[120]Ibid, pp.*115*
[121] Ibid, pp.124

country is successful in these areas, it will prosper by exporting the products it produces, by levying taxes at home, or by increasing its foreign trade volume. Otherwise, like the Middle East countries, it will be dependent on other countries if it cannot process the oil it produces.[122] The third factor is military preparedness, which, according to Morgenthau, is very important in terms of the actual power of a nation. Military intervention is the last resort in international relations, but it is also the most discussed. Military power depends on having modern warfare, a disciplined army, high quality arms, and a good military leadership.[123] According to Morgenthau, population is the fourth factor, and it is emphasized that the quality of a nation is more important than its size. In other words, if the people of a country are educated, that country can develop, produce new technologies, and use the technologies it possesses. However, if the population of a country cannot produce technology, that country cannot develop and will be dependent upon other countries in terms of economy and technology. Another important factor is the population growth rate and infant death rates. The population growth in a country must be controlled through family planning practices, and the infant death rates must be decreased through investments made in healthcare. The existence of a young population is also important with respect to the quality of the population in a country.[124]

Just like the quantitative capacity factors, the qualitative power factors such as the belief system of a nation, its unique differences, etc. also have an important effect on the power of the nation.The national character factor contains the permanent intellectual and characteristic features which constitute the nature of a nation. These characters allow a nation not to be destroyed and to stand together even after big events. It is stated that the national characters of nations are different. These will have an effect on the national power. Accordingly, the Russians have elementary force and persistence, Americans are entrepreneurs, Germans are disciplined, and Turks are soldiers and courageous. Therefore, USA and Russia may not have the same foreign policy.[125]

National moral refers to the degree of determination with which a nation supports the foreign policy of its government in peace and war. It permeates all

[122]Ibid, p.134
[123] Ibid, p.136
[124]Ibid, p.141-142
[125] Ibid, p.147

activities of nation (its agriculture and industrial productions as well as its military establishments and diplomatic service, etc.). Accordingly, Turkish people were able to win their independence because their national morale was strong.[126]

Morgenthau regards diplomacy as the most important element of national power. According to him, diplomacy brings all the other elements that comprise the national power together, gives them direction, puts them in a framework and ensures that all of them turn into power. Diplomacy is the most effective art that uses different elements that comprise the national power, and resolve the international problems that are related with international problems. It is considered the brain of the national power. If a nation has an ineffective diplomacy, it will not be able to use all the factors of national power and will not be successful in the resolution of national problems on the international arena. In contrast, a diplomacy that can use its potentials of national power effectively can take the national power to its highest level. Diplomacy of high quality can bring the ends and means of foreign policy into harmony with the available resources of national power. It can tap the hidden sources of national strength and transform these fully and squarely into political realities.[127]

According to Morgenthau, a country's foreign policy may be very well-planned, managed and applied. That country may even have very rich underground resources. However, it does not have a government which can administer these factors in a balanced manner; all of them can be wasted. There are three fundamental characteristics which are expected from a good government. These are the establishment of a good balance between the material and human resources which allow the emergence of national power and the foreign policy pursued by the government. If governments want to succeed in foreign policy, they must apply a rational foreign policy considering the political, economic, military and cultural power they possess. Governments around the world which have a modern democratic political stance win the support of their citizens by following a rational foreign policy.[128]

Turkey desires to increase its national power in the Middle East. Therefore, Turkey wants to be more powerful in terms of politics, economy, military, and

[126] Ibid, p.150
[127] Ibid, p.155
[128] Ibid, pp.158-159

culture than the other countries in the Middle East. Turkey's Iraq policy during the Foreign Ministry of Ahmet Davutoğlu can be explained based on Morgenthau's views on foreign policy. In terms of geography, which is one of the qualitative factors of foreign policy, Turkey is a border neighbor of Iraq. After Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs, "Zero Problems with Neighbors" policy became a very important concept. Therefore, Turkey started to consider the geographical factor as a significant means of increasing its national power and capacity in Iraq. Second, natural resources and economic power are very important in Turkey-Iraq relations. Since Turkey does not have oil resources, it must import oil from Northern Iraq. It also exports foodstuff to Iraq, and the Iraqi cities which were demolished after the 2003 USA-Iraq war are being rebuilt by Turkish construction companies. Moreover, oil in Northern Iraq is sold to other countries via Turkey, which brings economic revenues for both countries. Third, the military power; Turkey has an army in the Middle East which has a high technological capacity. Therefore, it plays an important role in the training of the peshmergaforces in Iraq, and the Iraqi army. In 2015, Turkey deployed soldiers to the Bashika camp in Northern Iraq in order to protect its national interests in this country. In addition, it launched air strikesagainst ISIS and PKK elements in Northern Iraq.

Turkey's Iraq policycan be explained with qualitative factors based on Morgenthau's views regarding foreign policy. First, the national morale factor of the national power; Turkey has a strong national morale regarding the events taking place in Iraq. It does not appease the terrorist organizations in Iraq and is able to maintain this political attitude resolutely. Second, national morale, which is an important factor of national power; Turkey's policy on Iraq is supported by the majority of Turkish people. This situation allowed Turkey to apply its foreign policy relating to Iraq more comfortably. Third, the quality of diplomacy, which is an important factor of national power; Turkey attaches great importance to the quality of diplomacy with regards to its foreign policy on Iraq. It played an important role in the preparation of Iraq's constitution. It showed its concern regarding the political events occurring in Iraq through the top level statements it made. Moreover, it started the negotiations between the USA and the Sunni insurgents in 2009, which was a great diplomatic success. In other words, it contributed to the stability of Iraq, and thus protected its political, economic, military and cultural interests in this country.

Fourth, the quality of the government; AKP (Justice and Development Party) government increased Turkey's effectiveness in economic, military and cultural areas in Iraq during the Foreign Ministry of Ahmet Davutoğlu by taking the political balances in this country into consideration. Turkey demonstrates its attitude towards the events in Iraq by preserving balances. Moreover, being a conservative government, AKP establishes strong political, military, economic and cultural relations with Iraq. According to Niccola Machiavelli's and Thomas Hobbes' views on realism, Turkey wants to preserve its national interests in the power struggle taking place in Iraq. Numerous countries have political, economic, military and cultural interests in Iraq, one of which is Turkey.[129]

[129] HEYWOOD, Andrew, 2002, *Politics,* Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke,p.128

CHAPTER 3

AKP's IRAQ POLICY BEFORE AHMET DAVUTOĞLU

In this section of the thesis, I will try to answer how and in which direction Turkey's Iraqpolicy changed. Turkey was ruled by coalition governments until AKP came to power. When we examine the general foreign policy of those coalition governments, we see that they usually established good relations with Western countries. This foreign policy aligned with western countries adopted by the coalition governments caused Turkey to put the political, economic and military relations with all Middle Eastern countries to the background for a long period of time. With the advent of AKP, Turkey stopped remaining silent on the problems experienced in relation to Iraq. Therefore, AKP conducted various negotiations with USA during its intervention in Iraq. Turkey stated that it defended the territorial integrity of Iraq during certain conferences held after the Iraq war. Moreover, Turkey contributed to the preparation of Iraq's constitution and had a say in Iraq's political future.

RecepTayyipErdoğan and his supporters founded AKP (Justice and Development Party) on 14 August 2001. AKP leader RecepTayyipErdoğan announced the foundation of this party on that day with a press statement. It should be emphasized that USA was worried about AKP at that time since it was a conservative party. It believed that, even if AKP won the 2002 general elections, it would not be allowed to form a government due to the Turkish Army's intervention. The government formed by Necmeddin Erbakan had a conservative characteristic very similar to that of AKP. That government was overthrown on 28 February 1997 by the Turkish Armed Forces since it believed that the party had become a center of certain fundamentalist activities.[130] However, AKP made great effort to improve its relations with the USA. AKP leader RecepTayyipErdoğan and his friends went to the USA in January 2002 to show that western countries supported their party.[131] AKP won the elections held on 3 November 2002 by winning the 35% of the votes, and ended the coalition governments period.[132] AKP was a party which contained many conservative politicians.[133] In this period, an important problem arose in Turkish

[130] YETKİN, Murat,op.cit., p.46
[131]Ibid p.47
[132] Ibid, p.88
[133] BENLİ ALTUNIŞIK, Meliha, 2013, The Middle East Turkey-USA Relations: Managing the Alliance, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies,* p.164

Foreign Policy. The tension in the relations between the USA and Iraq, which held an important place in Turkish foreign policy in terms of politics, economics, and military, started to rise again starting from 2000. The USA started to see Saddam Hussein's Baath (Arab Socialist Renaissance Party) regime as a political, military and economic power which was against Israel, the USA's ally in the Middle East. It claimed that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. Pursuant to the UNSC Resolution No. 1441 issued in order to protect the civilians, Iraq was obligated to open all of its nuclear facilities to UN observers. These facilities were opened to the UN weapons inspectors who later prepared a negative report on Iraq's arms power. As a result, USA, UK and a few other countries decided to launch a military operation to Iraq. Before war, Iraq held the 10th place among the oil exporting countries in the world.[134] It used only 1 of its 75 oil reserves. Since it did not possess the required infrastructure, it could use only 13% of its oil reserves. Moreover, Saddam Hussein extractedoil in Basra and Mosul (North). As of 2003, Iraq had 220 billion barrels of untapped crude oil.[135]

TABLE 9.2 Crude Oil Production and Export 1976-2001(millions of barrels per day)	Production	Export
1976-1980	2.69	2.5
1981-1986	1.26	-961
1995	-550	-150
1996-	-580	-180
1997	1.15	-840
1998	2.11	1.795
1999	2.52	2.203
2000	2.57	2.243
2001	2.36	2.030

Even though it did not have adequate technology, the Baathist Regime led by Saddam Hussein earned great profit from oil.It managed to keep the production and

[134] SÖNMEZOĞLU, Faruk,2009 *UluslararasıİlişkilereGiriş*, (Introduction to International Relations), Der Yayınları, p.127
[135] YETKİN, Murat, op.cit, p.25

exportation of this important resource above a certain level despite the economic sanctions imposed by the UN.[136]

One of the reasons underlying this decision to start a war was the terrorist attacks organized on September 11, 2001.[137] Al Qaida, which was recognized as a terrorist organization by the USA, EU and Turkey, attacked twin towers with two airplanes it hijacked and caused the death of thousands of people.[138] The USA occupied Iraq and Afghanistan claiming that the Baathist Regime led by the Saddam Hussein and Mullah Omar in Afghanistan provided economic and military support for those terrorist attacks.[139] George W. Bush, then the president of the USA, mentioned the fight against the evils (i.e. dictators) in the "axis of evil" (i.e. Afghanistan and Iraq). According to the Bush doctrine, important concepts like Democracy and Human Rights had to be brought to countries like Afghanistan and Iraq which are ruled by dictators through outside military interventions.[140] Iraq, led by Saddam Hussein, had become an important threat for USA's interests. In other words, USA regarded Saddam regime as a political and economic power in the Middle East.[141]

Due to the fact that AKP leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was in prison because of a political crime, Abdullah Gül was appointed his proxy. The Gül government won a vote of confidence on 28 November 2002 at the Grand National Assembly and formed the new government. Yaşar Yakış was the Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time. Although Turkey did not support the Iraq war, believing that it would hurt Turkey's national interests, it became certain that the war would start in a short period of time. Therefore, Turkey announced that it would open its air space and military bases to the USA during the war.[142] As a result, two top-level USA administrators, Grossman and Taylor, visited Ankara to declare the USA's demands. Grossman requested that the bases in Turkey be inspected and maintained, that the airports and ports be opened to US soldiers.[143] During these negotiations, Turkey

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[136]P.Marr,op.cit.p.240
[137] ALTUNIŞIK, BENLİ, Meliha,op.cit.,p.164
[138] POLK,R, William,op.cit,p.167
[139] Ibid, p.209
[140]KELLY.C.Robert, COLEMAN, YOYNGBLOOD, Denise, M.A. Azevedo, Ann, Marry, KUMAR, Alex, SURNSON, Marie, Ann, ROSE, CESAR, ROSE, TORRES, John, *op.cit.,* p.15
[141] YETKİN, Murat, op.cit., pp.26-27
[142] BİLA, Fikret,2003, op.cit, p.193
[143] YETKİN, Murat, op.cit.,p.122

stated that it was worried that the Kurdish presence in Northern Iraq could grow stronger, establish a Kurdish state after the USA's occupation of Iraq. The USA, on the other hand, believed that the Kurds living in Northern Iraq were very important in terms of its national interests during the Iraq war. Therefore, USA did not support Turkey's proposal of a military intervention in Northern Iraq.[144] Another subject about which Turkey was worried was the increase in the number of refugees migrating to Turkey after the Iraq war – which was the case after the Gulf War. Turkey wanted the USA to protect the Turkmen living in Mosul and Kirkuk after the Iraq war.[145] Turkey also wanted to be able to control the military operation to be performed in Turkey, and to have the authority to stop it on its own volition when it deemed necessary. During this period, both the USA and Turkey wanted to secure their national interests during and after the Iraq war. Therefore, Turkey and the USA had to agree on common interests regarding this matter. Although the USA had a positive view about providing political, economic and military support to the Kurdish groups in Northern Iraq, Turkey did not support this view. In other words, Turkey requested that this support be restricted.[146]

The USA sent a letter to Turkey on 13 January 2003 which contained its demands from Turkey during the war. In this letter, the USA wanted American soldier to be deployed in the South East region of Turkey. The reason for this demand was that if the USA could launch a military operation to Iraq from Turkey's South East region, the economic cost would be considerably less, and the USA would lose fewer soldiers.[147] Turkey wanted to protect the balances because it had political, economic and military interests in Iraq. On the other hand, Turkey wanted to convince the USA about the Iraq war by gaining the support of the International Community. Turkey took some steps before the UN in order to prevent this invasion. Meanwhile, Abdullah Gül, then Prime Minister of Turkey, increased his regional efforts regarding this matter. As a result, the first meeting with the countries which shared borders with Iraq was held in January 2003, and Mr.Gül visited those countries. During these visits, the common concerns and interests of all countries regarding the Iraq war were discussed. As a result, the countries formed a structure in

[144] BÖLÜKBAŞI, Deniz,op.cit., p.39
[145] Ibid, p.37
[146]Ibid, p.38
[147] Ibid, p.25

order to be able to negotiate this matter among them. The first meeting of the countries with a border with Iraq was held on 23 January 2003 in İstanbul. Even though Turkey opposed the Saddam Regime, it made effort to convince the Baathist Regime to cooperate with the international community. Due to the fact that Iraq is a country where numerous ethnic groups and sects live together, the disintegration of Iraq and restructuring it would not set a good example for other countries in the region which had similar multi-cultural structures. They could be inspired by the new states to be formed in place of Iraq, and want to establish their own states within their host countries. It is their most natural right to establish those states.[148] Although Turkey took various steps to prevent the Iraq war, it could not convince the USA to abandon this decision. As a result, Turkey made it clear that it wanted to act together with the USA during the Iraq war in order to protect its political, economic and military interests in Iraq. On 8 February 2003, the National Security Council of the period convened in order to determine Turkey's demands from USA during the Iraq war. As a result of this meeting, a list containing Turkey's demands from the USA during the Iraq war was sent to the USA. In this list, it was requested that American military personnel be deployed in Turkey. Turkish Armed Forces played an important role in the determination of the number of these soldiers by Turkey. What Turkey requested from the USA during the Iraq operation was not to be restricted in its fight against the PKK in Northern Iraq. The USA and Turkey discussed this matter many times. The USA was aware that being a border neighbor of Iraq, Turkey would gain national benefits from this situation during the Iraq war. In return for the support it requested from Turkey, the USA allowed Turkey to launch extensive military operations against PKK in Northern Iraq.[149] Moreover, the option by which the USA would provide financial support to Turkey during the war was also discussed. Since Turkey was a border neighbor of Iraq, it would suffer economic losses during a war which was going to break out for certain. Turkey had faced the same problem during the Gulf War. However, Turkey did not deem the economic support the USA would make during this war adequate. The same situation arose in USA – Turkey relations. For, the economic support the USA offered to Turkey for this war did not compensate the material loss Turkey would suffer during the war.[150]

[148] ORAN, Baskın,op.cit., pp.405-406
[149] YETKİN, Murat, op.cit., pp.150-151
[150] Ibid, p.154

The top ranking commanders in Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) criticized AKP harshly and declared to AKP that they would not change their opinion regarding Iraq on account of the financial aid. Turkish Armed Forces did not want the AKP government to make a 5-year plan. Turkish Armed Forces emphasized that political and military interests should be preferred over economic ones. TSK's political concern regarding this matter was that a Kurdish state would be established in Northern Iraq in the long run, which was Turkey's southern neighbor, and that that Kurdish state would demand land from Turkey in the future. As a matter of fact, the military interests also shared the same concerns. As a result of the USA's military intervention, PKK, which had camps located in Northern Iraq, could take advantage of the vacuum of authority which might be created after the war, and increase it power.[151] Therefore, TSK wanted to enter the Iraq war together with the USA and to intervene in Northern Iraq. The Turkish Armed Forces' main objective was to keep Northern Iraq under control and avoid any conflicts with the Iraqi army in Southern Iraq. In other words, Turkey had to achieve such control without fighting the Iraqi army, and by action in coordination with tis army in the future. Fighting the Iraqi army and other ethnic groups in the region would not produce any advantages for Turkey. As a matter of fact, Turkey does not have the political, economic and military power to fight all the elements in the region. Turkey's objectives regarding this region at that time were to keep the PKK elements which could harm security during a vacuum of authority that could emerge in Northern Iraq and to protect the Turkmen in Northern Iraq. Turkey had to make this intervention based on certain rights arising from international law.[152] The most important request the USA made of Turkey during the war was that the Turkish military forces to be deployed in Northern Iraq not attack the PKK elements there unless they attacked the Turkish army first. The US requested this from Turkey. The Kurds living in Northern Iraq did not pose a threat to the USA's interests in that country during a military operation it would launch. The USA played an important role in the declaration of Northern Iraq as a no-fly zone.[153] Turkey also demanded that it does not engage in any armed conflict with the Sunni and Shiite groups in Iraq during this war. Since the USA found that the requested financial aid was excessive, it did not increase the amount of

[151] BİLA, Fikret,op.cit. pp.199-200
[152] Ibid., p.201
[153] BÖLÜKBAŞI, Deniz,op.cit., p.42

financial aid it would provide to Turkey. As a result, Turkey and the USA could not reach a common ground regarding certain financial matters. Turkey and the USA had some disagreements about political, economic and military issues.[154] As I stated before, Turkey was not an indispensable ally for the USA in this war. In other words, the USA had alternative plans for this war. It was a known fact that the war would cause a great cost for the USA. The excessive financial support Turkey requested from the USA was the main factor why the USA's attitude toward Turkey changed.[155] However, during the Iraq war, the USA was determined to obtain Turkey's support. Even though the USA had completed its preparations for the military campaign it would launch in Southern Iraq, it had not made a military plan regarding Northern Iraq. Due to the fact that the USA did not have a great amount of time before launching this war, the support it would take from Turkey concerning this war in such little time was important. As a result, the USA concluded that, in order to obtain any benefit as an ally in the Iraq war, Turkey had to make an offer that was compatible with its political, economic and military interests. This decision was accepted by the US Congress, which was notified to Turkey. On 24 February 2003, Turkish Council of Ministers started deliberations on the memorandum for the deployment of US soldiers in Turkey. As a result, Turkey announced that it started to assess the subject of signing the Iraq memorandum. The first article of this memorandum was about the deployment of Turkish military forces to a foreign country, and the positioning and operation of these forces in Iraq according to criteria determined beforehand by Turkey. Second, the upper limit for the number of soldiers that would come to Turkey would be 62.000 according to the rules of legitimacy arising from International laws. In addition, only 255 aircrafts and 65 military helicopters would be allowed to be located in the neighboring regions determined previously by the Turkish government for a period of 6 months. Moreover, these forces had to obtain permission from Turkey before they were transferred to Iraq during the military operation. The memorandum containing these articles was submitted to Turkish Grand National Assembly on 24 February 2003.[156] AKP government wanted Turkey to have a say in the new political, economic, and cultural structure to be formed in Iraq after the war. This political stance adopted by Turkey

[154] Ibid,p.44
[155] YETKİN, op.cit., p.155
[156] HALE, William, *2007,Turkey,* The US and Iraq,London Middle East InstituteatSoas, p.110

about Iraq stemmed from its concerns that the political and economic losses Turkey suffered during the TurgutÖzal period could be repeated.[157] Turkey and the USA reached an agreement on "Joint Economic Declaration" on 25 February 2003 and the USA guaranteed that it would minimize the economic losses Turkey would suffer. It was decided that State Minister Ali Babacan and the US Ambassador to Turkey Robert Pearson would sign the declaration. This declaration was a written statement of the political, military and economic cooperation between the USA and Turkey. Accordingly, the USA wanted to raise the economic cooperation with Turkey to a strategic cooperation level.[158] Accordingly, the USA would provide financial support to Turkey in return for the improvement of the infrastructure of its military bases and locations related with them. Moreover, the USA would not impose customs tax on products Turkey would export to USA within the scope of GSP (Generalized System of Preferences). Tue USA would increase its industrial investments in Turkey without restriction, and as a result the business areas would expand in Turkey. These are some of the areas in which the USA would contribute to Turkey in terms of industry in return for Turkey's military support to the USA during the Iraq war.[159] The USA also announced that it would support Turkey in terms of military expenses. For Turkey did not have the capacity to bear the financial burden of this war. On the other hand, the political, military and cultural aspects of the Iraq issue were very important for Turkey. If we analyze the political and military aspects of this matter with regards to Turkey's interests in its Iraq policy, the USA was going to create a buffer zone in Northern Iraq. With this buffer zone, the Turkmen population in Northern Iraq would be considered a constitutive element in Iraq, and its rights would be guaranteed under the Iraqi constitution. It is beyond doubt that Mosul and Kirkuk have a vital political, economic, military and cultural importance. Therefore, the Peshmerga groups in Turkey and in the region would not launch a military operation to Mosul and Kirkuk, and these two important cities would be controlled by the national Iraqi army.[160]Accordingly, Turkey started to discuss the memorandum about sending soldiers to Iraq in order to evaluate the political, economic, military and cultural advantages during and after this war. However, the

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[157] Ibid,pp.106

[158] BÖLÜKBAŞI, Deniz,2008, *1 Mart VakasıIrakTezkeresiveSonrası, (1 March Incident, Iraq Memorandum and Its Aftermath)*DoğanKitap, pp.70

[159] Ibid, pp.71

[160] HALE, William,2007,*Turkey, The US and Iraq,*London Middle East InstituteatSoas, pp.110

USA wanted to launch this war by using the military bases in Turkey. This way, it would increase its political, economic and military advantages in this war and would finish the war with minimum losses. It can be seen that if Turkey had helped the USA in this war, it would have been able to fight the PKK located in Iraq, and it would not have experienced any economic problems during the war thanks to the USA's financial support, and the economic investments the USA would have made in Turkey. In addition, Turkey would have been more active when decisions were being made about the future of Iraq.[161] Since KDP and PUK were concerned that the establishment of a Kurdish State in Northern Iraq would be jeopardized, they did not want Turkey to launch a military intervention in Northern Iraq. Therefore, this matter led to the emergence of a great problem between Turkey and these two groups.[162] The second problem was that the USA brought the military equipment it would use during a military intervention into Iraq to Turkey via a ship which belonged to Greek Cypriot State. This caused certain discussions between the USA and Turkey. However, the USA did not back down from its position regarding this matter. For CENTCOM (United States Central Command) believed that it would be more advantageous to cooperate with Kurdish Groups in Iraq than to collaborate with Turkey. Therefore, the Kurds in Northern Iraq "replaced" Turkey in this war. In other words, the USA would provide political, economic and military support to PUK and KDP in Northern Iraq during the Iraq war.[163]

The memorandum submitted for deploying soldiers to Iraq was voted on 1 March 2003 at the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The purpose of the memorandum was to authorize the government about sending soldiers to Iraq. There were some MPs in AKP and opposition parties who opposed to the Iraq memorandum. As a result, the memorandum was rejected at the voting held at Turkish Grand National Assembly on 1 March 2003 with 230 No votes against 264 Yes Votes.[164] The opposition rejected this memorandum because it believed that Turkey would suffer political, economic and military losses from the sectarian conflicts that would break out in Iraq after Turkey invaded the region after a military operation is launched to Iraq. It is a well-known fact that Iraq is a country where

[161]BÖLÜKBAŞI, Deniz,op.cit p.72
[162] HALE, William, *2007,*Turkey, The US and Iraq,London Middle East InstituteatSoas, p.109
[163]YETKİN, Murat, op.cit,pp.160-161
[164] HALE, William, *2007,*Turkey, The US and Iraq,London Middle East Instituteat Soas,pp.113

different ethnic and religious groups live together.[165] However, the rejection of the March 1st memorandum showed that the political, economic and military relations between the USA and Turkey could also be damaged. In other words, Turkey believed that a new economic crisis could erupt. Therefore Turkey decided to compensate this economic loss by raising certain taxes.[166]

During the Iran-Iraq war that occurred between 1982 and 1987, the USA provided economic and military support to Iraq. However after the Gulf War, the USA started to see Saddam Hussein and Baath government as a threat.[167] The UN inspectors and the Baathist Regime started to reach an understanding starting from February 2003. As a result, the Baathist Regime led by Saddam Hussein started to destroy the missiles it possessed in this period. The USA wanted to legitimize its military intervention in Iraq through a resolution to be issued by the UN Security Council. In other words, the USA wanted to gain the support of the international community during such an intervention. Although the USA had the decision issued on March 17th, it failed to reach the number of votes required for supporting its intervention. When its interests in Iraq started to be jeopardized, France, which had investments in Iraq, requested that the issue be resolved through diplomatic negotiations held before the UN. However, it could not achieve these results from its diplomatic initiatives.[168] The USA and Britain gave an ultimatum to Saddam Hussein and his Family to leave Iraq. When this ultimatum was rejected by Saddam Hussein, a comprehensive war was launched against this country by the coalition forces which consisted of USA and Britain on 19 March 2003. These forces attacked Iraq from the air and on land. The USA army met unexpected resistance in cities like Najaf and Basra. Nevertheless, when Baghdad fell in April 2003, the coalition powers led by the USA won this war.[169] When USA captured Baghdad on 9 April 2003, the Baathist Regime was overthrown.[170] However, since Turkey did not support the USA

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[165] BAYKAL, Deniz, TarafsızBölge, *CNN Türk,06.07.2015 tarihliyayını*
[166]YETKİN, Murat,op.cit, pp.181
[167] POLK,R, William, 2005, Understandig Iraq, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, *pp.140*
[168]KELLY.C.Robert, COLEMAN, YOYNGBLOOD, Denise, M.A. Azevedo, Ann, Marry, KUMAR, Alex, SURNSON, Marie, Ann, ROSE, CESAR, ROSE, TORRES, John, *Iraq 2015 Country Review*, 1 Temmuz 2015, Contry Watch/Watch, Inc.Houston, Texas,pp.23
[169]Ibid,p.24

[170] SÖNMEZOĞLU, Faruk,op.cit, p.127

in this war, the political relations between these countries were harmed.[171] Abdullah Gül was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey between 14 March 2003 and 28 August 2007.[172] The new political administration that would be formed in Iraq after the war was very important in terms of Turkey's Policy on Iraq. For Turkey did not know what kind of political, economic and military relations it would build with this new structure. Therefore, Turkey had some concerns regarding this matter. Turkey was worried that PKK would grow stronger as a result of the vacuum of authority created in the region after the war and could organize terrorist attacks to military and civilian targets in Turkey, just as it did in the 90s. The Kurdish groups which increased their political, military and economic power after the Iraq war attacked to Tal Afar city in September 2004, where Turkmen were densely populated.[173] There was a Turkmen population which was Shiite and Sunni (40% and 60% respectively). It must be emphasized that Turkey has political and cultural bonds with the Turkmen living in Northern Iraq. Therefore, this event concerned Turkey in relation to the Turkmen living in Northern Iraq, and its national interests in this region. Turkey brought this matter up for reassessment in January 2005.[174] Meanwhile, the stages of political transition in Iraq were determined via the UN Security Council's Resolution No. 1546, and the Provisional Constitution of Iraq. On 15 December 2005, general elections were held in Iraq. The distribution of MPs according to their parties was as follows: Shiite Block, 128; Kurdish Alliance, 53; Sunni Arab Tawafukfront, 44; Allawi List, which had a secular line, 25; Sunni-Arab Dialogue Front, 11; Kurdistan Islam Union, 5. The remaining 9 MPs were from other political parties. This constitution was accepted on 15 October 2005 in Iraq. Following the acceptance of the constitution, it became certain that Iraq's administration would have a federal structure. The most important issue for Turkish foreign policy was the official recognition of the Kurdistan Regional Government after the acceptance of the Iraq constitution. As a result, Kurdish was accepted as an official language besides Arabic in Iraq. Another consequence was that the Turkmen living in Iraq won some limited cultural rights, and a minority status. This situation made Turkey uncomfortable

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[171] ALTUNIŞIK, BENLİ, Meliha,2013, The Middle East Turkey-USA Relations: Managing the Alliance, Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, p.166

[172]Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/ disisleri-bakanlari-listesi.tr.mfa*Date of Access: 19.8.2015*

[173]HALE, William,2007,*Turkey,* The US and Iraq,London Middle East InstituteatSoas , pp.138

[174]Ibid,p.139

about Iraq. For Turkey believed that, following the granting of a political and cultural minority status to the Turkmen living in that region, Turkey's political influence in this region would be diminished.[175] Starting from 2006, KDP leader Masud Barzani started to cooperate with PKK since its interests have shifted, which was to the detriment of Turkey's national interests. This resulted in the aggravation of the security problem at Turkey's borders. 1990s, Masud Barzani and Jalal Talabani cooperated with Turkey from a military perspective against PKK. This collaboration served many purposes aimed at Turkey's interests in Northern Iraq. The PKK and KDP alliance region wanted the establishment of an independent Kurdish State in Northern Iraq and to eliminate the possibility of Turkey to interfere with this state on a political, economic and military level. Second, they wanted to make Kirkuk a Kurdish state from a political, economic, military and cultural standpoint, and to govern all units from this city.[176] Third, in line with PKK's political objectives, to perform terrorist attacks in Turkey, to gain political concessions, and to gradually establish the Greater Kurdistan. KDP and PKK declared Turkey as a common enemy and united to achieve their common objectives.[177] This opened the path for Turkey to pursue different strategies to ensure its national security in the region. Since the Turkmen in Northern Iraq was considered a primary element of this country, it was going to be governed by the Kurds according to the Iraq constitution. In 2007, the Kurds achieved the political superiority required for adding Mosul to their regions. As a matter of fact, the Kurds obtained political privileges in many areas. The Kurds' greatest objective regarding Iraq was to control Mosul and Kirkuk from political, economic, and military aspects and to ensure that the state they would establish in the future would be strong in political, economic and military aspects. These two cities had very rich political backgrounds, rich oil reserves, and a very important geopolitical and geostrategic position.[178] However, this situation conflicted with Turkey's political, economic and military interests in that period. PKK could grow stronger in the Kurdish state which would be established in the region and it could organize attacks to Turkey.[179]

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[175] BÖLÜKBAŞI, Deniz,2008, *1 Mart VakasıIrakTezkeresiveSonrası, (1 March Incident, Iraq Memorandum and Its Aftermath)* DoğanKitap, p.164
[176] Ibid,p.168
[177] Ibid,p.169
[178] Ibid,p.166
[179]Ibid, p.167

Following the occupation of Iraq, Turkey emphasized once more that certain issues in the region had to be taken into consideration. Therefore, various meetings were held with the representatives of the USA, UK, France, China, Russia, Japan and Germany, in addition to the neighbor countries starting from May 2007. Turkey continued to hold meetings with countries who shared borders with Iraq. The neighbor countries agreed on five topics on Iraq. These were: Iraq's territorial integrity must be preserved; Iraqi people must benefit from Iraq's national resources equitably; occupation forces must withdraw from Iraq; the terrorist groups active in Iraq which pose a threat for neighbor countries must be neutralized immediately; the central authority in the country must be strengthened; political and economic development process must be supported again. As it can be seen, the countries in the region also wanted to take steps to prevent the adverse consequences resulting from the lack of authority that emerged in Iraq after the war. For they thought that any commotion in the region would cause political, economic and military damage to their country. Turkey had the greatest concerns regarding this matter.[180] For after the Iraq war, PKK increased its power in the region and launched terrorist attacks at military and civilian targets in Turkey. The number of casualties increased as a result of these attacks.[181] It is obvious that Turkey faced great problems in relation to its internal security after PKK resumed its attacks after it increased its power in Northern Iraq. Therefore, it is known that Turkey's domestic problem had repercussions in its foreign policy. Moreover, Turkey, just like the Iraq's central government located in Baghdad, supported Iraq's territorial integrity.[182]

Conclusion

The economic crisis that broke out in Turkey in 2001 led to political crises. The coalition government formed by DSP, MHP and ANAP took a heavy blow as a result of these economic and political crises. Bülent Ecevit, who was the prime minister in this coalition government, had to leave office on 4 May 2002 because of his illness. AKP (Justice and Development Party) was founded by RecepTayyipErdoğan and his friends who were close to him on 14 August 2001.

[180] ORAN, Baskın, op.cit, p.406

[181] Wehrey Frederic, Kaye Dasse Dalia, Watkins Jessica, Martini Jeffrey, Guffey Robert A,2010, *The Iraq Effect: The Middle East After the Iraq War, Rand, USA Air Force,*pp. 43

[182] ÖNİŞ, Ziya, DOÇ.DR. Yılmaz Şuhnaz,2013, Turkey-USA Relations in an Age of Regional and Global Turmoil: Challenges and Prospects, Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, p.126

After the coalition government fell, it was announced to Turkish public via press that an early election would be held on 3 November 2002. In this periodwhen the 57th coalition government was at the office, the economic relationships between Turkey and Iraq were seriously harmed because of the UN sanctions. Therefore, Turkey tried to invigorate the economic relations with Iraq. Moreover, during the 57th government, the USA was planning to declare war on Afghanistan and Iraq because of the terrorist attacks carried out by Al Qaeda on the Twin Towers. Turkey made effort to prevent the Iraq war before the UN. For, Turkey believed that PKK, which has lost its power in Turkey and Northern Iraq, would find ample opportunity to increase its power and reorganize because of the vacuum of authority which would be created in Iraq after the war. This vacuum of authority would lead to a threat against the Turkmen population living in Northern Iraq. This situation was one of the most sensitive issues in Turkish foreign policy. After AKP won the general elections held on 3 November 2002, the direction of Turkish Foreign Policy changed. Being a conservative political party, AKP turned its face towards the Middle East countries in its foreign affairs. In other words, after AKP came to power, Turkey started to become closer with Middle East countries in terms of politics, economy, military and culture. However, the AKP government decided to support the USA in the Iraq war. In return, the USA declared that it would provide certain economic aids to Turkey and allow Turkey to organize attacks on the PKK elements located in Northern Iraq. Turkey believed that it could not prevent the Iraq war. In their statements, AKP Ministers expressed that they had political, economic and military concerns similar to those held by the previous coalition government. AKP demanded from the USA that the weapons and other ammunitions given to the Peshmerga elements in the regions be restricted and that they be recorded only to be retrieved after the war. In other word, AKP government did not trust the Peshmerga elements in this region. The USA, on the other hand, did not have a positive attitude regarding this matter during the negotiations held. For the USA believed that it had to have another ally in the region in addition to Turkey. The AKP government did not regard the economic and military support to be provided in return for allowing the USA to use the İncirlik Military Base located in Adana during the Iraq war sufficient. As a result, Turkey and the USA could not reach an understanding on some matters whereas they did on others. Therefore, the 1 March Memorandum was voted at the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 1 March 2003. The opposition parties rejected this

memorandum asserting that Turkey would find itself amidst sect wars that would erupt in Iraq in the future. The memorandum was rejected at the Grand National Assembly. As a result, Turkey did not take part in the Iraq war. After the USA won the Iraq war, the Baathist Regime (Arab Socialist Renaissance Party) led by Saddam Hussein fell. The Coalition Forces entered Iraq. Turkey observed the developments in the Iraq policy. Iraq's neighbor countries organized conferences about the future of Iraq, and in these conferences, Turkey stated that it defended the territorial integrity of Iraq. In these meetings, it was stated that the greatest problem that would arise because of the vacuum of authority to be created after the Iraq war was terror. Turkey repeatedly stated that this was very important both for itself and the other countries. Turkey believed that only a new Iraq constitution to be drafted in the future would enable different ethnic and religious groups to live together in Iraq together. This means that Turkey wanted to play an active role in the state to be created in Iraq in order to protect its political, economic and military interests in Iraq. In this period, Turkey based its foreign policy about Iraq on security concerns. It wanted to protect the political rights of the Turkmen population living in Northern Iraq on one side, and it organized military operations against the PKK elements that increased their terrorist attacks on Turkey because of a lack of a central government in Northern Iraq. It must be emphasized that, the KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Party) which acted together with Turkey against PKK changed its position and started to support PKK. PKK carried out many terrorist attacks on military and civilian targets in Turkey starting from 2003. After this period, the Kurds living in Northern Iraq reached the population majority which was necessary for including Mosul in Northern Iraq. Therefore, the Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government increased the political, military and cultural pressure on the Turkmen population living in Northern Iraq in line with its interests. As a result, the Kurds started to fight against the Turkmen groups living in the region. The recognition of the Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government in the Iraqi Constitution enabled the Kurds to have more economic, military and cultural power. As a result, Turkey encountered certain problems in its Iraq policy. Since Turkey was border neighbors with Iraq, it is directly affected by any adverse political, economic, military or cultural event occurring in Iraq. PKK grew stronger in this reason, which is the main reason why Turkey moved its relations with Iraq from an economic dimension to a security

dimension. However, Turkey's importation of oil from Iraq demonstrates that the economic dimension is still very important in Turkey's relationship with Iraq.

CHAPTER 4

AHMET DAVUTOĞLU AND THE TRANSFORMATION

In this section of the thesis, I will try to answer the questions why and in which direction the Turkey's Iraqpolicy changed after Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs. After AKP came to power in Turkey, it endeavored to rectify the situation which arose as a result of the sanctions imposed by the UN to Iraq, and which led to negative consequences in the trade relations between Turkey and Iraq. After Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Foreign Minister, he wanted to establish strong political, economic and strategic relationships with all Middle East countries. During this period, Ahmet Davutoğlu based his actions on the concept of "Strategic Depth". In this section of this thesis I will try to answer the question of how and in which direction this concept and the policy of zero problems with the neighbor countries were applied to Turkey's Iraq policy. After Ahmet Davutoğlu was appointed the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a great transformation took place in Turkey-Iraq relations. Mr. Davutoğlu wanted to apply the foreign policy strategies he addressed in his book entitled "Strategic Depth" to Turkey's political, economic, military and cultural relations with all Middle East countries, particularly those with Iraq, in order to improve them. In this period, the purpose was to make Turkey a country which played an active role in the resolution of the problems in Iraq.Ali Babacan was the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Turkey from 29 August 2007 to 2 May 2009. He handed over this duty to Ahmet Davutoğlu on 2 May 2009.[183]

It must be underlined that after AKP came to power, Turkey's foreign policy philosophy changed. The coalition governments preceding AKP established good relations with western countries. In other words, these governments put the political, economic and strategic relations to be established with Middle East countries in the background. Accordingly, during his Foreign Ministry, Ahmet Davutoğlu gave the Turkish Foreign Policy a new dimension by approaching it with a different perspective. In other words, Ahmet Davutoğlu formed a multi-dimensional foreign policy when he took office. Emphasizing the "strategic depth" concept, Ahmet Davutoğlu stated that Turkey had to establish strong political, economic, cultural and strategic partnerships with the countries in the close continental basins by taking advantage of its geopolitical and geostrategic position. It is evident that, in the "Zero

[183] ORAN, Baskın, op.cit, p. 13

Problems with Neighbors" policy, the concept of "strategic depth" is attached great importance during the Foreign Ministry of Ahmet Davutoğlu.[184]

The main objective of the "Zero Problems with Neighbors" policy is to eliminate the problems Turkey experiences with its neighbors and to integrate it to the countries in the region. This policy would maximize the political, economic and strategic cooperation with the region countries. As a result, Turkey's foreign policy would be transformed.[185] Turkey would increase its economic relations with all regional countries, especially with Iraq.[186] Additionally, cultural cooperation would be launched between the Turkish people and the peoples of the region countries. Arab spring was supported by Turkey. These civil rebellions started in Tunisia in 2010, and spread in the entire Arabian Peninsula against the authoritarian regimes. In time, it spread to the entire Arabian geography. The peoples living in the region fought legitimate fights to have democratic governments. Turkey demonstrated that it supported the civil commotions in the region through the statements made by RecepTayyipErdoğan, then-president of Turkey, and Ahmet Davutoğlu, then-Minister of Foreign Affairs. Because Turkey believed that stability in the region could be achieved only through the establishment of democratic methods in the region. Turkeys stated that it supported the people who were engaged in the civil rebellions that started in Tunisia in 2010, and that spread around the entire Arabian Peninsula in no time. Turkey believed that these rebellions were Arabian peoples' freedom struggles which were given against the dictatorships that existed in the Arabian Peninsula for a long time. It must be emphasized that Ahmet Davutoğlu's foreign policy is based on six fundamental principles. These principles are as follows: "Balance between security and democracy; Zero Problems with Neighbors; multi-dimensional foreign policy; proactive regional policy; a brand-new diplomatic style; rhythmic diplomacy."[187] As it can be seen, the important strategy which Ahmet Davutoğlu wanted to apply during the transformation of Turkish foreign policy aimed to minimize the problems Turkey had with its neighbors in the past, and to create a political environment which is necessary for applying a multi-dimensional

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[184]ORAN, Baskın, op.cit p.404

[185] ALTUNIŞIK, BENLİ, Meliha, 2013, The Middle East Turkey-USA Relations: Managing the Alliance, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies,* pp.166

[186] ÖZKAN, Behlül (2014*) Turkey, Davutoglu and the Idea of Pan-Islamism,* Survival, 56:4, pp.119-140, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2014.941570, pp.132, Date of Access:27.02.2016

[187]*http://www.mfa.gov.tr/yeni-donemde-sifir-sorun-politikasi.tr.mfa Date of Access : 16.09.2014*

foreign policy. Thus, Turkey would realize its plan of building political, economic and strategic partnerships with its neighbors in its foreign policy.[188]

These civil commotions which were labeled "Arab Spring" spread to Syria, Egypt, Bahrain and Libya in 2011. People living in those countries revolted so as to take their political and economic freedom back from dictatorial political governments. Therefore, the political governments in those countries were overthrown. There was a NATO intervention only in Libya. Turkey supported the peoples who revolted against political governments. In other words, Turkey adopted a political attitude which was same as the Western Alliance.[189] However, the Bashar Assad government could not be overthrown during these insurgencies. Due to the vacuum of authority created by these revolts, PYD, which is PKK's branch in Syria, increased its power by cooperating with PKK in Northern Iraq.[190] One of the reasons why these public revolts were supported by Turkey was the "Pan-Islamist" ideology held by Ahmet Davutoğlu. Groups which were sympathetic to these ideas had started these insurgencies. During his Foreign Ministry, Ahmet Davutoğlu believed that Turkey could become a leader in the Middle East by playing an active role and cooperating with the new government that took office in these countries. This was the greatest reason why these governments were supported by Turkey through oral statements. As I stated above, PKK increased its power because of the vacuum of authority created in Iraq and Syria. This situation led to certain problems with regards to Turkey's domestic and foreign security.[191]

When Ahmet Davutoğlu explained the concept of geopolitics that would lead to a transformation in foreign policy, he stated that Iraq was a hub in the heart of Eurasia. In terms of land basin, Iraq was to the west of Asia, to the north of Africa and to the east of Europe; it was also to the south and east of Mediterranean and to the south of Black Sea and Caspian Sea, which determine this countries sea borders. Red Sea and BASRA, which are very important, are located in the Middle East, where Iraq is also located. Therefore, Iraq is very important in terms of an opening to be made towards the Afro-Eurasia landmass. The opening from the Eurasia towards

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[188]ORAN, Baskın, op.cit, p.405

[189] ÖZKAN, Behlül (2014*) Turkey, Davutoglu and the Idea of Pan-Islamism,* Survival, 56:4, 119-140, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2014.941570, p.136 Date of Access:27.02.2016

[190] ALTUNIŞIK, BENLİ, Meliha, 2013, The Middle East Turkey-USA Relations: Managing the Alliance, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies,*pp.169

[191] ÖZKAN, Behlül (2014*) Turkey, Davutoglu and the Idea of Pan-Islamism,* Survival, 56:4, 119-140, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2014.941570, pp.131, Date of Access:27.02.2016

the south and east of Asia takes it farther than the center of the Afro-Eurasia. The opening directed towards Europe ends in the Atlantic Ocean. Conversely, any strategic movement from the center of Eurasia towards Europe would enable all openings from the center of the Afro-Eurasia towards it periphery.[192] However, as a result of the Gulf War in Iraq, a variable geopolitical structure emerged in Iraq. Therefore, as Turkey's geopolitical interaction with this country increased, it became necessary for it to make better plans regarding Iraq.[193] Moreover, history and geocultural factors play an important part in directing Turkey's foreign policy. Iraq is separated from other countries because of the geocultural features brought about by its long history. As it was underlined in the near land basin analysis, the religious and intellectual events which played an important role in shaping the history of humanity occurred in this country, which increases the importance of this regions historical variables and the geocultural factor.[194] In other words, there are numerous cultural, ethnic and religious groups living together in Iraq.[195] Iraq is a heritage of the Ottoman Empire to Turkey. Therefore, in order to protect this cultural heritage, Turkey needs to endeavor towards the establishment of a government in this country that is equitable and peaceful. To this end, Turkey needs to apply an active attitude in this country, just like the other global powers, and adopt a broader political paradigm.[196] It is also stated that the geo-economic factor plays an important role in Turkish-Iraqi relations. Iraq is located at the intersection of trade routes, and it also has important agricultural resources. This important factor in Iraq has been forgotten for many years because of the desert climate in Iraq. The country was evaluated by the Western countries based on the oil reserves it possessed. Because of the 1974 Cyprus intervention, Turkey increased its trade with Iraq in order to purchase more oil. However, this situation came to an end when the Gulf War started in 1990. In addition, the water problem allowed Turkey to form alliances in the region, and it will increase cooperation among all countries, particularly with Iraq.[197] Therefore, Mosul and Basra oil regions and the GAP (South East Anatolia Project) led to a new dependency among the countries in the region from the oil-water-oil equation.

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[192] DAVUTOĞLU, Ahmet, 2001, *StratejikDerinlikTürkiye'ninUluslararasıKonumu*, (Strategic Depth, Turkey's International Position), KüreYayınları, pp.324-325
[193] Ibid, pp.327
[194]Ibid,pp.327
[195] Ibid, pp.328
[196] Ibid,pp.331
[197]Ibid, pp.333-334

Turkey needs oil resources whereas Iraq need water resources in order to continue its agricultural activities.[198] As a result, the political, economic and strategic cooperation between Turkey and Iraq became very important. It must be underlined that Turkey has great political and economic influence with regards to Iraq. Turkey and the USA have considerable interests in Iraq. The status of the Turkmen is very important for Turkey. The USA needed Turkey in order to carry out the transformation in Iraq smoothly after the occupation. In other words, the USA supported Turkey within the scope of BOP (Greater Middle East Initiative) so that Turkey would support the democratic transformation in the region. Turkey assisted Iraq in preparing its constitution. In 2009, the USA and Sunni insurgents came together through Turkey's intermediation. That year and in the subsequent years, many high level diplomatic visits were made between Turkey and Iraq. This demonstrates that Turkey was not indifferent to the political developments occurring in Iraq.[199] Turkey emphasized that it desired to see Iraq as a stable country which had a territorial integrity, which integrated with the international community, which could maintain domestic security, and which got rid of the terrorist organizations that threatened Turkey. Turkey's being a border neighbor of Iraq makes Iraq very important for Turkey in terms of geopolitics and geostrategy.[200] Turkey needs to have a political stance which brings the parties together in the resolution of the political and social commotion arising in Iraq instead of separating them. Moreover, it is stated that, in order to be successful in the foreign policy Turkey applied in Iraq, it is necessary to create a structure which surrounds Iraq in terms of geoculture and geoeconomics, which is reliable, and which will carry out the organization of the diplomatic and military plans, which is not rigid, and which analyses the country's influence in global politics, and which is forward-looking, and which is categorized

Based on this understanding,

(I) The elimination of the psychological handicaps which have a negative effect on the diplomatic innovations applied towards the country; (II) Establishment of important professional centers which actually investigate the events in Iraq and

[198] Ibid, pp.400

[199] ORAN, Baskın, opcit, p.*406*

[200] Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *http://www.mfa.gov.tr/komsularla-sifir-sorun-politikamiz.tr.mfa* *Date of Access: 16.09.2014*

which assess them with a wide paradigm, and increasing their activities; (III) Forming a strong connection between global harmony and regional real-politics; (IV) Preparation of plans that compass the country in its entirety; (V) Supporting the activities which will create common areas of interest that will reinforce the peace in the country as a leader country; (VI) Elimination of counter nationalist formations which create geopolitical and geocultural danger fields in the peace of the country; (VII) Mutual relationships will be increased and previous conflicts will be ended; (VIII) Implementation of a foreign policy philosophy which is active in the establishment of peace in all Middle East countries, particularly in Iraq, which is effective, and which can make difficult decisions; (IX) Increasing the lateral relationships and communication which would improve Turkey's prestige in Iraq. Implementation of a strong Iraq policy by Turkey can be achieved by not seeing Iraq as a problematic country and adopting a new diplomatic point of view to it.[201] Therefore, many high level diplomatic visits were made to Iraq during Ahmet Davutoğlu's office. One of the most important of these visits was made by Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu in January 2011, and another one was made by then Prime Minister RecepTayyipErdoğan in March 2011. The political groups in Iraq needed Turkey for the political and economic restructuring of Iraq after the USA's Iraq war. It is evident that Turkey has coasts with the Mediterranean and Europe. Therefore, Turkey would allow the Iraqi economy to access to the Mediterranean and Europe. By using the advantages offered by its geographical position, Turkey would have a great influence on Iraq's economic development. Therefore AKP government and the Arabs established close political, economic, military and cultural relations.[202] Concurrently, Iraqi Shiite Arab, Sunni Arab and Kurdish politicians visited Ankara. This situation was the greatest indicator that the Iraqi politicians wanted to maintain their relations with Ankara. Turkey and Iraq are dependent upon each other from a political, economic and strategic standpoint. Turkey needs to import oil from the Northern Iraq government. Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government needs to export oil to Turkey and to other countries over Turkey. As a result, the developing economic relations between these countries increased the political relations as well. Turkey increased the volume of trade with Iraq between 2003 and 2011. Turkish

[201] DAVUTOĞLU, Ahmet, op.cit, pp.452-453
[202] ORAN, Baskın, op.cit, p.412

businessmen played an important role in the rebuilding of Iraq. Many construction companies carried out economic activities in Northern Iraq

Trade Volume between Turkey and Iraq,

2003-2011 (million$)

Source: ORAN, Baskın, 2013, *TürkDışPolitikası, 2001-2012*, (Turkish Foreign Policy, 2001-2012), İletişimYayınları, *p.408*

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Export	829	1.821	2.750	2.589	2.845	3.917	5.126	6.043	8.314
Import	113	468	459	376	645	1.321	952	1.355	2.505
Total	942	2.289	3.209	2.965	3.490	5.238	6.078	7.398	10.819

It is evident that after AKP (Justice and Development Party) took office in 2003, the trade relations between Turkey and Iraq increased visible in comparison to the previous year.The increase in the trade relations between these countries was partly caused by AKP's attaching more importance to trade with Middle East countries since it was a conservative party, and partly by Ahmet Davutoğlu's adoption of a multi-dimensional foreign policy and insistence on building active political, economic and strategic partnerships with these countries after he became the Minister of Foreign Affairs on 2 May 2009. Although during the foreign ministry of Abdullah Gül and Ali Babacan, the political and economic dimension of the Turkey-Iraq relations were emphasized, it is obvious that the number of diplomatic visits made by Turkish diplomats to Iraq is very low.[203] During his foreign ministry, Ali Babacan made a diplomatic visit to Baghdad with then Prime Minister RecepTayyipErdoğan on 23 October 2007 and 10 October 2008. This shows that during Ali Babacan's foreign ministry, the AKP government brought its political and economic relations with Iraq to its lowest level.[204] After Ahmet Davutoğlu took office, the relationships between Turkey and Iraq gained a new dimension partly because of the multi-dimensional foreign policy Turkey adopted. Starting from 2009, the number of mutual diplomatic visits made by the political representatives of both countries increased considerably. It must be underlined that as a result, these political and economic developments contributed considerably to the economy of great provinces like Diyarbakır, Urfa and Gaziantep, particularly with regards to

[203] ORAN, Baskın, op.cit, p.408

[204] Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs,http://www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-bakani-sayin-ali-babacan_in-yaptigi-yurtdisi-ziyaretler-ve-katildigi-uluslar-arasi-toplantilar.tr.mfa*Date of Access:19.8.2015*

construction. For these three provinces of Turkey sold construction materials to Iraq. As a result, the export of these three provinces to Iraq increased by 80%. The businessmen operating in south eastern Anatolia got wealthier as a result of these economic activities. Turkey performed commercial activities in the construction area in Iraq which needed restructuring after the war. When Turkey performed these political and economic activities, it emphasized the fact that Iraq was a Muslim country and that this was important in terms of cultural convergence.[205]

The USA Army withdrew from Iraq in 2011.[206] As a result, a political authority vacuum was created in Iraq. Turkey wanted to increase its political clout in the new general selections held in Iraq. The Al-Iraqi group led by AyadAllawi had a secular perspective. Turkey supported this group indirectly. This group placed first in the general elections held in Iraq. However, the Al-Iraqi group failed to form a government in these elections. Similarly, Iran wanted to increase its clout in this country. As a result of the pressure applied by Iran, El Maliki was given the duty to form the government for a second time. Jalal Talabani criticized Turkey harshly. However, he issued a refutation afterwards. Accordingly, the tension between Turkey and the regional Kurdish Government ended. Starting from 2011, Turkey established political, economic and military relations with the regional Kurdish government. Although both of these sides were harmed by the PKK which increased its strength in the region, their relationship was better than before.[207]It is evident that Turkey wanted to establish good political, economic and military partnerships with the countries in the Middle East, particularly with Iraq. In parallel, Turkey emphasized its common characteristics with the countries in the Middle East and in Africa. Therefore, Turkey made investments in countries in these regions. Unlike the previous governments, Turkey increased its diplomatic relations with Iraq. Many high level visits were made to Iraq. These developments in Turkish-Iraqi relations prove that a political, economic and cultural transformation has been taking place in Turkey's Iraq policy.[208] We must underline the fact that Turkey and Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government already need each other in different areas. For, after the invasion of Iraq by the USA, PKK's and KDP's interests started to conflict. In

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[205] MARTIN, LEONE,G, 2013,*Turkey and The USA in a Biopollarizng Middle East, Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies,* p.*176*
[206]Ibid,p.*177*
[207] ORAN, Baskınop.cit, p. *412*
[208] ORAN, Baskın, op.cit, pp.*407-408*

order to establish a sustainable Kurdish State based in Northern Iraq in the future, the Kurds must obtain the support of Turkey, Iran and Syria. In other words, a Kurdish state cannot be founded unless one of these countries support. For, to establish a sustainable Kurdish state, it must have access to sea and have underground resources. However, being a border neighbor of Iraq, Turkey will have to increase its political and economic relations with the Kurds living in Northern Iraq in the future. There are other terrorist groups in Iraq which increased the intensity of their attacks.[209]

When we examine the history of ISIS (The Islamic State of Iraq and al Sham) and look for the ideological roots of this terrorist organization, we see that this group originated from the same structure as Al Qaeda, another terrorist organization, and that it later separated from this structure because of some of its features. Until 1988, there was not an organization on the world called Al-Qaeda. Starting from 1988, mobile terrorist groups emerged all around the world which did not recognize one another. These groups had favorable environments in Afghanistan, Somali and Sudan to carry out their terrorist activities. That these countries had tribal religious structures in their political, economic and social lives helped people living in those countries to have a negative, even hostile view of the Western countries more and more every day. As a result, the mobile groups which adopted the ideology of Al Qaeda managed to enlist 3000 people as their members, and to convince them to organize terrorist attacks on civilian and military targets in Iraq and other countries. They gave ideological and military training in the terrorist camps located in Iraq, Afghanistan and the North of Pakistan.[210] This terrorist group started to get organized in Iraq starting from 1999. After the Iraq war that occurred in 2003, the probability of dividing Iraq into three parts came to the forefront. It was believed that this division would take place in the form of creating Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish regions.[211] The sectarian tension between Shiite and Sunni groups leads to heavy conflicts. These conflicts cause ISIS to increase its military power in Iraq. RecepTayyipErdoğan, who was the Prime Minister in that period, accused Iraqi Prime Minister Al Maliki because of the sectarian tension that broke out in Iraq on 9 January 2012. The statements made by then Prime Minister TayyipErdoğan indicate

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[209] *29.6.2015 HABERTÜRK, AkşamRaporuProgramı (Evening Report Programme),*SANBERK, Özdem
[210] *19.10.2015,* CNN Türk*Her şeyProgramı, VizeTartışmasıProgramı(Evening Report Programme),*MilliyetGazetesiYazarı, ŞARDAN, Tolga
[211] *29.6.2015 HABERTÜRK, AkşamRaporuProgramı (Evening Report Programme),*SANBERK, Özdem

that Turkey stood closer to the Sunni block with regards to this problem[212]. That Turkey stands closer to one of the Shiite and Sunni groups in the conflicts between them in terms of politics, economy, military and culture will hurt its political and economic interests in Iraq in the future.[213] Therefore, when we examine Turkey's relations with Iraq, it is obvious that Turkey has to preserve its neutrality in the sectarian strifes taking place in Iraq.[214]

The vacuum of authority that was created after the withdrawal of the USA army from Iraq poses a great threat both for Turkey's and other country's security. In other words, many terrorist organizations, including PKK and Al-Qaeda, are increasing their strength. These terrorist organizations in Iraq constitute a great threat for Turkey's political, economic, military and cultural interests in this country. A recent development in the region has been the increase of the activities of ISIS in the region. This organization was called the Al Qaeda in Iraq in 2004. Later, this terrorist organization separated from Al-Qaeda in 2014 and called itself ISIS.[215] Its purpose was to form an Islamic Emirate in the Middle East which spread from North Africa to Iraq (a geography which included Istanbul as well).[216] The reasons why the terrorist organization flourished in this region: the wars in the region which lasted many years; that they believe those lands belong to them according to their beliefs; that they wanted to establish a regime based on their own ideology; that the other groups in the region did not share a common interest; lack of internal conflicts; the instability of the region; to gain economic strength by capturing the oil well in the region. There are some allegations in both domestic and foreign press that AKP government purchases oil from ISIS. Such allegations which arise from time to time hurt Turkey's foreign policy. As a result of these allegations, it is believed that Turkey supports this terrorist group, even if indirectly. However, none of these allegations are based on facts. Conservative columnists who support AKP in Turkey criticize ISIS because of its terrorist activities.[217] However, these authors think from multiple angles when they are expressing their views about ISIS. Stating that ISIS

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[212] ORAN, Baskın, op.cit, *pp.412-413*
[213] ÖNİŞ, Ziya, Yılmaz Şuhnaz, op.cit, p.126
[214] SANBERK, Özdem, *29.6.2015 HABERTÜRK, AkşamRaporuProgramı, (Evening Report Program)*
[215]Tony Blair Faith Foundation, What is ISIS?, 2015, December, 11, http://tonyblairfaithfoundation.org/religion-geopolitics/commentaries/backgrounder/what-isisDate of Access:2015, December, 11
[216]BBC, : 2014, September 23, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27905425, *In 60 seconds: What does Islamic State want?, Date of Access*: 2014, September 23
[217] 23.06.2014*, NTV OrtadoğuYayını (NTV channel Middle East Program)*

increased and institutionalized in the regions that it captured in Iraq by increasing its military power since it was an organization supported by great countries on purpose does not conform to rules of rational thinking. In trying to answer how ISIS was born, it is necessary to examine Iraq's sociological structure, and the reasons why authoritarian regimes flourished in Iraq in detail. Thus, it will be possible to base our claims about ISIS on scientific thoughts of the experts who have worked on this issue.[218] An examination of the administrative staff and the military structure of this organization reveals that it is an expansive Iraqi organization. It is believed that, even if ISIS is eradicated everywhere else, it cannot be expelled from Iraq, and the Anbar and Mosul cities of this country. It is also known that the number of terrorists joining this organization increases day by day. ISIS is a regional organization whereas Al-Qaeda is a territorial one. In other words, ISIS does not possess an international network just like Al-Qaeda does. Therefore, this strategy adopted by ISIS allows it to increase its strength in Iraq. ISIS is more rational than Al-Qaeda too. ISIS' leader is Abu Omar al-Baghdadi. As ISIS increases its power in Iraq, western countries started to criticize Turkey. According to these criticisms, Turkey sent weapons to ISIS militants fighting in Iraq, Turkey purchased cheap oil from ISIS, and the ISIS fighters fighting in Iraq were treated in Turkey. We must emphasize that all of these criticisms are only allegations. Turkey may not be selling weapons to ISIS, but it can treat the wounded fighters. The identities of the fighters coming from Iraq are notified to the police station. However, this practice was postponed at the borders. It was also stated that ISIS was a continuation of Al-Qaeda. The reason why ISIS became stronger was that after the invasion of Iraq by the USA, the Suunis were isolated from politics and economy by the Nouri Al-Maliki government, and that the Shiites and the Kurds increased their political and economic power. In other words, the Shiite Prime Minister of Iraq adopted policies which isolate the Sunnis. Therefore, ISIS gained the support of certain Sunni tribes in Iraq, as a result of which it became stronger.[219] The Sunnis resisted the occupation of Iraq very strongly. Therefore,since the Shiite and Kurdish tribes wanted to take a great share in the political and economic order and become effective actors in this new order in the post-war period in Iraq, they fought against the Sunnis as militia alongside the USA.

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[218]Taraf Newspaper, 2015, July 14, IŞİD Proje mi? http://www.taraf.com.tr/isid-proje-mi/, *Yüksel TAŞKIN*, Date of Access: 26.10.2015

[219] By Amitabh Pal, *Understanding Middle East An Interwiew With Prof. Juan Cole*

However, the USA withdrew from Iraq in 2011. This allowed ISIS to strengthen is tribal bonds in Iraq. ISIS has very strong institutional, military and bureaucratic foundations. It was also alleged that certain rich groups provide economic support to ISIS. Since ISIS captured the oil wells in Iraq, it has great economic resources in this country. In the same period, ISIS institutionalized among the people.ISIS has a police force, hospitals and schools, all of which offer public service. ISIS can be effective in Iraq without using any weapons.[220] Border security plays an important role in Turkey's Iraq policy. Starting from 2014, Iraq started to lose its characteristic of being a stable country. As ISIS took control of many regions in this country, it became a great threat for Turkey's domestic and foreign security, because Iraq is Turkey's border neighbor.Therefore, Turkey took important decision in August 2014 in order to fight ISIS. The reason for this attitude was that ISIS' relations with the public are very strong. In other words, ISIS has a widespread support among the Iraqi people. In addition, foreign terrorists from other countries join ISIS. This situation leads to the problem of foreign terrorists. This means that Turkey and other Western countries must not disregard this problem and fight it.

30 countries which are members of the Western alliance, which Turkey is a member, are planning to from a coalition against ISIS. The reason for this action was that this terrorist organization killed many people and that it harmed the USA's and other Western countries' political, economic and strategic interests in Iraq.[221] This proves that the problem of terrorism was greater for Turkey who was a neighbor of Iraq. Iraq became a center of radicalization where ISIS carried out its terrorist activities. At first, this situation led to ideological radicalization in Iraq. However, being Iraq's neighbor, this had negative effects on Turkey which had political, economic and military relations with Iraq. For ISIS fought Kurdish groups in Iraq and Syria. A suicide attack was organized against a crowd in Suruç which had declared that it would take aid supplies to Ayn al-Arab by ISIS. This attack is the greatest indicator of adverse effect of this situation on Turkey. That these suicide bombings of ISIS were directed towards Turkey leads to very important security problems for Turkey. Although Turkey is a Muslim country, its administration is secular and democratic, which is the greatest reason why ISIS put it on the target.

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[220] *19.10.2015,* CNN Türk*Her şeyProgramı ("Herşey" Program), VizeTartışmasıProgramı (Visa Discussion Program),*SAMER Analisti EBRARİ, Muhammed, Cihad

[221] En son Haber, *CNN News, 2014, Sept.13,* Date of Access: 2014, Sept.13

According to the radical ideology of ISIS, there are "Good Muslims" and "Bad Muslims". The good Muslims are those that embrace ISIS' radical ideology whereas bad Muslims are those who reject it and continue to live in a secular and democratic political system. According to ISIS' ideology, those who die in the suicide bombings organized against "bad Muslims" and their supporters will go to Heaven. As a result, Turkey, who is an ally of the USA and the West which have embraced democratic thinking, has become the target of the attacks of the members of ISIS.[222] Therefore, the spokesperson for the AKP government stated that Turkey would set up a security system at its borders. It is evident that Turkey has the same perspective against ISIS as the Western countries.[223]

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs Under secretariat Feridun Sinirlioğlu held a meeting with Masud Barzani, the leader of KDP and the president of Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government on 30 July 2015. This meeting took place after Turkish Armed Forces organized air attacks on the ISIS and PKK targets located in Northern Iraq. FeridunSinirlioğlu stated that Turkey would support the coalition to be formed against ISIS. MasudBarzani stated FeridunSinirlioğlu that he was happy since Turkey opened its air space to the coalition forces and took part in the operations against ISIS.[224]

However, 14 workers, 3 engineers and 1 accountant, all of whom were working for Nurol Construction in the construction of a sports complex which was underway in the Sadr city of Iraq, were kidnapped by a masked and armed terrorist group while they were sleeping in a caravan on 2 September 2015. This incident was announced to the press by the Republic of Turkey Foreign Ministry spokesperson TanjuBilgiç. However, in his statement, Deputy Prime Minister NumanKurtulmuş said that Turkey had no information as to how the event took place and by whom it was performed. He also stated that Turkey's communication with the Iraqi authorities continued regarding that matter.[225]

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[222] 22.07.2015, NTV, GeceBülteni, (Night Bulletin), ÖZCAN, Nihat, Ali

[223] 22.07.2015, NTV, GeceBülteni, (Night Bulletin),ARINÇ, Bülent

[224]Hurriyet daily news , *2015, Aug 4, ,Senior Turkish Diplomat meets Barzani after army strikes in North Iraq,* http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/senior-turkish-diplomat-meets-barzani-after-army-strikes-in-north-iraq--.aspx?pageID=238&nID=86133&NewsCatID=510, Date of Access: 2015, August, 4

[225] USA Today, 2015, Sept 2, *Masked men kidnap 18 Turkish workers in Baghdad,*http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2015/09/02/18-turkish-workers-kidnapped/71561560/, Date of Access: 2015, Sept 2

18 Turkish workers were kidnapped by a Shiite terrorist group who called themselves the "Death Squad". In a video that was released on 11 September 2015, the group stated that RecepTayyipErdoğan, the president of the Republic of Turkey, and the AKP government had to meet certain demands in order for them to release the Turkish workers.[226] They asked the AKP government to stop giving safe passage to the Isis terrorists from Turkey to cross into Iraq. They also asked that the Kurds and the Turks to stop the flow of oil from Iraq's autonomous Kurdistan region. Finally, it demanded that the siege of the Shiite regions in Syria be lifted and that an agreement be made with the Shiite militia. This Shiite group which called itself the "Death Squad" stated that in case these demands were not met by Turkey, they would destroy the Turkish investments and other interests in Iraq.[227] The operation organized by the Iraqi army to save the Turkish workers from the Shiite terrorists failed.[228] The terrorists who kidnapped 18 Turkish workers released 2 Turkish workers in Basra on 17 September 2015.[229] Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu announced from his official Twitter account that the other 16 Turkish workers that had been kidnapped by the "Death Squad" were released.[230] Therefore, Turkey's Ambassador to Baghdad Faruk Kaymakçı received the Turkish workers on the Karbala road where they were released. Afterwards, the Turkish authorities contacted FarukKaymakçı. It must be underlined that Syria played a key role during the negotiations held for the release of Turkish workers.[231] As a result, a delegation consisting of Deputy Prime Minister Tuğrul Türkeş, Minister of Health Mehmet Müezzinoğlu, Minister of Economy Nihat Zeybekçi and Secretary General of the President Fahri Kasırga took the Turkish workers from Baghdad and brought them to

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[226]International Business Times, 2015, September 16,*Baghdad: Shia militia 'Death Squad' releases 2 kidnapped Turkish workers near Basra,*http://www.ibtimes.co.in/baghdad-shia-militia-death-squad-releases-two-kidnapped-turkish-workers-near-basra-646874, Date of Access: 2015, October 1

[227]Aljazeera, 2015, October 1,*Turkish hostages freed in Iraq return home*,http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/09/release-announced-turkish-workers-seized-iraq-150930071758854.html, Date of Access: 2015, October 1

[228] Aljazeera, 2015, September 8, *Iraqi deputy justice minister abducted by masked men*,http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/9/8/iraqi-deputy-justice-minister-said-to-have-been-abducted.html, Date of Access: 2015, October 1

[229]Milliyet, 2015, September 17,*Irak'takaçırılan 2 Türkişçiserbestbırakıldı*, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/irak-ta-kacirilan-2-turk-isci/dunya/detay/2118706/default.htm, Date of Access: 2015, October 1

[230] BBC, 2015, September 30, *Kidnapped Turkish construction workers freed in Iraq,*http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-34398902,Date of Access: 2015, October 1

[231]Aljazeera, 2015, September 30*, Turkish hostages freed in Iraq return* home,http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/09/release-announced-turkish-workers-seized-iraq-150930071758854.html, Date of Access: 2015, October 1

Turkey.[232] It is obvious that the Shia groups in Iraq consider Turkey a great threat for their own interests. The allegations that Turkey supports ISIS cause Turkey to encounter political, economic and military difficulties in its foreign policy concerning Iraq. The "Death Squad" also alleged in the video it released that Turkey supported ISIS. ISIS is a terrorist organization which has Sunni origins and which does not recognize other belief systems. In fact, it wants so destroy them. Therefore, the Shiites, who constitute a different sect, are subjected to ISIS' attacks in Iraq.[233] Another matter the Shiite criticized Turkey was that Kurds, who were taking a great share of the oil extracted in Iraq, were gaining tremendous economic power. This oil is exported both to Turkey and to other countries over Turkey. The Shiite groups accuse Turkey of cooperating with the Kurds in economic terms, who are their enemies in Iraq. Another problem which shapes Turkey's Iraq policy is that ISIS wants to destroy the Turkmen existence in Iraq. Therefore, the UN warned all countries, primarily Turkey, that the Turkmen population living in theAmerli town in Northern Iraq faced a grave threat of being massacred.[234] For ISIS had slaughtered about 700 Turkmen, among which were women and children, in Northern Iraq. It became obvious that the UN was right about that warning. Occurrence of such an incident in Northern Iraq caused great concern in Turkey's Iraq policy.[235]

Meanwhile, HDP was upset by a memorandum which was brought before the Grand National Assembly to regulate military operations to be organized against Iraq. HDP announced that it would vote no on that memorandum[236]. The HDP Ministers which were in the temporary government stated that they would adopt the

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[232] T 24 haber, 2015, July 30 , *Irak'taserbestbırakılanTürkişçilerAnkara'ya ulaştı*,http://t24.com.tr/haber/serbest-birakilan-turk-iscileri-bagdat-buyukelcisi-faruk-kaymakci-aldi,311361, Date of Access: 2015, October 1

[233]Gazeteport, 2014, August 25, *IŞİD'denYeniŞiiKatliamı*,http://www.gazeteport.com/haber/179300/isidden-yeni-sii-katliami, Date of Access: 2015, Oct 3

[234] ABC, 2014, August 24, *Iraq crisis: UN envoy to Iraq warns of possible massacre of Turkmen people in Amerli*http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-08-24/un-official-warns-of-possible-massacre-in-iraq/5692302Date of Access: 2015, October 3

[235]Cnsnews, 2014, August 26, *UN: ISIS Massacred 700 Turkmen--Including Women, Children,*Elderlyhttp://cnsnews.com/news/article/lauretta-brown/un-isis-massacred-700-turkmen-including-women-children-elderly , Date of Access: 2015, October 3

[236]Aljazeera, 2015, August 31,TBMM'detezkereoturumu, http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/tbmmde-tezkere-oturumu, Date of Access: 2015, September 3

same attitude as their party about the Iraq memorandum.[237] AKP, CHP and MHP stated that they would vote in favor of the memorandum. They believed that the terrorist attacks occurring in Turkey were organized from Northern Iraq. The leaders of these three parties stated that PKK organized major attacks in order to obtain the right to self-determination in these cities by receiving support from Northern Iraq.[238] The memorandum which extended the authority granted to the Turkish Armed Forces to organize military operations beyond the border to PKK and ISIS targets in Iraq and Syria was voted at the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 3 September 2015. AKP, CHP and MHP representatives voted yes in this voting. The memorandum was passed at the TBMM with 298 yes votes against 98 no votes. As it can be seen, there was a political consensus among AKP, MHP and CHP regarding Iraq. The main reason why Turkey accepted this memorandum at the TBMM was that it wanted to secure its borders by organizing military operations against ISIS and PKK elements located in Iraq when necessary.[239] With this memorandum, Turkey also wanted to ensure the safety of the Turkmen living in Northern Iraq. It must be underlined that Turkey allowed foreign soldiers to use the military bases in Turkey during military operations to be organized in Iraq with this memorandum. However, HDP Ministers MüslümDoğanand Ali HaydarKonca voted no in this voting. These ministers stated that, they would vote no since that was a war memorandum.[240] Therefore, after this memorandum was accepted at the Plenary Session of the TBMM, Turkey launched air strikes to ISIS and PKK targets in Syria and Northern Iraq.[241]

It is a fact that the Iraqi army, the Shiite Militia and the Peshmerga forces who fought against suffered great losses during this war.[242] ISIS increased its power

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[237]En son haber, 2015, August 31, HDP'libakanlartezkereyehayırdiyecek,http://www.ensonhaber.com/hdpli-bakanlar-tezkereye-hayir-diyecek-2015-08-31.html, 2015, September 3

[238]*2.9.2015*, NTV Noon Bulleting, MÜDERRİSOĞLU, Okan

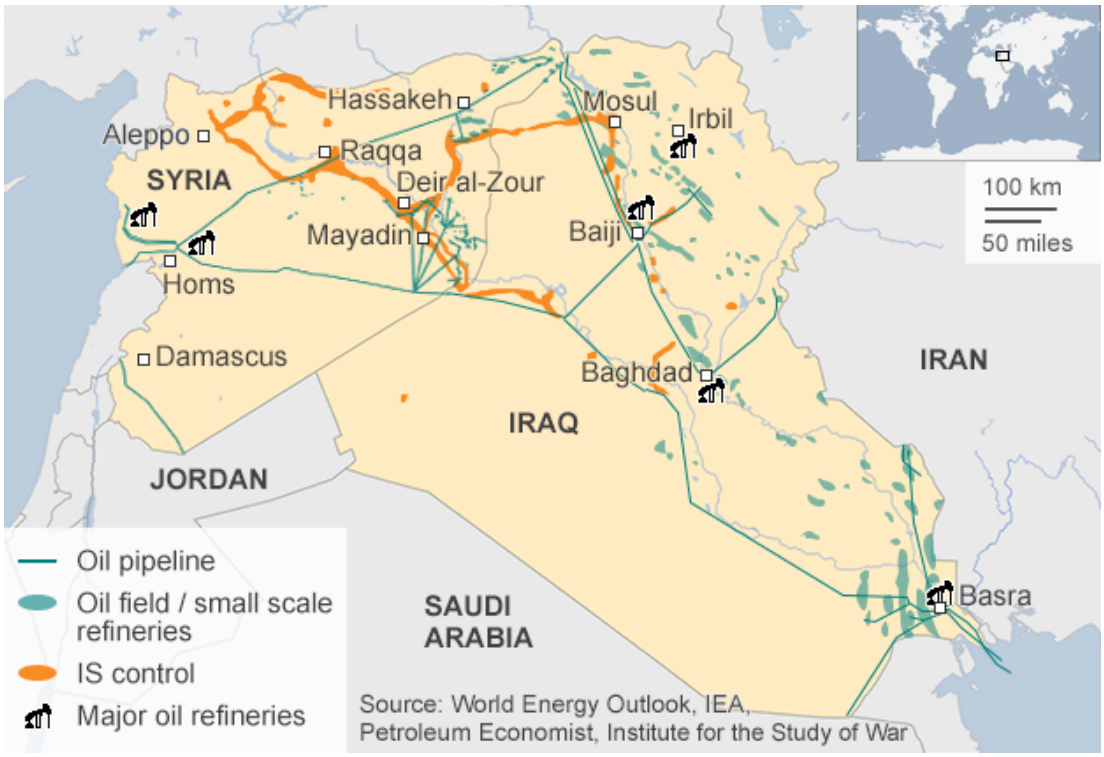
[239]BBC News, 2015, October 6, *Islamic State: Turkish MPs back Iraq-Syria deployment*, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29455204, Date of Access: 2015,October 2

[240]BBC Türkçe, 2015, September 3,*IrakveSuriyetezkeresi Kabul edildi*,http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/09/150903_meclis_tezkere, Date of Access: 2015, October 6

[241]BBC , 2015, December 11,*Turkey's air force hits IS and PKK in Syria and Iraq,*http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33663005,Date of Access: 2015, December 11

[242] BBC Türkçe, 2015, June 9, IŞİD'inMusul'uelegeçirmesindenbiryılsonraIrak'ta son durum,http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/06/150609_irak_musul_analiz, Date of Access: 2015, October 15

considerably during the previous year and took control of many regions in Iraq. The regions captured by ISIS in Iraq are shown in the map.

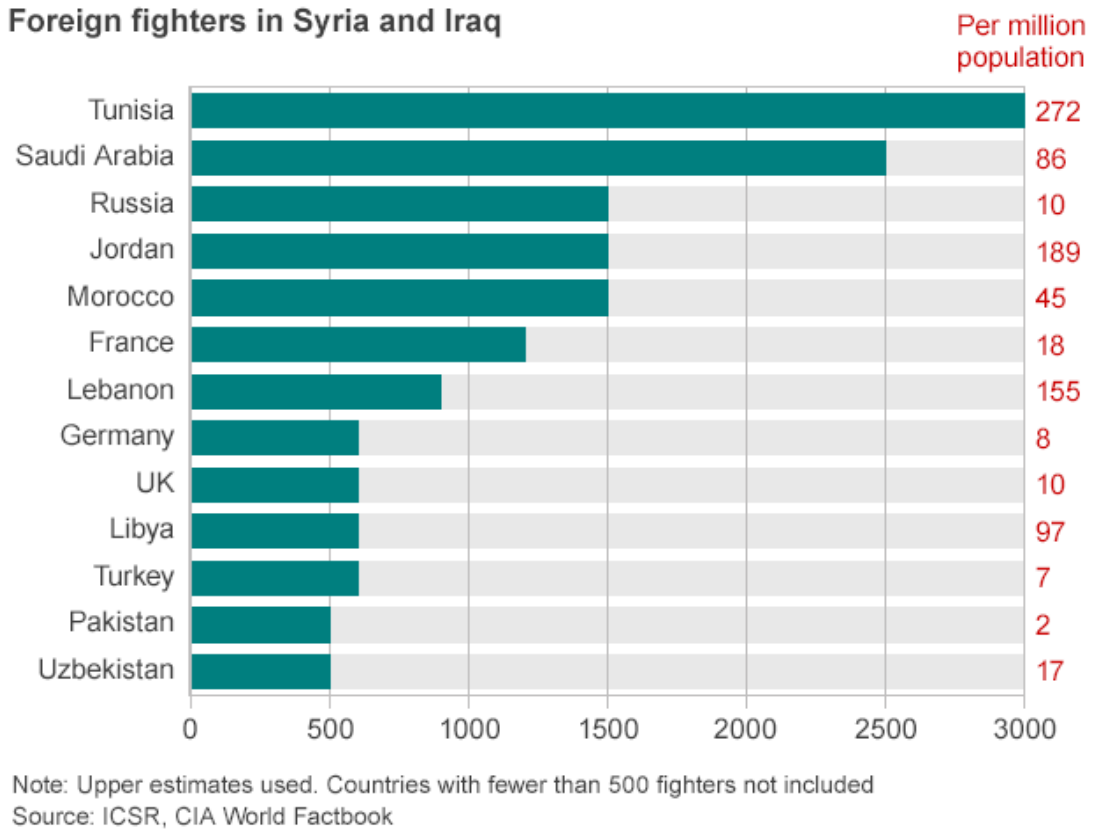


ISIS increased the area it controlled in Iraq, which is Turkey's border neighbor. It is evident that ISIS wants to hold on to Northern Iraq where rich oil reserves are found in order to increase its economic power. On the other hand, Northern Iraq is very important for Turkey in terms of politics, economy, military and culture.[243] The "jihadism" concept became very important for these terrorist organizations which flourished in Iraq and other countries in recent years. It is a fact that ISIS, which increased its military and economic activity in Iraq recently, and which took control of important parts of this country in terms of economy, military and culture, increases the number of its members with the addition of the persons who come from the Muslim communities located in the USA and Europe. In other words, another reason why ISIS grew so strong in this region is that many foreign fighters coming from abroad had joined ISIS. Western Countries, among which Turkey exists, are aware that the danger is great. It was discovered that 15% of the ISIS militia came from Western countries. Turkey has a key role regarding this issue. For it is believed that those who join ISIS go to Iraq by way of Turkey since it is a neighbor of Iraq. Therefore, Turkey acts together with the Coalition countries in the air strikes against

[243] BBC, 2016, June 22, Islamic State group: Crisis in seven charts,http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27838034 , Date of Access: 2015, Oct 15

ISIS. It became certain with US Secretary of State John Kerry's statement that Turkey took part in this coalition actively.[244]

Turkey wanted to form a strong opposition against ISIS in Iraq, as a result of which it supported the Al-Hadba party led by Al-Nujaifi, and KDP led by MasudBarzani.[245]



People from Arab Countries and people of Arab origin living in western countries also join ISIS. There are some allegations in international press that ISIS members go to Iraq and Syria by way of Turkey.[246] The most important allegation as to the strengthening of ISIS came from a US official. He stated that ISIS had produced mustard gas and that it used this gas on the Iraqi soldiers and the Kurdish Peshmergas in the region. This allegation points to certain possibilities. One of these possibilities is that ISIS possesses a unit which is able to produce chemical weapons. Most important of all, it is believed that ISIS purchased nuclear weapons from

[244]CNN,2014, October 9, *Who's doing what in the coalition battle against ISIS,*http://edition.cnn.com/2014/10/09/world/meast/isis-coalition-nations/, Date of Access: 2014, October 15

[245]Gazeteoku, *IŞİD'ler*http://www.gazeteoku.com/yazar/taha-akyol/94281/isidler, Date of Access: 2015, October 23

[246] BBC,2015, October 15 , Islamic State group: Crisis in seven charts, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27838034, Date of Access: 2015, October 15

Pakistan. ISIS wants to develop this unit further.[247] Another statement was made by Iraqi officials regarding this matter. They stated that ISIS militia used chemical weapons in Northern Iraq, and that gave detailed information about this allegation. It was also stated that the nuclear weapons used by ISIS were examined in the Mosul University. International Atomic Energy Agency (AIEA) also issued a statement regarding this issue. They stated that "The findings which were examined contained uranium but it was "low grade" and did not pose a significant security risk." The purchasing of these nuclear weapons from Pakistan and their use against Iraqi soldiers has an adverse effect on Turkey's Iraq policy. As ISIS grew stronger in Iraq, Turkey's political, economic, and military interests in Iraq are endangered. The political, economic and military events occurring in Iraq shape Turkey's domestic and foreign policy, which proves that this country plays a particularly important role in shaping Turkey's Middle East policy. When we examine ISIS'strengthening in Iraq, which is a strong country in terms of military and economy and which is a border neighbor of Turkey, because of a vacuum of central authority in a way that would fill the political and military vacuum in this country by using weapons of mass destruction in terms of Turkey's relations with Iraq, we can conclude that it will cause significant political, economic, military and cultural problems in Turkey-Iraq relations in the years to come.[248]

Today, weapons of mass destruction are available. Many countries make great efforts to get hold of these weapons. This situation may lead to dangerous events in the world. Therefore, political measures are taken in order to reduce the number of weapons of mass destruction. Countries also take measures to prevent the acquisition of these weapons by the terrorist organizations. Western countries believe that the possession of these weapons of mass destruction by terrorist organization will pose a great threat for humanity. Therefore, the USA; USSR, UK and 99 other countries signed NPT (Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons) on 1 July 1968. The purpose of the treaty was to prevent the production and spread of nuclear weapons as the Cold War started to moderate. The treaty entered into force on 5 March 1970. In 1995, NPT was extended for 25 years. In 2010, number of signatory countries reached 168. India, Pakistan, France and China did not sign this treaty. North Korea

[247]BBC, 2015, September 11,*US official: 'IS making and using chemical weapons in Iraq and Syria'*,http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-34211838 Date of Access: 2015, October 18

[248] BBC ,2014, July 10, *Iraq rebels 'seize nuclear materials'*http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28240140,Date of Access: 2015, October 18

withdrew from the treaty in 2003. The provisions of NPT contain decisions regarding the manufacturing of nuclear weapons and preventing the selling of technology which enables their manufacturing to other countries. There are 11 Articles in this treaty.[249] World leaders and Barrack Obama believe that nuclear activities are a great threat for the global security. CIA and USA energy advisor Rolf MowattLarssen groups this threat under three headings: The missing nuclear weapons in Pakistan may be acquired by terrorist organizations; terrorist organizations may demand nuclear weapons from North Korea; Al-Qaeda may launch a nuclear attack. The existence of similar lethal weapons of mass destruction increases instability in this country, and has an adverse effect on the transformation taking place in Turkey's Iraq policy in political, economic, military and cultural areas.[250]

Two terrorist attacks were organized in İstanbul with bomb-laden vehicles on 15 and 20 November 2003. During the attack which took place on November 15th, the Bet Israel MasortiSynagogue in Şişli district and the Neve Shalom Synagogue in Beyoğlu were targeted. The attack which occurred on 20th targeted the HSBC General Directorate in Beşiktaş, and the UK Consulate General in Beyoğlu. 27 people died and about 400 people were injured in these terrorist attacks.[251] It is known that these attacks were carried out by a group led by HabipAktaş, who received ideological and military training in the Al-Qaeda camps in Afghanistan. The media labeled this terrorist group as the Turkish Al-Qaeda. However, all Western countries, including Turkey, learned that Al-Qaeda was an umbrella organization, and that in this terrorist organization, the terrorists who received ideological and military training in Afghanistan fought in all countries with a "jihadist" ideology. It is also known that these groups have carried out numerous attacks on military and civilian targets in Iraq. It is evident that the terrorist activities occurring in Iraq give rise to a domestic security problem in Turkey. The terrorist attacks organized by HabipAktaş's group in Turkey in 2003 obligated to tackle a very important problem

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[249]BİLİMAR,8.4.2013*KüreselTerörizmleMücadeleMakalesi, (Fighting Global Terrorism)*, http://www.bilimar.com/tr/dis-politika-ve-ulusal-guvenlik/terorle-mucadele-ve-ic-guvenlik/149-kueresel-teroerzm-le-muecadele.html*Araştırmacı HACIFAZLIOĞLU, Taner, Oğuz,* p.*7, Date of Access: 8.4.2015*

[250]BİLİMAR,8.4.2013*KüreselTerörizmleMücadeleMakalesi, (Fighting Global Terrorism)*, http://www.bilimar.com/tr/dis-politika-ve-ulusal-guvenlik/terorle-mucadele-ve-ic-guvenlik/149-kueresel-teroerzm-le-muecadele.html*Araştırmacı HACIFAZLIOĞLU, Taner, Oğuz,p.8,Date of Access: 8.4.2015*

[251] BBC,2003, November 20, Istanbul rocked by double bombinghttp://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3222608.stm, Date of Access:2015, October 22

in terms of personal security. The death of numerous people in these terrorist acts had a negative effect on Turkey's foreign policy. In other words, Turkey had many security problems in the eyes of other countries. Another problem was that the terrorist wanted to use Turkey when going to Iraq because of its geographical position. In other words, it is believed that many terrorist went to Iraq by way of Turkey. Turkey faces similar problems in its domestic and foreign policy today. In 2003, it was believed that the jihadists went to Iraq via Turkey. It is also known that the "Dokumacılar" group, which is led by Mustafa Dokumacı and which increased its terrorist attacks in Turkey, has carried out the Diyarbakır and Silvan attacks by basing their actions on the ideology of ISIS. Numerous terrorist organizations, primarily ISIS, increased their activities in Iraq, which poses a great threat against Turkey's political, economic, military and cultural interests in its domestic and foreign politics.[252] Therefore, Turkey has been recently obligated to protect its national interests in Iraq by fighting ISIS and PKK by joining its forces with the Western Alliance. Moreover, Turkey has been cooperating with MasudBarzani, the leader of KDP in Northern Iraq. Therefore, in his statement dated 1 August 2015, MasudBarzani requested that the PKK elements vacate their camps in Northern Iraq and leave the region. For KDP has a feudal and conservative structure whereas PKK has a Marxist character. These different ideologies cause the interests of these two groups in the region to conflict. PKK members pass the Northern Iraq border and organize terrorist attacks on Turkish military and civilian targets, which concerns the KDP administration because it damages its political and economic relations with Turkey. PKK is experienced in asymmetrical warfare in the region, which increases Turkey's concerns. In case a conflict breaks out between PKK and KDP, PKK may have the upper hand because KDP's experience is less than that of PKK in this regard.[253] Considering this fact, Turkey deployed soldiers in Mosul, a city which is very important in terms of Turkey's political, economic, military and cultural interests, on 6 December 2015 in order to protect MasudBarzani, who cooperates with Turkey, and Turkey's interests there. Iraqi Prime Minister Haydar Al Abadi made a statement regarding this matter and said that Turkey's deployment of soldiers

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[252]19.10.2015, CNN Türk*Her şeyProgramı, ("Herşey" Program), VizeTartışmasıProgramı (Visa Discussion Program),*MilliyetGazetesiYazarı (Milliyet Newspaper Columnist), ŞARDAN, Tolga

[253]Aljazeera, 2015, December 10,*Kurdish leader asks PKK to withdraw from northern Iraq,*http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/07/kurdish-leader-asks-pkk-withdraw-northern-iraq-150730193413866.html, Date of Access: 2015, August 1

in Mosul was not legitimate and unless Turkish soldiers withdrew from Mosul in 48, they would bring the issue before the UNSC. In his letter to Al Abadi, Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu stated that Turkey would not send additional forces, that Turkey had good relations with Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government, and that it would not adopt a hostile attitude regarding Iraq.[254] However, Turkey withdrew its soldiers deployed in the Bashika city of Mosul. For Turkey has a limited power in the region and there are many groups in the region which Turkey would have to fight.[255] Another subject is, Turkey formed an alliance with the Al-Hadba party founded by Al-Nujaifi in Iraq. It is believed that Turkey deployed soldiers in the Bashika camp in Mosul in order to protect Osama Al-Nujaifi and his party from ISIS and PKK. By bringing all Sunnis under the roof of a single party, Osama Al-Nujaifi aims to empower them politically. This organization started after the 2003 Iraq war.[256] This organization also aims to allow the Sunni Arabs to influence the decisions taken by the central Iraqi government. Moreover, Osama Al-Nujaifi is the president of the Iraq National Assembly.[257] Osama Al-Nujaifi, who also served as the deputy president in Iraq, visited Turkey. During this diplomatic visit, he held a meeting with Turkish Prime Minister RecepTayyipErdoğan.[258] Since Mosul is located at an intersection point, it is very important which must not be lost during the battle against ISIS. It must be emphasized that people from very different sects are living together in Mosul, and there are rich oil reserves in this city. Mosul is a very important city in terms of sects, economy and military for Iraq and the Middle East in general. Turkey gives military training to the Sunni peshmergas in Mosul. Iran, which is a Shiite country, is disturbed by Turkey's actions because it is worried that its influence in the region will be reduced. The Turkmen living in the region are very

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[254] BBC, 2015, Dec 6,*Iraq threatens Turkey with UN action over troop deployment*,http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-35023249, Access of Date: 2015, December 10

[255] CNN,2015, Dec 20, *Turkey to move troops from Iraq,*http://edition.cnn.com/2015/12/19/middleeast/turkey-withdraws-troops-from-iraq/, Access of Date: 2015, December 20

[256]Yakın Doğu Haber,2010, November 11, *UsameNuceyfikimdir*, http://www.ydh.com.tr/HD8421_usame-nuceyfi-kimdir.html, Access of Date: 2015, December 10

[257]Haberler, 2015,November 25,*Irak'taSünnilerdenYeniSiyasiOluşum*,http://www.haberler.com/irak-ta-sunnilerden-yeni-siyasi-olusum-7911081-haberi/, Date of Access: 2015, December 10

[258]TürkmeneliTelevizyonu, 2015, February 25, *NuceyfiTürkiye'de*http://www.turkmenelitv.com/v1/haberler/irak/4530-nuceyfi-t%C3%BCrkiye-de.html, Access of Date: 2015, December 10

important for Turkey's border security.[259] It is of great significance that Turkey determines its objectives correctly under these circumstances. If Turkey wants to have a say in the future of Iraq after ISIS is eliminated, it must act together with the Western alliance, but not with the peshmerga KDP. If Turkey determines its objective in this region, it must take certain risks. It is stated that even if the Peshmerga wins the war in Iraq, it is not certain who will rule Iraq. The Iraqi government does not object to the fact that ISIS control 35% of the Iraq but it harshly criticizes that Turkey deployed soldiers in Mosul. The underlying reason for this behavior is that the Iraqi government believes that it can eliminate ISIS, but it will not be able to drive Turkey out of Mosul. It is necessary to emphasize that the war in Iraq is not among the Shiite, Sunni and Kurdish groups. There are many powerful groups in the region. However, there are no countries in the region that Turkey can cooperate politically, economically and militarily. Therefore, no country wants Turkish existence in Iraq, as a result of which Turkey may lose its ability to carry out border trade in Iraq.The Iraqi government harshly criticized Turkey for allowing the Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government to export its oil, and for supporting Al-Nujaifi, which, it believes, damaged Iraq's political, economic and military interests. These political actions of Turkey are considered as intervention in Iraq's domestic affairs, and are deemed a threat on the country's territorial integrity, as a result of which Iraqi government continues to criticize Turkey harshly. The two foreign policy strategies which Turkey has been applying in relation to Iraq for the last two years show that the "Zero Problems with Neighbors" principle which was applied during Ahmet Davutoğlu's Foreign Ministry has ended in foreign affairs.[260]

[259] 11.12.2015 ,*CNN Türk, AkılÇemberi Program, OrtadoğuOyunlarıProgramı(Games on Middle East Program),*TOMAR, Cengiz

[260] *11.12.2015, CNN TürkAkılÇemberi, OrtadoğuOyunlarıProgramı(Games on Middle East Program),*CHP Milletvekili, Yılmaz, Öztürk

It is evident that Mosul has a very important position in terms of politics, economics and military. Therefore, the coalition forces led by the USA provide significant support to the peshmergas who fought the ISIS. For the Western alliance, which Turkey is a part of, Mosul is an indispensable city in the fight against ISIS.[261] It must be underlined that these diplomatic developments occurred after Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2009. Before Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs, AKP's foreign policy was restricting the political and diplomatic relations with Iraq, which was similar to what the governments that preceded it did. Therefore, Turkey formed certain alliances in Iraq in order to be more influential in Iraq's domestic politics. As a result, Turkey increased its political and diplomatic power on Iraq. In terms of economics, it can be said that the trade between Turkey and Iraq was developed in different areas by both countries. Previous governments based the trade between the two countries on food and oil. After Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Foreign Ministers, Turkey developed its economic activities in construction as well. It also contributed to the exportation of Iraqi oil to other countries. In terms of military, Turkey used to form alliances with KDP and PUK against the PKK elements which had numerous camps in Northern

[261]BBC, 2015, Dec 11, *Iraq crisis: Mosul dam recaptured from militants – Obama,* http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28833519, Date of Access: 2015, Dec 11

Iraq. Today, however, Turkey formed a political alliance with the Al-Hadba party led by Al-Nujaifi, and a military alliance with MasudBarzani who is the leader of KDP. That AKP is a conservative party plays an important role in this strategy. Previous Turkish governments did not forms such deep political, economic and military alliances with Iraq and develop relations between them. In contrast, they made effort in politics and economy in order to develop Turkey's relations with the west, i.e. the EU.

According to Morgenthau, the foreign policy of a state must be evaluated from the perspective of that country's statesmen. When we apply it to Turkey, we see that Ahmet Davutoğlu wanted to strengthen Turkey's historical bonds with Iraq and form close relations. He wanted to apply this approach based on the "Pan Islamist" thought. Development of the diplomatic relations between Turkey and Iraq is advantageous for both of these countries. Establishment of professional research centers which are knowledgeable about Iraq at universities in Turkey will allow it to have a deeper understanding of Iraq. If Turkey manages to consider the domestic and foreign balances about Iraq, it may produce useful political, economic, cultural and military policies about it. Additionally, Turkey regarded Iraq as a whole and did not support the nationalist separatist elements which emerged in this country, which are very important in terms of domestic and foreign security of both countries, and stability. Moreover, if Turkey and Iraq manage to resolve the problems which cause them to have a negative perspective on political, economic and military issues which originated in the past, they will be able to establish stronger political, economic and cultural relations in the future. If Turkey manages to play an active rolein the peace process in Iraq by increasing its communication with and alliances in this country, it will have more say in the determination of this country's future. By not seeing Iraq a problematic country, and adopting an optimistic diplomatic approach, Turkey must contribute to the resolution of these problems in Iraq. Thus, the resolution of these problems will be much easier.

Conclusion

After Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Turkey's Iraq policy underwent a great shift from the security dimension to political and economic dimension. In other words, this transformation continued in the form of Turkey's having an influence in the political and economic structure in Iraq. Turkey

became an actor effective in the preparation of the Iraqi constitution. After Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs on 2 May 2009 following Ali Babacan's departure, he started to pursue a foreign policy which was more active than his predecessors, namely Abdullah Gül and Ali Babacan. In other words, a great transformation took place in Turkey's political, economic, military and cultural relations with the Middle East countries, primarily Iraq. For Ahmet Davutoğlu has a different perspective on Iraq, which is Turkey's neighbor, and other Middle East countries. Previously, the Foreign Ministers which took office during the coalition governments which distributed the political power among various parties adopted the philosophy of "Reaching the level of contemporary civilizations", which lies at the core of the Republic of Turkey, and applied Western countries' doctrines in relation to the administration of the state. Therefore, during the coalitions period, the political, economic, military and cultural relations with Iraq was pushed to the background. Turkey maintained this political attitude until 3 November 2002 when AKP won the general elections and took office.

After AKP won the elections and came to power, some major changes started to occur in Turkey's Iraq policy. Turkey took important steps to become more influential on Iraq's politics, economics, military and culture in the future. Turkey acted as a mediator between the USA and the Sunni insurgents, and helped these parties to come together for negotiation. As Turkey applied this policy about Iraq, it put the concepts of "strategic depth" and "Zero Problems with Neighbors" which were developed by Ahmet Davutoğlu at the core of its foreign policy. For Iraq has very great geo-strategic and geo-strategic importance for Turkey. Due to the fact that Iraq wants to improve its economy, it needs to sell the oil it has to European countries. Therefore, Turkey is very important for Iraq which allows it to access Europe. As a result, Iraqi politicians held negotiations with Turkey in order to improve their political, economic, military and cultural relations with Turkey. Being two neighbor countries, Turkey and Iraq are dependent upon each other in terms of politics, economy, military and culture. Turkey imports oil from its neighbor, Iraq. Moreover, the oil produced in Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government is exported to other countries via Turkey. In return, Turkey exports foodstuff to Iraq. The construction of the cities which were being rebuilt in Iraq after the war was undertaken by Turkish companies. Therefore, this event contributed significantly to the development of South Eastern Anatolia, and of Turkish economy in general. It is

evident that this positive state of affairs between Turkey and Iraq created the conditions necessary for focusing on the economic dimension of the relations between these two countries.However, the vacuum of authority in Iraq allowed PKK elements to gain strength in Northern Iraq, as a result of which they launched attacks on civilian and military targets in Turkey. However, this situation did not result in a tension between Turkey and the Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government as it did in the 90s.

The greatest problem erupted during the political crisis between the Sunni and Shiite groups in Iraq in 2012. This situation was resolved afterwards, which explains Turkey's perspective on the political events in Iraq. Unlike previous governments, the AKP government demonstrated that it stood closer to the Sunni block because of its conservative political identity. However, Turkey and Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government need each other in different areas. Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government must maintain good relations with Turkey. For without Turkey's support, Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government cannot access to the open seas and sell its oil to Europe and Mediterranean countries. Turkey, on the other hand, must build good political, economic, military relations with this administration both in relation to the exportation of oil from Northern Iraq, and to its struggle against the PKK elements located in this region. It is evident that the political, economic and military dimensions of these circumstances maintain their importance.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

An assessment of the Turkey-Iraq relations reveals that they started in the XVIth Century. This shows that these relations have a long historical background. The Ottoman State attached great importance to Iraq because of the tax revenues it gained from there. Iraq also served as a buffer zone in the competition between the Ottoman State and Iran, as a result of which it had a strategic role for the Ottoman State. The Arabs living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire is the last nation to gain the consciousness of identity after the 1789 French Revolution. Anatolia and the Middle East were the only lands that Ottoman Empire had in the 19th century. Therefore the Ottoman State wanted to reinforce the cultural bonds of all Muslim peoples living under the sovereignty of the Ottoman by applying Pan-Islamism.According to them, the Ottoman State would continue its sovereignty over these last two lands. This situation shaped the domestic politics of the Ottoman State in the 19th century. This situation shaped the foreign policy of the Ottoman State in late 19th and early 20th centuries. For the Ottoman State still had the power of caliphate in that century. In other words, the Ottoman State had the power to make the Muslim peoples to act according to its will. Accordingly, Germany, which completed its political integration in 1867, wanted to take advantage of this power in a future war.The Ottoman Empire and Germany came close in late 19th and early 20th centuries. In other words, the Ottoman State, which gained the support of Britain against Russia in its foreign policy, changed this understanding. The future of the World War I was set as a result of the rigid alliances made among the countries. The companies which sold weapons to countries provoked the outbreak of this war. The competition among the states for gaining larger colonies which started with the Industrial Revolution resulted in the formation of alliances among countries which shared common interests and increasing their military power. In other words, the armament race among these states escalated. Therefore, the Ottoman State launched an important initiative in its foreign policy and wanted to join the World War I alongside the Allied Powers (Entente States). The Ottoman State undertook this initiative in order to preserve its own interests. However, Britain did not approve this offer made by the Ottoman State. For the Ottoman State was not powerful in terms of politics, economics, and military. If the Ottoman State had joined the WWI together with the Alliance Powers led by Britain, it would not have offered any political,

economic and strategic advantage to them. Afterwards, the Ottoman State wanted to remain neutral during this war. However, it maintained its strong political, economic, military and strategic bonds with Germany as a result of the international circumstances. As a result, believing that this cultural power will be reflected in the war as manpower, the Ottoman State joined the Central Powers led by Germany to fight in the WWI. The Ottoman State and Germany believed that new fronts would be created during the war because of this manpower, and that the Central Powers would win this war and thus shape the international system to be created in the post-war period. However, these beliefs of Germany and the Ottoman State did not come true. The Arabs fought against the Ottoman Stated at all fronts, particularly at the Iraq front, to gain their independence in this region between 1914 and 1918. The Ottoman State lost this war in the entire Middle East, in Iraq in particular. The Arabs fighting in the Middle East are the most significant factor in the Ottoman State's defeat, particularly in Iraq. Their desire to gain their national identity overweighed their religious connection. As it can be seen, this important event in the Ottoman Empire's internal politics led to a defeat in its foreign policy. This means that the Ottoman Empire failed to analyze certain events occurring within the international system properly in this period. In other words, it failed to realize that nationalism which emerged during the 1789 French Revolution would strongly influence the Arab nations. The Iraq front is the one which determined the fate of the WWI. For the Ottoman State lost the WWI at all fronts save for the Dardanelles Front. This means that the Ottoman State lost against the Arabs at the Iraq front in WWI. This actually put an end to the Ottoman State. It signed the Armistice of Moudros on 30 October 1918. Due to the failures of the Ottoman State in its foreign policy, the entire Anatolian peninsula was occupied by the Allied Powers.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk organized the people of Anatolia and won the War of Independence. He proclaimed the Republic on 29 October 1923. Republic of Turkey made great effort to include Mosul and Kirkuk within the borders of National Pact. The Lausanne Peace Treaty signed on 24 July 1923 failed to resolve this issue between Turkey and Britain. Therefore, both of these states postponed this matter to a another date for further negotiations. As explained above, as a result of the Sheikh Said Rebellion which occurred in Turkey, and Britain's bringing this matter before the UNSC and not making any concessions, Turkey could not include Mosul and Kirkuk within the boundaries of the National Pact. Since Turkey was a newly-

founded country, it did not have the political, economic and military power to withstand Britain regarding the Mosul and Kirkuk matters. Therefore, Turkey accepted the annexation of Mosul and Kirkuk to Iraq. It must be underlined that, by signing international treaties like the Baghdad Pact and the Saadabad Pact, Turkey made an effort to establish good relations with all Middle East countries, Iraq in particular. When the Republic of Turkey was established, it determined its main philosophy behind its domestic and foreign policy as "Reaching the level of contemporary civilizations". Accordingly, Turkey formed strong political, economic, military and strategic partnerships with Western countries. For Turkey did not believe that political, economic and military relations to be established with Iraq and other Middle East countries would not lead to great advantages in the long run. However, as it established these political, economic, military and strategic partnerships with these Western countries, it preferred applying a policy of balance between these Western countries. In other words, Turkey did not make comments on the events occurring in Europe and its vicinity, or it adopted a foreign policy about Iraq which conformed to the interests of Western countries. The new Turkish state maintained this foreign policy for a very long time and prominently applied it in its relations with Western countries. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk passed away on 10 November 1938. İsmetİnönü, who replaced him as the next president, applied a similar foreign policy in Turkey's relations with other states. In other words, he did not emphasize Turkey's relations with the Middle East countries, primarily with Iraq. Accordingly, Turkey pursued a policy of balance during the WWII, which took place between 1939 and 1945, and did not interfere with the events in Iraq. Turkey did not join this war. İsmetİnönü did not disrupt Turkey's relations with either of the blocks. The foreign policy pursued in this period is rational. Being a newly-founded state, Turkey had limited political, economic and military power. The period between 1945 and 1980 was very important for the Turkish Foreign Policy. Turkey cooperated with the West between 1945 and 1950 in order to join NATO. As a result, Turkey became a member of NATO in 1952. In 1950, the Democrat Party led by Adnan Menderes won the general elections in Turkey. As it is known, the Democrat Party had a conservative character. Democrat Party wanted to establish strong political, economic and military relations with all Middle East countries. Therefore Turkey signed the Baghdad Pact in 1959. An assessment of the Democrat Party period reveals that Turkey wanted to establish good relations with Iraq in this period.

However, Arab countries did not share the same ideas about forming good political, economic and military relations with Turkey since it adopted secularism as the foundation of the government. Therefore, Turkey could not succeed at this attempt.

In 1974, Turkey launched the Cyprus Peace Operation during the coalition government led by Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit. The USA imposed oil embargo on Turkey because of this operation. As a result, Kirkuk-Yumurtalık Pipeline was built and commissioned by Turkey and Iraq in 1977. The oil-based trade started to increase between Turkey and Iraq. During the Iran-Iraq war that took place between 1979 and 1988, Turkey imported oil both from Iraq and Iran. In return, it exported foodstuff. Meanwhile, the Motherland Party led by TurgutÖzal won the 1983 and 1987 general elections in Turkey. TurgutÖzal was a Prime Minister who embraced a liberal economic system. It must be pointed out that Turkey could not isolate itself from the Liberal System which was spearheaded by Ronald Reagan in the USA and Margaret Thatcher in UK, and which started to dominate the world economy in 1980s. In other words, Turkey had to integrate itself in this liberal economic system. With the 24 January 1980 Resolutions, Turkey had already guaranteed the western states that it would embrace this system. Turkey used to obtain its greatest income from its border neighbors Iraq and Iran. Particularly, Turkey and Iraq improved their commercial relations until the Gulf War. In order to reinforce its economy within the Liberal Economic System, Turkey did not disrupt its commercial relations with Iraq. It exported foodstuff to Iraq while importing oil from it. This situation helped improve the Turkish and Iraqi economies considerably. The commercial relations prepared an environment in which political relations could flourish. After the TurgutÖzal period, Turkey started to established strong political and economic relations with Iraq, which it had avoided to do so previously. With the onset of the Gulf War in 1991 and as a result of the UN sanctions, the economic andpolitical relations between Turkey and Iraq deteriorated. In line with the UNSC resolutions, Saddam Hussein was prohibited from entering Northern and Southern Iraq. The resolutions issued in relation to Northern Iraq had a direct negative effect on Turkey's Iraq policy. As a result of these resolutions, PKK elements increased their attacks on civilian and military targets in Turkey again. This situation led Turkey to ally with KDP and PUK in the region. Therefore, Turkey supported the operations launched against the PKK elements in Northern Iraq. It must be pointed out that KDP and PUK fought with each other between 1994 and 1997. KDP leader Masud

Barzani wanted to win this war by forming close relations with PKK. It is evident that in the 1900s, Turkey's Iraq policystopped being economy-based and its security dimension came to the forefront.

Between 12 May 1999 and 3 November 2002, Turkey was ruled by a coalition government consisting of DSP (led by Bülent Ecevit), ANAP (led by Mesut Yılmaz), and MHP (led by DevletBahçeli), and Bülent Ecevit was the Prime Minister. The main objective of the coalition government in this period was to reinvigorate the trade between Turkey and Iraq. In other words, Turkey wanted to emphasize the economic dimension in its relations with Iraq instead of the security dimension. Moreover, Turkey opposed to the military intervention the USA would make in Iraq fearing that it would allow the PKK elements active in that region to gain strength. The coalition government fell due to an economic crisis in 2001. As a result, a temporary government was formed.

On 3 November 2002, AKP won the general elections held in Turkey and formed the government. The AKP agreed to cooperate with the USA during the Iraq war in return for some economic aids and the condition of fighting the PKK elements in the region. In other words, Turkey would receive economic support from the USA, and would be able to launch military operations against the PKK elements in Northern Iraq, in return for which the USA soldiers would use the military bases in Turkey. At the end of lengthy negotiations, Turkey decided not to accept certain requests made by the USA. The memorandum regarding these requests was rejected at the plenary session of TBMM on 1 March 2003. After the USA invaded Iraq in April 2003, Turkey started to emphasize the security dimension of its relations with Iraq. Turkey always defended the territorial integrity of Iraq and opposed disintegration at all international conferences. Then Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül expressed Turkey's views regarding this matter. Ali Babacan, who succeeded Gül as Foreign Minister, wanted to preserve the existing political status with regards to Iraq.

The transformation in Turkey's Iraq policystarted after Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs. By using "Zero Problems with Neighbors" and similar concepts which he developed in his book entitled "Strategic Depth", Ahmet Davutoğlu managed to increase Turkey's political, economic, strategic and cultural relations with Iraq. As the economic relations between the two countries flourished, the political relations improved as well. Then Prime Minister RecepTayyipErdoğan and Foreign Ministers Ahmet Davutoğlu organized diplomatic

visits to Iraq. This action reinforced the political, economic, strategic and cultural bonds between Turkey and Iraq. In order to express its opinions regarding Iraq's future, Turkey supported AyadAllawi's secular party at the general elections held in Iraq. In addition to this, Turkish companies increased their export revenues relating to construction carried out in Iraq. Turkey passed some motions in line with the actions of the Western alliance which it is a p art of in order to fight ISIS, a terrorist organization that gained strength in 2014 and launched terrorist attacks. As a result, Turkish fighter jets bombed PKK and ISIS positions in Iraq. ISIS poses a great threat for Turkey since it controls the political, economic, military and cultural power in the region. Moreover, ISIS wants to destroy the Turkmen population living in the region. Therefore, in order to preserve the Turkmen population in Iraq, Turkey cooperated with KDP leader MasudBarzani and Al-Hadba leader Osama Nujaifi, and deployed a military unit in Northern Iraq. As for PKK, its terrorist attacks on Turkey originate from its terrorist camps located in Northern Iraq. In other words, Turkey shares common interests in relation to Iraq with the USA and the Western Alliance.

Turkey must establish good relations with Iraq in order to protect its interests in this country and to be influential on the changes that might occur in the system in the future. For Iraq is very important for Turkey in terms of politics, economics and strategy. That Turkey and Iraq are border neighbors is a factor that enhances the development of the relations between these two countries. The status of the Turkmen living in this region concerns Turkey very much. In addition, cooperating with this country in order to fight PKK, which is recognized as a terrorist organization by the USA, EU and Turkey, is very important for Turkey. Therefore, an examination of AKP government's general foreign policy reveals that it wanted to prevent the occupation of Iraq. It made effort to preserve the status quo. When Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Turkey started to pursue a multi-dimensional foreign policy. Concepts like forming good relations with the neighbors, and not remaining passive regarding regional problems changed the Turkish foreign policy which was pursued previously. Former governments used to maintain good relations with the EU, which continued during the AKP government between 2007 and 2009. When Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Foreign Minister, building close relations with the Middle East and African countries was emphasized. The Iraq policy plays a vital role in this strategy. Iraq's geostrategic and geopolitical position is directly related with this issue. The diplomatic visits made to Iraq during the foreign ministry of

Ahmet Davutoğlu improved the economic and cultural relations between these two countries. These relations will develop in the future by gaining a new dimension. For they will need each other more and more with regards to politics, economy and military. In other words, these two countries have common interests in the region. After Ahmet Davutoğlu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2009, a significant transformation occurred in Turkey's Iraq policy. Unlike previous periods, Turkey played an important role in the preparation of the Iraqi constitution and had a say in Iraq's political future during the Foreign Ministry of Ahmet Davutoğlu. Turkish companies carried out great projects during the reconstruction of Iraq after the war. Thus, Turkey played an active role in Iraq's political and economic future. As the political, economic and cultural dimensions of Turkey-Iraq relations gained importance in addition to security, the number of negotiations held between the countries increased. Turkey wanted to improve its relations with Iraq by taking advantage of the fact that Iraq was a Muslim country. Therefore, it established close relations with certain groups. In addition, Turkey made certain attempt at protecting the Turkmen population in Northern Iraq. The Turkmen leaders visited Ankara and held meetings with then Prime Minister RecepTayyipErdoğan and Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu. Recently, the Iraqi government harshly criticized Turkey for exporting the oil extracted by the Northern Iraq Regional Kurdish Government, and for supporting Al-Nujaifi, and thus damaging Iraq's political, economic and military interests. The Iraqi government states that by adopting the above mentioned policies, Turkey intervenes in Iraq's internal affairs and may damage the country's territorial integrity.

This shows that the two strategies applied by Turkey in its Iraq policy, and the "Zero Problems with Neighbors" which was applied during the Foreign Ministry of Ahmet Davutoğlu have failed.

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