

Turkey's Shifting Dynamics

Implications for U.S.-Turkey Relations

A Report of the U.S.-Turkey Strategic Initiative

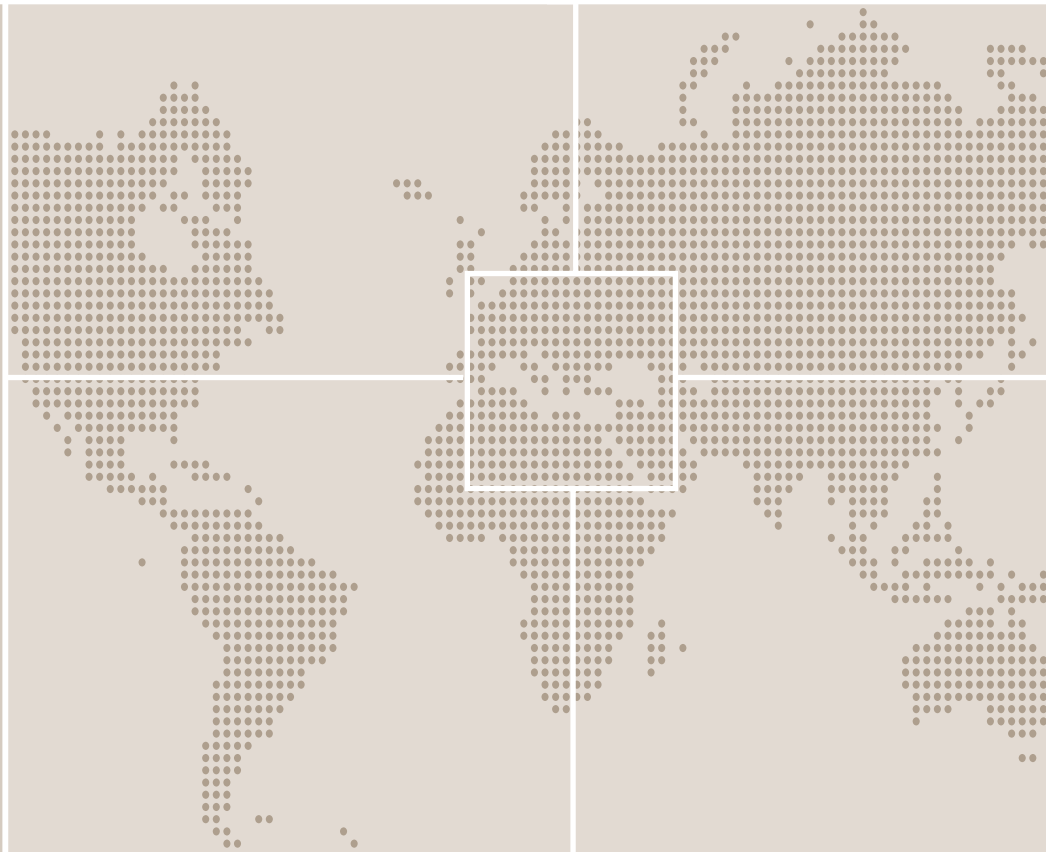
AUTHORS

Stephen J. Flanagan
Samuel J. Brannen

CONTRIBUTING AUTHORS

Kaley Levitt
Bryan Shea
Cassandra Smith

June 2008



CSIS

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC &
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Turkey's Shifting Dynamics

Implications for U.S.-Turkey Relations

A Report of the U.S.-Turkey Strategic Initiative

AUTHORS

Stephen J. Flanagan
Samuel J. Brannen

CONTRIBUTING AUTHORS

Kaley Levitt
Bryan Shea
Cassandra Smith

June 2008

About CSIS

In an era of ever-changing global opportunities and challenges, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) provides strategic insights and practical policy solutions to decisionmakers. CSIS conducts research and analysis and develops policy initiatives that look into the future and anticipate change.

Founded by David M. Abshire and Admiral Arleigh Burke at the height of the Cold War, CSIS was dedicated to the simple but urgent goal of finding ways for America to survive as a nation and prosper as a people. Since 1962, CSIS has grown to become one of the world's preeminent public policy institutions.

Today, CSIS is a bipartisan, nonprofit organization headquartered in Washington, D.C. More than 220 full-time staff and a large network of affiliated scholars focus their expertise on defense and security; on the world's regions and the unique challenges inherent to them; and on the issues that know no boundary in an increasingly connected world.

Former U.S. senator Sam Nunn became chairman of the CSIS Board of Trustees in 1999, and John J. Hamre has led CSIS as its president and chief executive officer since 2000.

CSIS does not take specific policy positions; accordingly, all views expressed in this publication should be understood to be solely those of the author(s).

© 2008 by the Center for Strategic and International Studies. All rights reserved.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
CIP information available on request
ISBN 978-0-89206-536-3

The CSIS Press

Center for Strategic and International Studies
1800 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006
Tel: (202) 775-3119
Fax: (202) 775-3199
Web: www.csis.org



CONTENTS

Trends in U.S.-Turkey Relations	2
Turkey's Changing Domestic Situation	4
Turkey's Evolving Strategic Outlook and Importance	8
The United States, Turkey, and Iraq	9
Turkey and the Greater Middle East	12
Turkey, Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia	15
Turkey and the EU	17
Managing U.S.-Turkey Relations in Uncertain Times	20
About the Authors	30



TURKEY'S SHIFTING DYNAMICS

Implications for U.S.-Turkey Relations

Turkey remains a pivotal actor in many important dimensions of U.S. foreign, national security, and economic policy. For more than half a century, a sound relationship with Turkey has been central to advancing U.S. interests in Eurasia and the Middle East and to creating new strategic opportunities for the United States and its other NATO allies. Yet, fundamental changes in their country and neighborhood have altered how Turks view and pursue their interests. The governing Justice and Development Party (AKP), supported by a new middle class from the Anatolian heartland that has emerged amidst growing prosperity, has eclipsed traditional secularist parties. Many Turks now favor more freedom of religious expression in public life. However, the AKP's moves to reduce some of the strictures of state-enforced secularism have raised fears of creeping Islamization among the old elite and the military guardians of Atatürk's republic and triggered a Constitutional Court case seeking to ban AKP and a number of its leaders from politics. Turkish politics are poised to enter a period of turbulence and unpredictability.

Turkey's relations with the United States have been strained largely by differences over the Iraq War and the management of its aftermath. Ankara's relations with its neighbors are also in flux. Turkey's bid for membership in the European Union has slowed and relations with Russia have warmed, though they remain tempered by concerns about Moscow's reassertiveness and role in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Looking to their south, Turks are presently more concerned about the emergence of an independent Kurdish state in northern Iraq than with Iran's rising influence and nuclear ambitions.¹ Longstanding Turkish cooperation with Israel has become more circumspect, while Ankara has undertaken a cautious rapprochement with Syria. These developments in Turkey's domestic and external affairs have led some to question whether Turkey will drift from its Euro-Atlantic moorings over the next decade.

The end of the Cold War, the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the prolonged war in Iraq, and China's rise have also altered U.S. priorities. U.S. leaders still see Ankara as an important ally in a strategic location, but the purpose of the alliance has become less clear and U.S. and Turkish threat perceptions and interests are not as convergent as they once were. The basic terms of the U.S.-Turkey relationship have not been rigorously reassessed since the early 1950s, and there has not been a comprehensive, official policy review in over a decade. Years of papering over differences and a number of festering near-term problems have undermined bilateral relations.

Avoiding further strains and revitalizing U.S.-Turkey relations require a new strategic framework that reflects the changing geopolitical dynamics and allows both more effective pursuit of enduring common interests and management of areas where policy preferences and interests diverge. This framework should also bolster Turkey's ties with the United States and Europe, including in the context of NATO and the EU.

¹ The authors gratefully acknowledge the comments on an earlier draft of this report by the other CSIS scholars involved in the U.S.-Turkey Strategic Initiative: Bulent Aliriza, Jon Alterman, Andrew Kuchins, and Julianne Smith, as well as Craig Cohen and the members of our Senior Advisory Group.

This paper reviews the major shifts in U.S.-Turkey relations since 1989, with particular focus on events of the past year. It offers an assessment of Turkey's evolving internal dynamics, world-view, and relations with its neighbors. It then advances some preliminary recommendations for managing U.S.-Turkey relations over the coming decade.

Trends in U.S.-Turkey Relations

Throughout the Cold War, the United States and Turkey had a clear strategic relationship, embraced by leaders of both countries, which anchored bilateral ties in a multilateral security framework. While the relationship suffered strains at times, particularly over the issues of Cyprus and Turkish internal governance, it remained basically unchanged. Turkey was the linchpin of a containment strategy that protected the West from Communist expansion and, in turn, underlined Turkey's decision to orient its society and institutions toward integration with the transatlantic community.

When the Soviet Union collapsed, the central rationale for that framework disappeared. The United States and Europe continued to look on Turkey as an ally, but the *raison d'être* of the alliance became unclear as concerns about turmoil or Russian probing on NATO's flanks diminished. Turkey proceeded on its march to integration with the West, but Europe felt less urgency—and considerable unease—in embracing what many on the continent saw as a not-quite European nation. Secondary and tertiary issues soon began to dominate bilateral relations between the United States and Turkey and between Europe and Turkey as well.

The Gulf War of 1991 appeared to give new purpose to the Ankara-Washington relationship. Turkey played a key role in the U.S.-led campaign and came to be viewed by U.S. officials as “an anchor of stability in a region of growing volatility.”² Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in turn suggested Turkey's need for strong ties with the United States. RAND's 1992 study, *Bridge or Barrier? Turkey and the West after the Cold War*, predicted that, “The United States, both bilaterally and through its role in NATO, will remain the best guarantor of Turkish security in relation to the most dangerous risks facing Turkey over the longer term (notably, those emanating from Syria, Iran, and Iraq).”³

U.S.-Turkey relations have had their ups and downs over the past 15 years, and Europe's de facto exclusion of Turkey has not necessarily pushed Ankara closer to the United States. Turkey-U.S. military cooperation, including within NATO, remained robust through the 1990s in Bosnia, Kosovo, and northern Iraq, as well as in Afghanistan following 9/11. The relationship also expanded during this period to incorporate nonsecurity issues such as energy cooperation and reached its high-water mark with President Bill Clinton's visit to Turkey in 1999 following the Izmit earthquake.⁴ These positive outward signs, however, disguised a general unease beneath the surface. Many Turkish leaders felt betrayed by Washington's failure to deliver assistance they were promised for their robust support of the Gulf War and subsequent support to stabilization efforts such as Operation Provide Comfort and Operation Northern Watch. Indeed, the economic and political costs of Turkish support for the Gulf War and the subsequent sanctions and isolation of Ba'athist Iraq led a 2002 Turkish General Staff report to conclude that Turkey had come out behind and that in the future, “the activities of the United States should be followed with skepticism.”⁵ Today the relationship is plagued by mutual suspicion.

While the U.S. military and Intelligence Community have a long history of close cooperation with the Turkish General Staff (TGS) and Turkish National Intelligence Organization, this foundation for bilateral security cooperation is not as firm as it once was, given the mutual distrust and discontent among the security communities in both countries. Given that the TGS has overthrown

democratically elected governments four times in the past 50 years, and its relations with AKP leaders remain tense, considering ways to revitalize the security grounding of the relationship will require a critical assessment of Turkey's internal situation, including the health and sustainability of civil-military relations. While U.S. policy has long supported development of democratic institutions in Turkey—albeit with notable departures still vividly remembered in Turkey—a comprehensive analysis of the future of bilateral relations has to consider how to advance U.S. strategic interests in the context of a variety of possible developments in Turkish internal politics.

Turkey is instrumental in any strategy to stabilize and exit Iraq and counter Iran's pursuit of negative regional influence. Turkey's cooperative ties to Israel enhance regional stability. Turkey is demonstrating for many other countries a path toward reconciling Islam with democracy and globalization, though Ömer Taspinar notes that well-intentioned references by U.S. government officials to Turkey's form of moderate Islam as a model for the Middle East "has been music to the ears of the AKP but an insult to the Kemalist secularists."⁶ Moreover, many devout Turks share this unease about being anointed by Washington as a counterweight to Wahabism and other extreme interpretations of Islam. Unquestionably, Turkey anchors stability and is key to progressive democratic development in the Caucasus. Turkey has become a crucial transit route for vital oil and gas resources from the Caspian Basin, and U.S. cooperation with Turkey in developing multiple energy supply routes has been one of the most effective parts of the relationship in recent years.

However, many U.S. officials and foreign policy experts still lack a deep understanding of Turkey's evolving course, and there is no consensus on the strategic foundation needed to carry the U.S.-Turkish relationship through these tempestuous waters. As former U.S. ambassador to Turkey Morton Abramowitz cautioned, "One term frequently gets bandied about...and has been much used in recent years by both U.S. and Turkish officials: a strategic partnership... Despite the rhetoric of senior officials, the United States has never shown much interest in pursuing this concept except when trouble arises, as it has twice in Iraq."⁷

Domestic politics in both Turkey and the United States have also complicated the relationship. It has become increasingly popular across the Turkish political spectrum to voice anti-American sentiment, and anti-Turkish sentiment also has increased in the United States in recent years. On June 14, 2007, four members of the U.S. House of Representatives introduced the *Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution*.⁸ The introduction of the bill triggered yet another crisis in the U.S.-Turkey relationship, with frantic action by the Turkish government to stop passage. By October, with high-casualty PKK terrorist attacks unfolding in Turkey's southeast and opinion of the United States at an all-time low, the House leadership, pressured by the President and Secretary of Defense, withdrew support for the bill and convinced other members to stand aside in the interest of U.S. national security. Having recalled the Turkish ambassador to the United States, there had been strong hints in September that appropriate reaction to the bill's passage would be to curtail U.S. access to Incirlik Airbase—a critical supply hub for ongoing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. This was not the first time the Armenian genocide issue threatened relations, and it will rise again.⁹

More troublesome, leaders and the public in both the United States and Turkey are questioning the very fundamentals of their relationship. As Ian Lesser has noted, "Today, the strategic quality of the relationship can no longer be taken for granted."¹⁰ A strategic relationship means that both parties find ways to manage lesser differences in order to maintain effective cooperation in the advancement of their long-term national interests. Instead, today's relationship is tactical and transactional, with neither side able to look beyond recent betrayals or clearly articulate what they want and can contribute strategically to the partnership.

About the CSIS U.S.-Turkey Strategic Initiative

CSIS has undertaken a year-long initiative to develop a comprehensive assessment of Turkey's internal developments and changing relations with its neighbors and the United States. This assessment will inform a policy report, due in December 2008, which will propose both a new strategic framework to enhance U.S.-Turkey relations and a plan for its implementation. This initiative, supported by a grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation, seeks to advance constructive policy recommendations for renewal and long-term management of the relationship.

The CSIS U.S.-Turkey Strategic Initiative involves an interdisciplinary team of senior CSIS scholars on Turkey, Europe, Russia/Eurasia, the Middle East, global energy policy, and international security, including Bulent Aliriza, Jon Alterman, Andrew Kutchins, David Pumphrey, and Julianne Smith. The team works in consultation with a bipartisan Senior Advisory Group, cochaired by Zbigniew Brzezinski and Brent Scowcroft, and including Morton Abramowitz, James Holmes, James Jamerson, Joseph Ralston, John McLaughlin, and Dennis Ross.

Turkey's Changing Domestic Situation

Turkish politics are also in a state of flux. Leaders of the traditional secularist parties in Turkey have lost influence at home over the past decade and also feel betrayed by the United States as a result of its perceived embrace of the AKP.¹¹ On the other hand, a confident Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and other members of the AKP won the election in late 2002 as the first majority government in power since 1987. And while they are seen by supporters of traditional Kemalist parties as having a thinly veiled "Islamist" agenda, AKP leaders have maintained generally cooperative relations with the United States and Europe.¹² Still, this has opened the door to the possibility of building new political coalitions in both countries that are broader and more vibrant than ones of the past, which tended to be dominated only by security concerns.

Against this background, 2007 was a pivotal year in Turkish politics, and 2008 is ripe for further historical twists. Parliament was scheduled to elect a successor to President Ahmet Necdet Sezer in May 2007 at the end of his seven-year term. Secular Turks feared that Erdoğan, who had been involved in earlier Islamist movements, or another outwardly devout AKP politician, would be nominated for President. The prospect of the AKP taking over the presidency, a bastion of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's legacy of strict secularism with veto power over legislation, provoked strong protests and warnings from the military. To stave off a crisis, the AKP leadership chose Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül, who is seen as more of a centrist, as its Presidential candidate. This did little to allay critics. Detractors highlighted Gül's candidacy as yet another failure for the AKP to offer compromise to traditional Kemalist elements of society. Gül's selection failed to prevent the military from suggesting that it remains ready to act in defense of Kemalist secularism, in this case through its April 27 "e-coup."¹³ Preceding the posting of that strongly worded statement on the Turkish General Staff's Web site, upwards of a million people, the largest political rally in Turkish history, marched in Istanbul in support of preserving the

Kemalist legacy, opposing Gül's candidacy. Opposition parties subsequently boycotted two rounds of parliamentary voting on a new President, and the election was later cancelled by the Constitutional Court, which upheld the opposition position that two-thirds of the deputies needed to be in attendance during the voting. Gül withdrew his candidacy and Erdoğan sought to break the deadlock by calling for early general elections, proposing also to amend the constitution to allow for direct popular election of the President and reducing the quorum requirement to one-third.

AKP was the big winner in July 22, 2007, parliamentary elections, increasing their share of the vote by 12.2 percent to 46.6 percent. This reelection was the first time in 52 years that a political party in Turkey had increased the number of votes received in two consecutive terms. However, AKP was allocated fewer seats in parliament given the distribution among three parties—the main secular parties, the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the right-wing Nationalist Action Party (MHP), as well as an unusually large number of independent members (including many Kurdish deputies). AKP still lacks the two-thirds majority required to advance Erdoğan's proposals for amending the constitution. In mid-August, Erdoğan and the AKP risked a further confrontation with the main secular parties and the military by nominating Gül again, rather than advancing a compromise Presidential candidate. CHP again boycotted the first round of elections, but Gül won the post with a simple majority in a third round of voting on August 28, 2007. This drawn-out process did little to heal Turkey's political divides, and Gül and Erdoğan have been under even sharper surveillance by secular Turkey and its media compatriots. Almost beyond the comprehension of Kemalist Turks, not only did President Gül's wife become the first woman in a headscarf to reside at the Çankaya Presidential palace, but working with the MHP, the AKP garnered the necessary votes to amend the constitution and lift the ban on headscarves at all places of higher public education (this amendment is now under review by the Constitutional Court and has been implemented in only a handful of instances, at the discretion of university rectors).

Looking ahead, the great revolution of the AKP leadership was their 2002 break with previous Islamist parties. Avowing a commitment to secularism, they have nonetheless challenged Turkey's French Jacobin-inspired laicism. They reject the label of an Islamist party, and have pursued a pro-EU reform agenda that has fostered steady economic growth and is popular with a broad cross section of the public.¹⁴ Under the AKP, a new political elite has emerged that has fundamentally transformed political power in the country, even if still subject to inherent limitations and checks. A struggle over power and values between the new AKP elite and the old-line political parties will continue under President Gül and beyond. To some degree, it is a class struggle: the new rising middle class and small and medium-size business owners of the Anatolian heartland, who have benefited tremendously from globalization but also hold onto their more traditional values, are overtaking the old, landed classes clustered in the cities on the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts (the only regions where CHP and other Kemalist parties still win elections). Turkey's public universities are the best in the region, and they are free to any Turks who qualify on the annual exam. Over the past 30 years, especially, this has opened opportunity to younger generations previously shut out of Turkey's elite strata. These are the so-called "black Turks," whose often darker complexion and lack of westernization color them as different than the "white Turk" secular elites. With a more level playing field, Graham Fuller observes, "the new bourgeois Islamists represent a rising class competing against the old Kemalist elite."¹⁵ In this class struggle within Turkey, an information campaign rages through the often sensationalist, prolific press. Ideas are similarly carried outside the country by strong advocates of political and class position, who compete to convince Western audiences of who is more threatening in the longer term: a wounded Kemalist elite with their back up against the wall willing to blame the United States and the West for the change

underway in the country; or the AKP, who have been ebullient and unaccommodating to others in the political process as they push forward with their reforms—all of which they tuck behind the foil of the EU process, but each of which may represent a subtle move toward *shariah* law and social alignment with Saudi Arabia or Iran.

In the latest turn in the internal battle by traditional Kemalist elites to maintain their hold on power, on March 14, 2008, Chief Prosecutor Abdurrahman Yalçınkaya shocked the nation by filing charges against the AKP that call for it to be shut down for its role in a range of “anti-secular activities.” The filing also demands 71 AKP members be banned from Turkish politics for 5 years, including Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and President Abdullah Gül.¹⁶ On April 1, the Constitutional Court—on which 8 of the 11 members were appointed by the previous, staunchly secularist President—agreed to hear the charges, and the process may be completed by the middle of the summer but could drag on for a year. The charges are based primarily around speeches given by prominent AKP politicians as reported in newspapers, and the legal precedent on which Yalçınkaya bases his case studiously avoids controversial laws such as Article 301. Instead, the case is based on more accepted Turkish constitutional law (a constitution, albeit, written by a military-directed government following a coup) and even the supposed precedent of EU laws, including court cases related to Turkey and adopted EU reforms that call for Turkish law to subordinate to EU laws. EU Commissioner for Enlargement Ollie Rehn has come out strongly against the court case: “It is difficult to say that this respects the democratic principles of a normal European country.”¹⁷ Bulent Aliriza predicts that, “Although it is unlikely that the millions of voters who backed Erdoğan and the JDP [AKP] would react violently to judicial action against them, they will almost certainly vote for their successors when the ballot box is eventually put in front of them.”¹⁸ Many members of the current AKP are members of parties that were similarly disbanded by the Constitutional Court. That the AKP has lasted over five years in power is testament to members’ ability to learn from past Kemalist intervention and adaptability to the peculiarities of the Turkish system. However, if Erdoğan is banned from political life for some significant period, this would cloud the future of any successor to the AKP, as his charisma and record have been central to the party’s success. In such a case, a split of the party would be likely.

Those who remain suspicious of the motives of the new Turkish political class point to a creeping Islamization, manifested by what they perceive as dissembling about true intentions (the term for this hidden agenda is *takiye*) and the growing connection to the Muslim world at the expense of ties with the West. Of the reemergence of Turkey’s Muslim identity, former U.S. ambassador to Turkey Robert Pearson writes, “Turks did not cease to be Muslims [during decades of by-the-book Kemalism]... This deeper current of life in Turkey never disappeared... Over the years, as Turkey’s political parties jockeyed for new support, they began to reach down to this Muslim undercurrent and use it to nourish the political life of the country.”¹⁹ Rising religiosity characterizes globalization in every region except Europe (and there, it is strong among minority Muslim populations), so it is no surprise that it has reemerged in Turkey. But the question of the rise of Sunni Islamist tendencies in Turkey is extremely sensitive because of the perceived threat of an aggressive, developing strain of Islam that is anathema to free and open societies. While Turkey is generally regarded as an important, moderating interlocutor, many worry that it may in fact be headed inexorably toward a more radical brand of Islam, with an inherently undemocratic, anti-Semitic, and anti-Western bent. Pearson is more sanguine on this point: “If Turkey continues to register... progress, it will likely avoid the backlash of a religious revolt from its younger generation [as has occurred elsewhere in the Middle East].”²⁰ There is some cause for concern, however. The youth population in Turkey is suffering from an above-average unemployment rate of 18 percent (compared to a na-

tional rate of 9 percent unemployment). UN resident coordinator in Turkey Mahmood Ayub has stated that “[i]f Turkey does not succeed in preparing its youth for the challenging global markets of tomorrow and in providing them with more and better jobs, the youth of the future could be a source of social, political and economic tensions in Turkey.”²¹

The Turkish state has long played a role in regulating the practice of Islam in Turkey through the Office of Religious Affairs. More recently, this office has undertaken a project to revise the Hadith, a collection of sayings reputed to be from the Prophet Mohammed and a driving force behind many of the more socially conservative interpretations in modern Islam.²² Based on serious Islamic scholarship and historical research, Turkey’s effort is among the more enterprising undertakings in the modern history of the religion and one with global importance. Turkey has also begun to play a larger role in the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), recognized by the fact that a Turk, Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu, was elected Secretary-General of the OIC in 2005 and reelected in 2008.²³

Turkey’s most influential nonstate religious organization, the Gülen Movement, is also of increasing international consequence.²⁴ Founded by Fethullah Gülen,²⁵ the movement focuses on establishing a practice of Islam compatible with modern life, strongly committed not only to more traditional values of community and faith, but to education, science, interfaith dialogue, economic prosperity, and even the principle of the modern nation-state. More impressively, Gülenists “claim to have founded more than 500 places of learning in 90 countries,” with particular focus in Central Asia.²⁶ Critics charge that the Gülen movement carries a hidden agenda similar to that of the AKP. And while it supports democracy as it currently exists, it “also insists that the ideal form of administration is an Islamic one.”²⁷ The movement claims to stay out of politics, but it has unquestionably played a role in AKP’s popularity and electoral success through use of its local networks, especially in the country’s southeast.²⁸

The one concern that all major political parties in Turkey share is the Kurdish question. AKP politicians claim that the July 2007 elections prove that they have brought Turkey’s Kurdish population into the mainstream of politics, but the truth is somewhat more complex. AKP points as evidence of Kurds joining the political mainstream to its own rising popularity in Turkey’s southeast.²⁹ They also note that in more recent reforms to recognize EU demands for the rights of the Kurdish minority, one of the Turkish state-owned television channels began broadcasting some Kurdish-language programming each week in 2004. The government even has plans to open a Kurdish-only channel, though it will be restricted, subtitled in Turkish, and presumably carefully censored. Such an allowance for multicultural media, though, was unthinkable even in the past decade. Still, the Kurdish population of Turkey remains disadvantaged by higher levels of unemployment and lower levels of education, and in rural areas it still operates along tribal lines—all factors that set it apart from the rest of Turkish society.³⁰

In last summer’s elections, the Kurdish-nationalist Democratic Society Party (DTP) ran its candidates as independents to overcome the minimum 10 percent threshold that would have kept them out of parliament if they had run under party affiliation. The election of the 21 Kurdish independents is the first time since the 1990s that Kurds have served in Turkey’s parliament. However, DTP is now under threat of closure by the Constitutional Court, as befell its predecessor parties DEP and DEHAP, with accusations that its members remain affiliated with the PKK. AKP is opposed to DTP being closed—a bad precedent to set, if nothing else—and evinces a desire to keep DTP in the political process rather than “sending them to the mountains,”³¹ a colloquialism for Kurdish insurgency.

Perhaps the biggest story in the past seven years in Turkey, and the key to AKP's popularity, has been consistent economic growth and performance. The IMF's *World Economic Outlook* (2008) finds that by the end of 2007, Turkey became the 15th-largest economy in the world in terms of purchasing power parity (\$941.6 billion). Turkey was also 60th in the world in terms of per capita GDP-PPP, indicating a growing wealth gap (a growing trend among all middle income countries). The real GDP growth rate in the years 2005–2007 was 7.4 percent, 6.0 percent, and 4.6 percent (respectively). Keeping growth about 5 percent is necessary for Turkey to close the gap with EU per capita income standards.

There are some worrying trends that could affect Turkey's economy in the near term. One is, of course, the global economic fallout from the U.S. mortgage crisis. Another is growing political instability, which is already a contributing factor to explain why the *World Investment Report* ranked Turkey 122nd among 137 countries in attracting foreign direct investment (FDI).³² The high price of oil (over \$100 per barrel) is also increasing Turkey's current-account deficit, which is nearly 8 percent of GDP. With each \$1 increase in oil prices, one-tenth of a percentage point is added to Turkey's account deficit.³³ As the current-account deficit increases with energy prices, and additional spending on infrastructure and education also grow, concern about inflation rates increases. Although inflation has been significantly lowered since 2001, its potential reemergence is a reality.³⁴

Turkey's Evolving Strategic Outlook and Importance

Atatürk's vision of the republic as a modern, secular, state oriented toward Europe remains a foundation of Turkish grand strategy, but Turkey's horizons have broadened since the end of the Cold War and as the European integration process has faltered. In the early 1990s, then-Turkish President Turgut Özal developed a new vision for Turkey that combined close alignment with the United States and Europe with a larger role in the Middle East, the Black Sea region, and Central Asia. Özal envisaged Turkey becoming a regional leader by creating an economic cooperation zone in the Black Sea area, simultaneously serving as a role model for the newly independent states of the former USSR.³⁵ Özal also developed military and economic cooperation with Israel. However, Özal's premature death in 1993, coupled with a lack of resources and regional political support, precluded realization of this vision.

Prime Minister Erdoğan's chief foreign policy adviser, Ahmet Davutoğlu, has also championed Turkish involvement in Europe, Central Asia, and the Middle East, while still balancing relations with the United States and Israel.³⁶ The approach, termed "strategic depth," is also linked with long-standing concepts in Turkey of neo-Ottomanism and pan-Turkism, a greater involvement with former Ottoman territories and with Turkic-speaking people of Central Asia. The diversity of interests encompassed by the strategic depth approach is a reaction to Turkey's profound uncertainty about where its future lies. Such a diffuse approach to diplomacy is a hedging strategy. Still, the sheer pace and scope of Turkey's diplomacy is striking. For a middle-income country of 72 million people, Turkey punches far above its weight in the global arena.

One enabler of Turkey's wider role is its unique geography, a source of strategic importance for each of the past seven civilizations to inhabit the Anatolian landmass. But this geography is also a source of strategic confusion, unease, and transition. At the moment, Turkey sits between what Henry Kissinger has termed the "three revolutions," consisting of "the transformation of the

traditional state system of Europe...[,] the radical Islamist challenge to historic notions of sovereignty...[,] and] the drive of the center of gravity of international affairs from the Atlantic to the Pacific and Indian Oceans.”³⁷ Placed in the middle of these revolutions, Turkey is something of a gatekeeper and, at the same time, a prisoner.

In a similar vein, Ian Lesser argues that it is inadequate to view Turkey in geographic terms alone. “This realtor’s view of strategy, ‘location, location, location,’ has not served either side well in a post-containment era of diffuse regional problems, less-than-existential threats, and new debates about national power and purpose.”³⁸ It may be more useful to chart Turkey as a metaphorical bridge as well as a physical one. Turkey links with ideological spaces inaccessible to the United States and Europe, especially in its relations with the Muslim world. The Turkish system certainly is not an exportable model, but it does have the power to shape opinion and spark dialogue throughout the Muslim world on how some elements of Western-style statecraft and moderate Islam may be of obvious benefit.

In the face of growing doubts about Europe and the United States, some Turkish leaders have begun to hedge their bets and quietly ponder a “Eurasian option” that would downplay integration into the Euro-Atlantic community and emphasize balancing relations with the West with ties to their eastern and southern neighbors. Turkey’s alternatives could include new relationships with Iran, Syria, Russia, and China—partners likely to focus less on Turkey’s domestic politics than do Western nations. Turkey may also seek a greater sphere of influence in Central Asia and the South Caucasus and Black Sea regions.³⁹ But any such strategy faces a number of challenges.

The new focus on the Middle East and Turkey’s general eastward shift can be explained by the lack of a Mediterranean threat from Greece. With its accession to the EU, as well as that of Cyprus, Greece no longer engages in its traditional rivalry with the same single-minded focus. Attention to southern and eastern borders is the historical norm—interrupted by World War I and resulting Soviet-European intrigues—but also brings Turkey into a natural tension with the United States. For decades, the respective relations of Turkey and the United States with the Middle East have seemingly run parallel to the U.S.-Turkey relationship, framed in strictly Euro-Atlantic terms. Turkey would welcome the opportunity for greater inclusion in U.S. policy and strategy in the Middle East, and the United States could benefit from a different source of soft influence and, when need be, military coercion to aid its stabilization of the region. The Euro-Atlantic relationship also must reshape itself to cooperate more effectively in the Middle East, and if the United States and Turkey are serious about Turkey joining the EU, a new framework and consensus on priorities must arise, either pulling from existing institutions such as NATO or thinking beyond these. It is also a fair observation that Europe may increasingly turn its focus from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean and North Africa, where Turkey’s influence could be a potent asset. As Europe grows increasingly wary about Russia, Turkey also clearly has a role to play in that dynamic—especially in its unique role as an energy corridor.

The United States, Turkey, and Iraq

No event since the U.S. congressional reaction and arms embargo following the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus has so tested the U.S.-Turkey relationship as the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. Divergence on Iraq left a bitter taste for both countries, and Turkish disillusionment with the United States has grown in the aftermath of the war. The rise of the Kurdish Regional Government in northern Iraq and resurgence of the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK)—a Maoist terrorist group that has existed since the 1970s—has complicated matters significantly. Many Turks fear that the

rise of an autonomous Kurdish state in northern Iraq will fuel secessionist tendencies among the estimated 14 million Kurds concentrated in Turkey's southeast border regions. Turks also see the U.S. failure to halt PKK activities in northern Iraq as evidence of a double standard with respect to terrorism and Turkey's security more broadly. Despite the recent highpoint of an intelligence-sharing agreement signed by President Bush and Prime Minister Erdoğan in November 2007 and a resulting series of targeted cross-border operations by Turkey against the PKK, many Turks continue to believe that the United States unduly restricts their options in Iraq, prioritizing relations with Iraqi Kurds over Turkey's core security interests.

With its five-year presence in Iraq, the United States has ingrained itself into the Middle East as never before. Turkey, like many of its neighbors to the south, was stunned when the United States chose to pursue, against all regional advice save Israel, a military intervention in Iraq. Turkey, in particular, believed it had an opportunity to stop or delay the invasion of Iraq after its parliament voted "no" to allowing a U.S. invasion from its soil in March 2003. Washington was deeply disappointed with the lack of a northern front for the operations and, more importantly, with Turkey's lack of solidarity in liberating fellow Muslims from Saddam's oppression. As the occupation of Iraq went sour, many of the Iraq War's architects and advocates blamed the lack of access from Turkey (despite significant flexibility allowed by Turkey in the use of İncirlik Airbase and air corridors in and out of the country).

Many U.S. policymakers have continually failed to recognize that for Turkey the question of regime change in Iraq centered on Turkey's own Kurdish question.⁴⁰ The Turkish fear of national dismemberment, given the historical memory of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, is palpable in Turkish political discourse today.⁴¹ At stake in Iraq are not just immediate Turkish interests such as stability in a neighboring oil-rich state, but the vision of the founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, of the country as an ethnically homogeneous, "Turkish" whole, with no accommodation for other national identities.⁴² The Turkish "no" vote was spurred by concerns in the country that the promises U.S. President Woodrow Wilson had made more than 80 years previous would finally come true: an independent Kurdish homeland under self-rule (not to mention the specter of the Armenia that Wilson had promised, which would have taken territory from what is now eastern Turkey).

The outcome of the Iraq War has confirmed many Turks' worst suspicions. During the five years of U.S. presence in Iraq, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) has regrouped, and an autonomous Kurdish state has begun to take shape under President Massoud Barzani of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). With an early role on the 25-member Interim Governing Council of Iraq, Talabani, Barzani, and other Kurds deftly maneuvered to, in the words of the International Crisis Group, "design a constitutional framework that will not only reverse decades of Arabisation but also facilitate these areas' incorporation into Kurdistan."⁴³ Recognized as the administrative power of the federated region of northern Iraq, the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG)⁴⁴ is in a strong position to annex the city of Kirkuk and surrounding oil-rich region through a constitutionally mandated referendum (slated for last year, but still not held).⁴⁵ The KRG has continued on a path to independence, also signing a number of oil agreements outside the authority of the Iraqi government (though committed to sharing revenue with the rest of Iraq).⁴⁶ Iraqi Kurds make clear that while they may exercise some patience, they will have their own nation with either de jure or de facto independence from Baghdad.⁴⁷

The PKK, which the United States and the EU have identified as a terrorist organization, waged a bloody insurgency in Turkey's southeast between 1984 and 1999, during which 37,000

people were killed. The group's insurgency waned after the U.S.-assisted 1999 capture and subsequent trial and conviction of PKK leader Abdullah "Apo" Öcalan. Spared from the death penalty by its abolition (in line with EU norms), from his prison cell Öcalan has called on his former PKK fighters to declare a temporary cease-fire and ultimately to demilitarize and seek peace with Turkey. Hard-line commanders in the PKK organization, however, remain opposed to a peace, and the terrorist organization continues to regenerate itself from the Kurdish population in Turkey's southeast, with safe haven in a labyrinthine network of redoubts near the high mountains of the Iraq-Iran-Turkey tri-border region.⁴⁸ The group maintains an estimated 3,500 to 5,000 members, and it has carried out a renewed series of operations since 2004 that have killed an estimated 1,500 in Turkey.⁴⁹ Turks were shocked by this new wave of violence and assessed a U.S. "toleration" of PKK activities in northern Iraq, leading them to a single conclusion: the United States waged its war on terror by military means, and rejected the right of Turkey to do the same. Much of the Turkish rancor stems from the relative powerlessness to affect events in Iraq, a feeling born in large part from a humiliating event that occurred on July 4, 2003, when U.S. troops detained an 11-man Turkish special forces team in Sulaymaniyah, Iraq.⁵⁰

In the aftermath of the Sulaymaniyah debacle, opinion of the United States declined markedly across Turkey. In addition to front-page headlines for weeks and fodder for Turkey's many conspiracy-obsessed newspaper columnists, the incident was the inspiration for what would be the country's highest-grossing film ever, *Valley of the Wolves—Iraq* (Kurtlar Vadisi—Irak), and a record bestselling book of recent years, *Metal Storm* (Metal Fırtına). The film was a graphic depiction of "evening the score" akin to the *Rambo* series, in which the abduction of the Turkish special forces is avenged. Americans are depicted as colluding with Kurds to slaughter local Arabs and Turkmens, with re-enactments of famous images from Abu Ghraib and a Jewish doctor harvesting prisoner organs. *Metal Storm* postulates a war between Turkey and the United States leading to the U.S. bombing of Ankara and Istanbul and the eventual detonation of a nuclear weapon in Washington by Turkey in response.⁵¹

From March 2003 forward, combating the PKK topped Ankara's agenda with Washington. But the United States did little publicly to address the issue until August 2006, when retired U.S. Air Force General Joseph Ralston was appointed U.S. Special Envoy for Countering the PKK. Ralston's good relations with Turkish leaders and the KRG resulted in several framework agreements with Baghdad and Ankara. In October 2007, Ralston resigned from the position, reportedly due to the U.S. government's lack of commitment.⁵² Washington's war strategy in Iraq has been to leave the north to the Kurds and their *peshmerga* security forces, with a focus on the active instability and lack of governmental capacity in the country's center. In turn, Turkey has routinely overestimated Washington's influence in the north of the country, as well as its ability to commit thinly stretched combat forces to missions countering the PKK.

In early October 2007, the PKK launched a series of bold raids into the southeast of Turkey that killed dozens of Turkish security forces in ambush attacks. The streets of Turkey erupted with a nationalist show of solidarity against terrorism. The humiliation and powerlessness felt over the future of Iraq in Turkey was overwhelming. The simultaneous introduction of House Resolution 106 added a further political irritant. Pressure mounted on the government and the military to retaliate and demonstrate Turkish resolve. Violence also grew against Turkey's Kurdish population, with numerous attacks by ultranationalist elements across the country.⁵³ On October 17, the Turkish Grand National Assembly by a nearly unanimous vote authorized cross-border military strikes into Iraq. But those strikes did not come until after a U.S.-Turkey agreement was reached during a November 5 visit to the White House by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

It was further disconcerting for many Turks that their prime minister had to travel to Washington as a supplicant before Turkey could exercise its sovereign right in defense against cross-border terrorist raids. Under the terms of that agreement, the United States has provided its NATO ally with real-time targeting intelligence on the PKK inside Iraq from the newly established Ankara Coordination Center.⁵⁴ High-level military channels of communication also were activated between the Turkish General Staff and their U.S. counterparts, including Commander of Multinational Force-Iraq General David Petraeus and the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General James Cartwright.

Despite the increased satisfaction of the Turkish government, military, and public with newfound U.S. attention, troubles in the relationship flared again amidst an offensive by Turkish Armed Forces into northern Iraq during the last week of February 2008. Following at least four other concerted air operations and brief ground incursions in previous months, this operation involved elite Turkish commando units working in tandem with fixed-wing and rotary aircraft in northern Iraq. Initial news delivered to the Turkish public from the frontlines of the operation resulted in eruptions of patriotic support from across the political spectrum.

Political fallout from previous U.S.-authorized Turkish operations had been relatively minor, but this time the international media zoomed in on the situation, quickly eliciting condemnation from Russia, Iran, and the EU, as well as an escalation of rhetoric in Iraq. Leaders from the Iraqi central government, prominent Kurdish politicians, and even the likes of Moqtada al-Sadr decried the violation of Iraq's territorial sovereignty at U.S. behest. High-level calls placed from Baghdad to Washington resulted in President Bush outlining a clear exit strategy for the Turks.⁵⁵ Bush's statement was interpreted in Turkey again as undue U.S. pressure and elicited strong rebuff from the Turkish military and civilians as to their right to pursue military actions as they see fit.

But by the next day, February 29, Turkey withdrew its forces. The sudden disengagement led to further strains in the bilateral relations and on Turkey's domestic political scene. The Turkish General Staff assured its public that the termination of February operations was by its own choosing, having achieved all military objectives. The AKP government joined the military in declaring recent operations a great success, ticking off a laundry list of accomplishments. Republican People's Party (CHP) leader Deniz Baykal, Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) leader Devlet Bahçeli, and their party colleagues seized the political offensive, unleashing a barrage of charges that accused the military and AKP of appeasement to U.S. demands in exchange for Turkey's long-term security. CHP leader Baykal said, "The United States is playing its game. It does not want terrorist elements to be removed from northern Iraq. Turkey has been subject to U.S. pressure from the outset to end the operation immediately."⁵⁶ More recently, opposition parties ceased their attack on the military and narrowed their focus to a perceived unholy alliance of the AKP and United States. These parties have long blamed the United States as somehow responsible for the meteoric rise of the AKP, who they now see as beholden to its whims, and this line of attack has played well with their established narrative that the United States is secretly behind the demise of the power of Kemalist political parties in Turkey.⁵⁷

Turkey and the Greater Middle East

Coincident with growing U.S.-Turkey tensions over Iraq, Turkey has greatly expanded its ties throughout the greater Middle East. The Iraq War not only damaged U.S.-Turkey cooperation in the region, it also diminished Turkey's confidence in NATO when France sought to block Ankara's request for deployment of NATO missile defense assets consistent with allied collective defense

(Article V) commitments. This inaction reinforced the belief of many Turks that the NATO allies are not serious about its security, especially when the threat emanates from the Middle East. Without a reliable multilateral security framework, Turkey has sought to strengthen its security along its longest land borders, with Syria, Iraq, and Iran through unilateral means and diplomatic openings.

In January 2004, Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad made a historic visit to Turkey (the first by a Syrian President since 1946),⁵⁸ and in December of that year, the two countries signed a free-trade agreement.⁵⁹ On Iran, the Turkish government does not oppose what it has publicly called peaceful nuclear activity and declares that only diplomatic means will solve any problem with Tehran.⁶⁰ Turkey has also departed from Europe and the United States in its self-appointed role in the Arab-Israeli peace process and engagement with the Hamas government. In 2006 in Khartoum, Sudan, Erdoğan became the first Turkish Prime Minister to attend an Arab League Summit. To the consternation of many secular Turks and the delight of many at the summit, he opened the occasion with a verse from the Quran.⁶¹ Subsequently, Turkey was given permanent guest status, and in January 2008 Turkey and the Arab League signed an agreement to carry out talks on regional issues.⁶² Turkey has also departed significantly from its U.S. and European allies in its interaction with various pariah regimes in the region and beyond. In early January 2008, Sudanese President Omar Hassan Al-Bashir visited Ankara.⁶³

Turkey is often criticized in the Middle East for its close relations with Israel, but Turkish leaders defend the relationship as beneficial for the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.⁶⁴ Turkish and Israeli cooperation has existed in a secretive realm since the 1950s. Due to a shared threat perception at the end of the Cold War,⁶⁵ military agreements on intelligence sharing, joint training, and defense industry were enhanced publicly. In the 1990s, Israel became an alternate source of military equipment apart from the United States and Europe, and the two countries deepened relations.⁶⁶ Necmettin Erbakan and his Welfare Party (RP) came to power in 1996 with a pledge to end relations with Israel but were unable to deliver on their goal as a result of intense pressure from the Turkish General Staff.⁶⁷ The RP—among its members some now at the core of the AKP—was forced out of power in 1997⁶⁸ with the so-called postmodern coup, and bilateral relations with Israel continued with annual joint training exercises beginning in 1998.⁶⁹

Since 2002, however, a growing undercurrent in Turkey of anti-Israel sentiment and increased sympathy for mainstream Muslim causes would seem to indicate an erosion of the relationship. Yet, even with increased tensions since 2002, a new mechanism for military cooperation opened in 2004 when Israel joined NATO's Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI), which allows Israel and other partners to deepen cooperation with NATO members, including joint military training exercises.⁷⁰ Trade between the two countries has been steadily increasing. In 1987, the volume of trade was only \$54 million,⁷¹ but after the ratification of the free-trade agreement in 1997,⁷² trade skyrocketed, and by 2007 the total volume of trade was \$2.8 billion.⁷³ Israel remains among Turkey's largest trading partners in the Middle East. Turkey has long enjoyed sizable economic benefits from the millions of Israeli tourists who visit the country annually.⁷⁴ Turkey and Israel have also collaborated on desalination, agro-technology, and other water treatment projects.

Yet, failures of U.S. and Israeli diplomacy in the Middle East have led Turkish leaders to conclude that they have nothing to lose from a more independent stance and may gain some influence with neighbors in the region.

Despite strong economic ties, condemnation of Israel peppers Prime Minister Erdoğan's speeches, is common among all of Turkey's political parties, and has become the routine stance for Turkish representatives at the United Nations. The issue resonates with the electorate, and it

has been fanned by consistent rumors in the press that Israel is increasing its support of Kurdish military forces as a bulwark against instability in Iraq and to hedge against Iran's growing role in the region.⁷⁵ Major incidents of Turkish condemnation of Israel occurred throughout 2006–2007 in response to the escalating violence in Gaza,⁷⁶ with in-kind Israeli condemnation of Turkey for hosting a visit by Hamas leadership.⁷⁷ During this time, Erdoğan declined a visit to Israel and briefly withdrew the ambassador to the country. With a lull in violence, the tensions died down, and Israel and Turkey resumed cooperative measures. In November 2007, Turkey restored its mediation role and hosted high-level talks between Israelis and Palestinians.⁷⁸ Turkey also became the first Muslim state to host the Israeli President in its parliament. Then, with the latest increase in violence between Israel and Hamas in Gaza in early 2008, Turkey explicitly condemned Israel for its excessive use of force,⁷⁹ while also condemning broadly the Hamas-linked terrorist attack in Israel in March.⁸⁰

The relationship between Turkey and Iran is hampered by historical rivalry for greater influence and political advantage, and it is balanced with attempts to coexist peacefully, strengthen economic ties, and hinder the foundation of an independent Kurdish state. Today, relations between Iran and Turkey are far from settled, but there has been increased security and economic cooperation. Iran has its own version of the PKK: the Iranian-Kurdish terrorist group, the Party for a Free Life in Iranian Kurdistan (PJAK), which has become increasingly violent.⁸¹ The attacks by the PKK and PJAK pushed Turkey and Iran to sign further security cooperation agreements and memoranda of understanding between 2004 and 2008.⁸² These agreements have led to simultaneous—presumably coordinated—attacks into Northern Iraq, but there have been no official reports of direct joint operations.⁸³ On the economic side, various agreements were signed in 2007, including a joint plan to improve electricity infrastructure⁸⁴ and one to develop projects in Iran's South Pars gas field, linked to the construction of “two pipelines [that] will be built to ship approximately 30 billion cubic meters annually (bcma) of Turkmen and Iranian gas to Europe via Turkey.”⁸⁵

Turkish officials have been surprisingly circumspect in their public comments about Iran's pursuit of nuclear technology, despite an evident recognition that it is not in Turkey's long-term interest for Iran to become a tacit or proven nuclear-weapons power. A nuclear-armed Iran could spur further proliferation in neighboring Arab countries, destabilize the region, and force Turkey to protect itself through increased reliance on missile defense or even to acquire its own nuclear arsenal.⁸⁶ Recent public opinion polls suggest that a majority of Turks favor engagement with Tehran, but there are signs of growing uneasiness about Iran's nuclear ambitions and regional role. In a 2007 International Republican Institute survey, 66 percent of Turks polled supported efforts to increase engagement with Iran. However, in the German Marshall Fund report, *Transatlantic Trends 2007*, 59 percent of Turks said they believe a nuclear Iran will threaten Europe, and on a 100-point thermometer scale, there has been a cooling of Turkish feelings toward Iran, from 43 degrees in 2006 to 30 degrees in 2007.⁸⁷ Turkey has sought to use its diplomatic ties with Iran to advance resolution of the nuclear crisis and hosted talks between EU negotiator Javier Solana and Iran's former lead, Ali Larijani.⁸⁸

Turkey's relations with Syria have also been tense due to historical territorial disputes, including Turkey's annexation of Hatay province in 1939, conflict over control of the Tigris and Euphrates water basin, Turkey's close relations with the West and Israel, and Syria's support for the PKK in the 1980s and 1990s. Since the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, Syrian and Turkish officials have exchanged high-level visits and signed various bilateral agreements. According to the government-owned Syrian news agency, SANA, the biggest foreign investor in Syria is Turkey.⁸⁹ In February 2007, Turkey and Syria agreed to create joint projects for energy production.⁹⁰

While these agreements are signs of progress, Syria remains wary of Turkey's closeness with the West and Israel. To ease this distrust, Turkey has recently increased its role as mediator between Syria and Israel. Yet, Turkey clearly remains committed to ensuring certain restraints on Syria's role in the region, likely recalling Syria's sponsorship and harboring of the PKK in the 1990s and a narrowly averted conflict between the countries over the issue in 1998. On September 6, 2007, it is suspected that Israel carried out an airstrike, transiting a Turkish air corridor to bomb what appears to have been a nuclear site in northeastern Syria (a reactor modeled on that at North Korea's Yongbyon reactor). Publicly, Turkey and Syria were united over disapproval of the raid, and on September 9, Syrian Foreign Minister Walid Mualem went to Turkey for talks on recent events and regional issues. During the visit, Mualem's Turkish counterpart, Ali Babacan, called the airspace violations "unacceptable," while requesting both countries to "act with restraint."⁹¹ Upon Israel's formal apology, President Gül stated the event was a "closed matter" and continued in its mediating role in the matter.⁹² In an April 2008 newspaper interview meant for consumption throughout the Arab world, Syrian President Assad revealed that Turkey, led by Prime Minister Erdoğan, has for the past year worked to broker a deal between Israel and Syria over the Golan Heights.⁹³

Turkey's relations with the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)—Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE)—are continually recalibrated by events in the region. Recently, shared threat perceptions between Turkey and the GCC have brought the countries closer. Turkey and the GCC member countries fear regional instability overflowing from Iraq.⁹⁴ Turkey fears Kurdish separatism, and the Gulf States fear the growing Islamist awakening and militarization of the Shi'ite world.⁹⁵ These concerns have been addressed at various ministerial summits with Iraq and its neighbors.⁹⁶ Turkey also initiated meetings with the Gulf States to discuss Iraq, including a March 2008 meeting organized by the AKP on the Middle East with representatives from government, think tanks, the Arab League, and the European Parliament.⁹⁷ There is a shared fear among Turkey and the Gulf States of Iran becoming a nuclear-armed power and the proliferation of weapons that may ensue. Like Turkey, most Gulf States also want to see a peaceful resolution and work toward containing Iran.⁹⁸ On the issue of Israel and Palestine, Turkey has joined the Gulf States in increasing sympathy to the Palestinians, as well as a willingness to work with the elected Hamas government. Still, it is fair to say that most Gulf States continue to see Turkey as too close to Israel, and they are especially suspicious of the Turkish military and its uncompromisingly secularist views.

Turkey's ties with the Gulf States have solidified through economic and cooperative agreements.⁹⁹ In 2007, the total volume of trade between Turkey and Saudi Arabia was \$3.3 billion,¹⁰⁰ and the volume of trade with the UAE has grown from \$900 million in 2003 to \$3.7 billion in 2007.¹⁰¹ To further the growth in trade between Turkey and the GCC, a free-trade agreement is under negotiation.¹⁰²

Turkey, Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia

Turkey and Russia were bitter enemies with a history of conflict throughout Ottoman and Czarist times.¹⁰³ Turkish and Russian interests aligned somewhat during the 1920s and 1930s with Bolshevik-Kemalist cooperation but quickly collapsed under Stalin. Despite historical wariness and differing interests in the Caucasus and Central Asia, Turkey's relations with Russia have cautiously improved in recent years due largely to growing economic ties. Russia has become a major market for Turkish exports, and Russian investment in Turkey has grown. However, the relationship is far from cordial. Turkish leaders remain concerned about Russia's new assertiveness with regard

to Ukraine, Kosovo, and the Caucasus, and its threats to withdraw from the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty.¹⁰⁴ Moscow's close ties with the Cypriot government and economic activities on the island are also viewed with concern in Ankara. Russia, for its part, has no interest in seeing Turkey realize Özal's vision of becoming the leader of a group of modernizing, market-oriented democracies in the Caucasus and Central Asia and a bridge between those regions and West. Moscow has also been suspicious that Ankara has at least tolerated unofficial support from groups in Turkey to Chechen separatists. Turkey's good relations with Georgia and Azerbaijan, including support for Azeri Turks in Nagorno-Karabakh, reflect divergent interests in the Caucasus. However, most Turks also want to avoid serving again as the frontline of a new Cold War between Russia and the West. Turkey's dependence on Russia for 67 percent of its natural gas inputs also creates certain vulnerabilities.¹⁰⁵ The two governments have increased their cooperation on Black Sea economic, energy, and security issues and have resisted efforts by the United States, Bulgaria, and Romania, to extend NATO's maritime surveillance under *Operation Active Endeavor* into the Black Sea.

Neither Turkey nor Russia share Washington's view of Iran as an immediate security threat of highest priority. While Moscow sees Tehran as a strategic partner in the Middle East, Ankara's goodwill does not extend as far.¹⁰⁶ Still, in a recent survey of evolving Turkish policy in the region, Graham Fuller concludes that "Turkish and Russian views tally closely on the handling of most Middle East issues."¹⁰⁷ As a further example of their convergent interests in the region, Turkey and Russia both opposed a U.S.-led invasion of Iraq on not only political but commercial grounds, as each country had lucrative contracts with the Ba'athist regime it did not wish to see disrupted. Both countries have sought to have those contracts honored by the new Iraqi government, especially in the energy sector, and both have complained about U.S. interference in awarding new contracts. It is also safe to say that while Turkey and Russia fear a precipitous U.S. withdrawal from Iraq, they would chafe at a long-term U.S. presence in the country. Both also maintain closer relations with Syria and generally see the region as a zone of commercial opportunity rather than instability. The instability, both believe, occurs largely because of U.S.-led agitation of a certain status quo.

As Russia's indigenous energy supplies are pressured in the face of higher domestic and European demand (as well as growing demand from China and Japan to the east), Moscow has attempted to lock in rights to Central Asian reserves to resell to Europe at a higher price. Pipeline projects transporting Central Asian reserves to Europe through Turkey present an alternative route that would bypass Russian territory and infrastructure and challenge the Russian monopoly on Caspian and Central Asian resources. The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) crude pipeline began transporting crude oil from Azerbaijan to Turkey's Mediterranean Sea port of Ceyhan in July 2006 and was successful enough to inspire more projects that bypass Russia. Constructed parallel to the BTC by the same consortium, the South Caucasus Gas Pipeline (SCGPL) came online in December 2006, transporting Azeri gas to the Turkish terminal at Erzurum. The Southern European Gas Ring Project links the operational SCGPL to an Interconnector Turkey-Greece-Italy pipeline (ITGI), of which the Turkey-Greece portion came online in November 2007, as the first pipeline transporting Caspian gas to Europe bypassing Russian territory. The second segment between Greece and Italy is set to carry 11.5 bcma to Italy through an undersea pipeline by 2012.¹⁰⁸ In addition to the ITGI, Europe has hoped for a Trans-Caspian Pipeline, which includes plans for an undersea route transporting Kazakh and Turkmen gas westward to Baku to then feed the SCGPL that runs parallel to the BTC.¹⁰⁹ The planned Nabucco pipeline would then transport an estimated 31 bcma of Caspian or Central Asian gas to Europe via Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and

Austria by 2013.¹¹⁰ However, these projects face a number of issues, including competition from Russian projects and disputes between suppliers and transport countries. Also absent is the decisive diplomatic role the United States played in the successful negotiation of the BTC.

This puts Turkey and the United States in direct competition with Russia. U.S. policy on the matter is clear: “the U.S., Azerbaijan, and Turkey [are] working together to attract gas from Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan”¹¹¹ for east-west pipelines outside Russian territory. With the slight opening of Turkmenistan following the death of Saparmurat Niyazov, Turkey has strongly pursued its bilateral relationship with the country. It has been less successful in efforts to court Kazakhstan, largely because of the power of a resurgent Russia in a time of high energy prices and determined backing by the Kremlin.

Turkey and the United States are also united in concern over Russia’s meddling in the internal politics of Georgia and Azerbaijan. Turkey, though, has concern about unilateral U.S. influence in the region and is adamant that the United States engage Azerbaijan jointly in a trilateral framework. In Georgia, Turkey is concerned with the breakaway regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia and may see their independence as bad precedent for its own southeast, despite Turkey’s support for the independence of Kosovo and Turkish Cypriots (a point the Russians have not missed). Still, Turkey has been subdued in its overt response to growing Russian support for Abkhazia, a Turkic-speaking region, and this leads some to wonder what that may indicate about Turkey’s overall tolerance of resurgent Russia. Following on the success of the BTC pipeline, Azerbaijan, Turkey, and Georgia are constructing a Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway that would link to China’s system.¹¹² There is general emphasis in the relationship on overland transportation by truck, to bring manufactured and other goods to European markets, creating a new transportation corridor through Turkey.

Turkey’s border with Armenia has remained sealed since 1994, due to Turkish support for Azerbaijan in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.¹¹³ Turkey has in recent years reached out to Armenia on the genocide issue as a precursor to opening relations more generally. The Turkish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister have sent conciliatory messages to their Armenian counterparts, including a letter from Prime Minister Erdoğan to Armenian President Robert Kocharian suggesting the establishment of a joint commission of historians and others to examine records of the events in the archives of Turkey, Armenia, and other countries. Kocharian dismissed such a bilateral effort as unnecessary, stating that the fact of the genocide is already well established.¹¹⁴ Certainly Armenia stands to benefit economically from opening relations with Turkey and would find the chance difficult to turn away if offered with no strings attached (a highly unlikely scenario from the Turkish perspective).

There is definitely a debate underway in Turkish political thought that Russia may be a viable and even a major partner for Turkey in the twenty-first century. Russia is using a variety of soft power tools to woo Turkey. Other observers feel Russia is just playing with Turkey and that there is ample room for Russo-Turkish competition in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Black Sea.

Turkey and the EU

Atatürk modeled Turkey’s development with an eye toward Europe, and integration into the European Union remains a central goal of both the current AKP government and the traditional Kemalist elite. Turkey’s application for association with the European Economic Community (EEC) began in 1959. In September 1963, Turkey signed an association agreement, known as the Ankara Agreement, with the EEC. Walter Hallstein, then President of the EEC, plainly stated at the time, “Turkey is part of Europe.”¹¹⁵ Almost half a century later, Hallstein’s comment is still under vigor-

ous debate.

A Turkey-EU Customs Union agreement came into force on December 31, 1995, but it does not cover important sectors including agriculture, to which bilateral trade concessions apply, services, or public procurement. Ankara had fitful discussions with the EU over commencement of accession talks and finally became a candidate for membership in 1999. Just as the wounds of the 2003 Iraq War were starting to heal, European governments raised additional barriers to Turkey's road toward EU accession, even as they admitted still-divided Cyprus and two of its former-Communist Black Sea neighbors, Romania and Bulgaria.¹¹⁶ Finally, after 30 years of associate membership, the EU announced in 2005 that Ankara could begin formal accession talks once it completed various reforms. Since then, the Turks feel they have undertaken significant political, judicial, and human rights reforms, with little acknowledgment or encouragement from the EU, but they recognize the need for further reforms before they are a viable EU candidate.

The EU and Turkey opened formal negotiations on some of the 35 chapters of the *acquis communautaire* in October 2005. After an initial screening process, four chapters were officially opened for negotiation, but one of the chapters, on "Transport Policy," was frozen in 2006 because of Turkey's refusal to open its ports and airports to vessels registered in Cyprus. Another chapter, "Science and Research," was opened and successfully concluded.¹¹⁷ Turkey is currently in the processes of closing benchmarks on the chapter on "Public Procurement" and is awaiting a response from the EU about the substance of their progress on the chapter titled "Freedom of Movement for Workers." These four chapters are not of great importance, but any progress is a signal of hope to many Turks. In addition, after the Accession Conference with Turkey in June 2007, two additional chapters were opened for negotiation: "Financial Control" and "Statistics."¹¹⁸ On February 20, 2008, Turkey was reported to have fulfilled another precondition for EU membership when the Grand National Assembly signed into law the return of property confiscated by the state to Christian and Jewish religious foundations.¹¹⁹

According to the *Turkey 2007 Progress Report*, eight chapters, or slightly more than 20 percent of the *acquis communautaire*, remain closed on account of the Cyprus issue from 2006. The negotiation process has been derailed by Turkey's refusal to open its ports and airports to Greek Cypriot planes and vessels, unless the EU and the Republic of Cyprus fulfill their political commitment of ending the economic isolation of Turkish Cypriots.¹²⁰ In addition to the eight chapters closed to further negotiation until the Cypriot issues are resolved, the issue of freedom of speech in Turkey has also been of serious concern to the EU, in particular Article 301 of the Turkish penal code. Article 301 outlaws insults to "Turkish identity" and has been used to bring charges against notable progressive figures in Turkey—including Nobel laureate Orhan Pamuk—on issues such as public use of the term "genocide" to describe the deaths and relocation of most Anatolian Armenians at the time of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Aside from the chapters frozen because of the Cyprus issues, most of the other chapters reviewed by the EU require "further efforts," and a few were determined to be "very hard to adopt," which means negotiations will be grindingly slow.¹²¹ Moreover, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Nicolas Sarkozy have made clear that they oppose Turkish membership in the Union, favoring the ill-defined concept of "Privileged Partnership" with the Union as an alternative.¹²² This concept envisions an EU-Turkey alliance and Turkish adherence to the EU's policy areas, but without the right to shape these policies. In June 2007, France agreed to allow accession talks to proceed with Ankara, but limited to chapters consistent with both end states and linked this step to establishment of a committee of "wise men" to develop a vision for the future of the EU. The direction of accession discussions should be clearer on July 1, 2008, when France takes over the EU Presidency.¹²³ Of some encour-

agement, the French government has hinted it will allow the negotiations to continue under the current terms.

Turkey's accession process has caused debates within Europe ranging from geographic, to demographic, to the purely political. One line of argument holds that if Turkey is granted accession, it would be the most populated state in the EU and, thus, a highly influential actor that would fundamentally change the character of the Union.¹²⁴ A second debate is whether it is feasible to establish geographic borders for Europe and whether or not Turkey would fit within those borders strictly by geographic criteria. Turkish supporters offer as a counterargument to most of these qualitative debates that the EU is based upon a cultural and religious "mosaic," and so long as Turkey and EU member states maintain this vision, cultural and religious differences should not play a part in accession to the EU. In September 2007, UK Foreign Minister David Miliband argued that the EU "needs, as a clear goal, the inclusion of Turkey as full member." The United Kingdom has pledged to assist Turkey in this role, siding with leading Turkish politicians who have said that the chances of avoiding a clash of civilizations can be greatly increased with a strong Turkey in the EU.

European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso has said that the EU is tied to commitments made but also stated that European public concerns should not be ignored.¹²⁵ Turkish public opinion toward the EU has also cooled. Turkish support for the EU declined from 73 percent in favor in 2004 to 54 percent in 2006. In 2007, support in Turkey for the EU and membership within the EU dropped to less than half of the population: 40 percent compared with 54 percent in 2006. Only 26 percent of the population expects Turkey to ever become a member state in the EU.¹²⁶ Sixty-seven percent of French respondents said Turkey is "not likely" to join the EU.¹²⁷ More strikingly, almost half of the French surveyed (49 percent) said that Turkey's accession to the EU would be a "bad thing."¹²⁸ A rising sentiment against Muslim immigrants in Europe has also certainly impacted Turkey's chances of membership. Violence against Turkish residents by nationalist groups in Germany have also caused concern. Today, the Turkish government hopes to become a Member State in the European Union at the earliest by 2013 or by 2025.¹²⁹

Despite this stalemate on membership, economic integration between Turkey and the EU has continued through the European Customs Union. The EU is by far Turkey's leading trading partner—51 percent of its exports go to European markets and 39 percent of its imports come from Europe. Turkey ranks seventh among the EU's import markets and fifth in export markets. In 2007, trade volume between Turkey and the EU increased 8.5 percent for a total of €99.5 billion.¹³⁰ According to Eurostat, the EU's statistical organization, imports from the EU to Turkey increased 5 percent in 2007 for a total of €52.6 billion, while Turkey's exports to EU markets increased 12 percent for a total of €46.9 billion. European investment and tourism are also important contributors to the economic integration process. In 2005, €3.3 billion of EU outflows went to Turkey, and €0.3 billion of EU inflows came from Turkey.

There could also be progress on another longstanding thorn in the relationship. Following a freeze in the Cyprus process after Greek Cypriot rejection of a reunification referendum in March 2004 (and a suspension of all talks since 2006), signs have emerged of readiness among the country's Greek population with continued support from the Turkish population for a solution.¹³¹ Newly elected Greek Cypriot President Demetris Christofias ran primarily on a campaign against Tassos Papadopoulos's intransigent opposition to reunification with the north of the island on the basis of the Annan plan. Christofias's election was a mandate to move forward with the process, and he has met directly with his counterpart in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), President Mehmet Ali Talat.¹³² As a goodwill gesture between sides, a crossing on the historic Le-

dra Street in Nicosia has been reopened, and other diplomatic initiatives continue.¹³³

Having reached a new high in diplomatic relations over the past decade, Greece and Turkey also likely see more benefit than harm in finally resolving the issue of Cyprus—a continued embarrassment to Europe.¹³⁴ However, Turkey’s shifting political landscape could endanger the process, as the military and nationalist forces remain disappointed in the AKP government’s inability to end the isolation of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and wary of further concessions. Still, a strong argument exists that the creation of a bizonal, bicomunal state along the lines of the Annan Plan¹³⁵—loosely modeled on the Swiss confederal model, with a Presidential council and rotating representation for Turks and Greeks at the Presidential and Vice-Presidential levels—would be advantageous for Turkey’s future EU hopes. Moreover, the resolution of the Cyprus question is of economic consequence to Turkey, which could end its aid to the island, open normalized trade with the whole of the island, and theoretically could withdraw its troops.

Turkey and the EU also both stand to benefit from cooperation in energy. Turkey hopes to further its role as an energy bridge between major energy producers to the south and east and major European consumers. However, Turkey also must secure enough gas and oil to meet its own rising domestic demand, and its attempts to lock up transit of Azeri gas destined for the European market have halted construction of the Nabucco pipeline.¹³⁶ Concerns have also grown in Europe about the commitment of consortium members—particularly Hungary and Bulgaria—who have signed onto the competitive Russian project, the South Stream Pipeline, which would pass through Bulgaria, Serbia, and Hungary, bypassing Turkey and terminating in Austria.¹³⁷ South Stream, set to be operational by 2013, would effectively allow Gazprom to monopolize the Russian, Central Asian, and Caspian gas reaching Europe.

Managing U.S.-Turkey Relations in Uncertain Times

Turkish domestic politics are entering a period of considerable turbulence and unpredictability. Three broad Turkish futures seem possible with quite variable directions in external relations:

1. “Polarized Turkey,” wherein the struggle between the traditional Kemalist elite and the new, moderate Islamist bourgeoisie continues inconclusively with a persistence of Ankara’s current, somewhat conflicted foreign policy and preoccupation with domestic affairs;
2. “Neonationalist Turkey,” wherein the traditional Kemalist elite, with the military’s help or direct intervention in politics, force a revival of strict laicism and pursue either their traditional Western alignment or, more likely, a new, nationalist foreign policy that is increasingly isolationist and focused on perceived internal and external enemies; or
3. “Islamist Turkey,” wherein the dissolution of the AKP and ban on its leaders from politics leaves a vacuum filled by more extreme elements engaged in open confrontation with the state and the West, including possible formation of a new, openly Islamist party akin to the Welfare Party of the late 1990s, and a resurgence of Kurdish separatist insurgency in the country’s southeast, fueled by Islamist extremist ideology, tactics, and symbolism.

This domestic political struggle in Turkey is unfolding during political transitions in the United States, Russia, and several European countries, and in the context of continuing instability in Iraq and the Greater Middle East. This situation makes it difficult to formulate recommendations for advancing U.S.-Turkey relations over the long term. However, given Turkey’s strategic importance to the United States and its European allies, Washington will need a new approach to influence Turkey’s evolution in ways convergent with Western interests and to manage relations

with a range of possible governments in Ankara.

Turkey can remain a vital partner of the United States as a stable, secular state, with predominant Muslim population, integrated into the global economy. Both countries have enduring national interests in stability in the Middle East, countering terrorism and extremism, sustaining an open global economy, securing energy flows, advancing the stability and sovereignty of the states in the Caucasus and Central Asia, and maintaining productive relations with Europe. But these interests have been dampened recently by mistrust and suspicion, much of it related to the war in Iraq and its aftermath.

A strategic relationship means that both parties find ways to manage lesser differences in order to maintain effective cooperation in the advancement of their long-term national interests. Today's relationship is tactical and transactional, with neither side able to look beyond recent betrayals or clearly articulate what they want and can contribute strategically to such a partnership. Washington's focus on al Qaeda and related terrorist groups, Iran, and Syria does not correspond with Ankara's preoccupation with the PKK insurgency, Kurdish irredentism, and the place of Islam within democratic Turkey. Given the crisis mentality in Turkey at present, a U.S. initiative to articulate a clear strategic vision could help to focus Turkish decisionmakers to do the same. A strategic dialogue is only likely to yield results once a degree of consensus and trust is forged on both sides. Failure to make meaningful repairs and adjustments now would result in serious long-term structural instability in the U.S.-Turkey relationship.

Such a strategic framework may require new official and unofficial mechanisms to manage bilateral relations and give them clearer direction. The security relationship has received a recent boost from the establishment of the Ankara Coordination Center and the reinvigoration of the High-Level Defense Group (HLDG). But this rediscovery of bilateral mechanisms was driven again by crisis and not by a forward-looking, strategic approach to deepen ties. A better model for going forward is the joint "U.S.-Turkey Vision Statement,"¹³⁸ issued by the two governments in 2006, which included bilateral dialogues on mutual regional and global concerns and yielded some progress in policy coordination, notably with respect to assistance to Central Asia. This model might be emulated or expanded upon, perhaps by the creation of a regular high-level policy dialogue between the Secretary of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs on issues of mutual concern. These sessions could be used to advance cooperation and manage policy differences and could be supplemented by working groups charged with implementation of specific action agendas. Similarly, a Turkish-American Business Dialogue, akin to the Transatlantic Business Dialogue of the 1990s could help bring together nongovernmental groups interested in promoting bilateral trade and investment, which has untapped potential. This could build from existing efforts such as the Economic Cooperation Partnership Council (ECPC), the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA), and the U.S.-Turkey Economic Partnership Commission (EPC). There is also room for growth in civil society relations, drawing on the increasingly active Turkish-American community and the large number of Turkish students studying in the United States.

A new strategic framework for U.S.-Turkey relations would reflect the changing geopolitical dynamics and allow for both more effective pursuit of enduring common interests and management of areas where policy preferences and interests diverge. Such a strategic framework could set the course for U.S.-Turkey relations over the coming decade. Development of such a framework and a plan for its implementation will be elaborated in the final report of the CSIS U.S.-Turkey Strategic Initiative, due in December 2008.

Notes

1. This is born out in public polling. In the 2007 German Marshall Fund annual survey, on a 100-point “thermometer” scale that measures how warmly a country is perceived by the Turkish public, the United States ranked an 11, Iran a 30, and the European Union, 28. See Transatlantic Trends, *Transatlantic Trends: Key Findings 2007* (Washington, DC: The German Marshall Fund, 2007), 21. Though anecdotal evidence and some domestic Turkish polling suggest renewed cooperation on PKK counterterrorism may have brought a positive increase in Turkish perception of the United States, that is not yet corroborated by reliable data, and experts agree it may be more of a bounce than a shift in baseline sentiment.

2. Heinz Kramer, *A Changing Turkey: The Challenge to Europe and the United States* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2000), 225.

3. Ian Lesser, *Bridge or Barrier? Turkey and the West after the Cold War* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1992), 40.

4. Steven A. Cook and Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall, *Generating Momentum for a New Era in U.S.-Turkey Relations* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2006), 7.

5. Cengiz Candar, “The Post-September 11 United States through Turkish Lenses,” in *The United States and Turkey: Allies in Need*, ed. Morton Abramowitz (New York: Century Foundation Press, 2003), 160. To participate in the Gulf War, Turkey severed irrevocably its previously close ties with Iraq—its largest trading partner at the time. From those present at negotiations, the authors of this paper have learned that many economic promises made by the United States in the lead-up to the Gulf War were never delivered upon. This was a bitter experience for Turkey, especially as it struggled economically in the 1990s. Without a doubt, the memory of being previously short-changed by its ally played a role in Turkey’s economically driven approach to negotiations prior to the infamous, failed March 2003 vote to authorize a U.S. northern front into Iraq.

6. Ömer Taspinar, “The Old Turks’ Revolt,” *Foreign Affairs* 86 (November/December 2007): 128.

7. Morton Abramowitz, “Introduction,” in *The United States and Turkey*, ed. Abramowitz, 22.

8. HR.106, *Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution*, 110th Congress, 1st sess., January 30, 2007, § 3.

9. The Armenian diaspora community has successfully lobbied the governments of cities and states across the United States and countries around the world for the passage of similar recognition of Ottoman-era events.

10. Ian Lesser, “Turkey, the United States and the Delusion of Geopolitics,” *Survival* 48, no. 3 (2006): 83–96.

11. The feeling of betrayal among traditional Kemalist parties—notably, the CHP—is intense and has manifested itself to the authors of this paper many times, through a variety of conversations and interactions with Turkish colleagues. Traditional Kemalist elites feel that they have been frozen out of U.S. government exchange programs and other interfaces with U.S. officialdom. A smaller percentage directly blame their continued electoral decline on a “hidden hand” of U.S. influence (and EU influence) that empowers what they see as the creeping Islamization of Turkey by the AKP. See also discussion of this issue by a scholar with considerable contact with Turkey’s Kemalist elite, Michael Rubin, “Talking Turkey,” *National Review Online* (August 6, 2004), <http://www.nationalreview.com/rubin/rubin200408060839.asp>.

12. There is recurring accusation by some AKP-affiliated Turks that elements of the United States are fomenting “deep state” conspiracies in Turkey that seek to topple the party and reestablish control by the military and other elements. They charge that they are working through ultra-nationalist terrorist organizations such as Ergenekon. In many cases, all fingers from across the political spectrum point to the United States as an all-powerful agitator of undemocratic politics.

13. The e-coup was a midnight statement posted on the Turkish General Staff’s Web site. The statement ominously asserted that, “...the Turkish Armed Forces are the absolute defenders of secularism...If needed, the Turkish Armed Forces will not hesitate to clearly voice its position and actions. No one should doubt this.”

14. For an excellent discussion of this issue, see Berna Turam, *Between Islam and the State: The Politics of Engagement* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007).

15. Graham Fuller, *The New Turkish Republic: Turkey as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2008), 63.

16. As President, Abdullah Gül is technically no longer an AKP member. He is, however, still named in the suit.
17. Gareth Jenkins, "A coup by any other name," *Al-Ahram Weekly*, March 20–26 2008, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2008/889/re85.htm>.
18. Bulent Aliriza, "The JDP Faces the Threat of Closure: Erdoğan's Toughest Test?" *CSIS Commentary*, April 2, 2008, http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/080402_jdp_faces_closure.pdf.
19. W. Robert Pearson, "Turkey's New Era," *American Diplomacy* (March 18, 2008), http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2008/0103/pear/pearson_turkey.html.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. Robert Pigott, "Turkey in radical revision of Islamic texts," BBC News, February 26, 2008, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7264903.stm>.
23. Jonny Dymond, "Turk to lead world Muslim group," BBC News, June 16, 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3811205.stm>; David Appliefield, "Muslims Discuss Fighting Terror," *Washington Times*, March 21, 2008, <http://washingtontimes.com/article/20080321/FOREIGN/271870722/1003>.
24. For an excellent overview of the movement, see Graham Fuller, *The New Turkish Republic*, 56–66.
25. Fetullah Gülen lives in self-imposed exile in the United States (in Pennsylvania), from where he presumably continues to direct his organization. He fled Turkey to avoid continued legal challenges and due to chronic health issues.
26. "How far they have travelled," *The Economist* (March 8, 2008): 67.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Also of note to Gülen watchers, many in Turkey's police forces in particular are suspected of being sympathizers. "Fetullah Gülen: A farm boy on the world stage," *The Economist*, March 8, 2008.
29. Gareth Jenkins, "AKP Targeting the Kurdish Vote," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, December 4, 2007, http://www.jamestown.org/edm/article.php?article_id=2372639.
30. This is evidenced by the fact that the majority Kurdish southeast of the country leads in illiteracy, has one of the lowest rates of higher education enrollment, and leads in unemployment. See "Regional Statistics," Turkish Statistical Institute, Prime Ministry Republic of Turkey, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/Bolge-sellistik/menuAction.do?dil=en> (accessed May 14, 2008).
31. Mustafa Aykol, "Why is the AKP Reasonable on Kurds?" *Turkish Daily News*, November 22, 2007, <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=89248>.
32. UN Conference on Trade and Development, *World Investment Report 2001: Promoting Linkages* (New York: United Nations, 2001), 254–255.
33. Michael Kuser, "Will War Worries Hit Turkey's Economy?" *Business Week Online*, November 5, 2007.
34. Turkey's inflation stubbornly remains at around 9 percent, as opposed to the World Bank's and the European Union's Copenhagen Criteria of a target inflation rate of 4 percent. See Meral Varis, "The New Turkish Economy and EU Accession Talks," *Policy Watch* #1042, , November 1, 2005, <http://www.thewashingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=2390>.
35. Özal advanced his Black Sea vision through the creation of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), under the Bosphorus Declaration of 1992, which became a treaty-based regional economic organization after the adoption of its charter in 1998. Development of regional cooperation has been hampered by armed conflicts in the region.
36. Alexander Murinson, "The Strategic depth doctrine of Turkish foreign policy," *Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 6 (2006): 947–61.
37. Henry A. Kissinger, "The Three Revolutions," *Washington Post*, April 7, 2008.
38. Lesser, *Beyond Suspicion*, 25.
39. Rajan Menon and S. Enders Wimbush, *Is the United States Losing Turkey?* (Washington, DC: Hudson Institute, March 2007).
40. As Graham Fuller observes, "The Kurdish problem plays a hugely disproportionate and obsessional role in Turkish foreign policy thinking." Fuller, *New Turkish Republic*, 89.
41. This is the so-called "Sèvres Syndrome," referring to the infamous Treaty of Sèvres, signed by a frail Ottoman Empire in 1920 and resulting in heavy territorial losses and an agreement to leave only Istanbul and small parts of Anatolia as Turkish homeland. At this same time, Turkish Nationalist forces—including

Mustafa Kemal (who would go on to become known as Atatürk) were fighting elsewhere in Anatolia to hold onto territory. The lesson is clear: internal enemies who would appease outside forces and external aggressors consistently threaten the Turkish homeland. See Dietrich Jung, "The Sèvres Syndrome: Turkish Foreign Policy and its Historical Legacies," *American Diplomacy* (July 2003), http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_roll/2003_07-09/jung_sevres/jung_sevres.html.

42. Henri Barkey, *Turkey and Iraq: The Perils (and Prospects) of Proximity* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2005).

43. International Crisis Group, *Iraq and the Kurds: The Brewing Battle over Kirkuk* (Amman: International Crisis Group, 2006), 7.

44. Coalition Provisional Authority, *The Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period* (Baghdad: Coalition Provisional Authority, 2004).

45. Henri Barkey writes of the Kirkuk question, "Turkey, as a hedge against Kurdish ambitions in Kirkuk, has developed its Turkmen card. It not only championed Turkmen rights but created and actively supported the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF)... a cause célèbre of sorts back home in Turkish nationalist circles." Henri Barkey, "Kurdistanoff," *The National Interest*, no. 90 (July/August 2007): 53.

46. While Iraq's central government struggles to pass a hydrocarbon revenues sharing agreement, the Kurdish Regional Government has passed its own. Kurdish Regional Government, *Petroleum Law of the Kurdistan Region-Iraq* (Erbil: Kurdish Regional Government, June 29, 2007), http://www.krg.org/pdf/2_English_Version_Kurdistan_Petroleum_Law.pdf.

47. With the next national elections in Iraq, in 2009, it is likely that Kurds will lose seats and influence in the central government. In the process, it is likely the Kurds will focus more on their regional government and their nation. To what degree they exercise restraint on issues such as Kirkuk, and how they further their economic integration with Turkey (trade reached a high of \$5 billion in 2007 but dropped due to PKK attacks and accusations of Kurdish corruption) will determine the bargain they strike with their exponentially more powerful neighbor to the north.

48. Mainly along the 238-mile border Turkey's provinces of Şirnak and Hakkari share with Iraq's provinces of Erbil and Dahuk

49. Lesser, *Beyond Suspicion*, 38.

50. U.S. forces believed the Turkish forces were conspiring with local Turkmen groups to assassinate the Kurdish mayor of Kirkuk. Taken prisoner, the Turkish soldiers were handcuffed, hooded, and taken to Baghdad, and only after intensive high-level diplomacy were they released to Turkey. This was an event later likened by many Turks to the sickening images of hooded prisoners being tortured in Abu Ghraib prison. See, among many accounts, John C.K. Daly, *U.S. Turkish Relations: A Strategic Relationship Under Stress* (Washington, DC: Jamestown Foundation, 2008), 14–15.

51. A sequel, *Metal Storm 2* postulates a war between Turkey and the EU, in which Turkey predictably prevails. Both books evidence a growing neo-nationalism in Turkey, and a go-it-alone attitude that portends a unilateralist approach to security outside traditional Euro-Atlantic frameworks.

52. Ümit Enginsoy, "And Ralston quits, officially," *Turkish Daily News*, October 11, 2007, <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=85667>.

53. Violence against Kurds is common in Turkey, often with ties to shadowy groups linked to the police and military. Infamous is the 2005 bombing in the southeastern town of Şemdinli. The attack was carried out by a group including two members of Turkey's gendarmerie intelligence service. The target was a bookstore owned by a former PKK member who had served his sentence and returned to the community. For an excellent account, see Yigal Schleifer, "In Turkey's Southeast, Pock-Marked Hope," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 8, 2007, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/1108/p12s01-woeu.html>.

54. Geoff Morrell, "DoD News Briefing with Press Secretary Geoff Morrell from the Pentagon," *DefenseLink News*, December 19, 2007, <http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=4109>.

55. President Bush said: "[T]he incursion must be limited and must be temporary in nature... In other words, it shouldn't be long lasting... The Turks need to, you know, move, move quickly, achieve their objective and get out." George W. Bush, Press Conference of the President, February 28, 2008, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2008/02/20080228-2.html>.

56. "Opposition-Military Row Over Iraq Withdrawal Cools Off," *Today's Zaman*, March 12, 2008, <http://www.todayzaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=136190>.

57. Ian Lesser has observed, “The most vigorous critics of the United States in Turkey today are to be found on the nationalist left, within the opposition CHP, and also on the nationalist right, within MHP and the smaller hard-line movements.” Lesser, *Beyond Suspicion*, 41.
58. Ron Synovitz, “Syria/Turkey: common Interests in Iraq Help Rebuild Bilateral Ties,” Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, January 8, 2004, http://www.rferl.org/features/features_Article.aspx?m=01&y=2004&id=757D2BBA-5847-4AAD-972C-CDBE1440FC31.
59. Nadim Ladki, “Turkey, Syria Sign Free Trade Agreement,” Reuters, December 23, 2004, <http://www.arabnews.com/?page=6§ion=0&article=56461&d=23&m=12&y=2004>.
60. In February 2008, both Prime Minister Erdoğan and Foreign Minister Ali Babacan were quoted about this in the press. For Erdoğan see “Turkey vows to stand by Iran,” *PressTV*, February 10, 2008, <http://www.presstv.ir/detail.aspx?id=42522§ionid=351020104>; for Babacan see, “Iran’s nuclear problem must be settled by diplomatic means,” *Moscow Interfax*, February 20, 2008.
61. Fuller, *New Turkish Republic*, 70.
62. “Moussa, Gül to continue Arab-Turkey talks on Regional Issues,” KUNA, January 15, 2008, <http://www.kuna.net.kw/Home/Story.aspx?Language=en&DSNO=1060619>.
63. Al-Bashir used the opportunity to assert that “The people who really commit murders in Darfur are receiving help from Europe and others.” Wasil Ali, “Sudan feeling the heat on the appointment of a Janjaweed leader,” *Sudan Tribune*, January 22, 2008, <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article25667>.
64. “Turkish FM on Saudi king’s visit, Mideast, Iraq,” BBC Worldwide Monitoring, August 10, 2006, accessed using LexisNexis.
65. For more information on this shared threat perception, see Joshua Walker, “Turkey and Israel’s Relationship in the Middle East,” *Mediterranean Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (2006).
66. Robert Olson, *Turkey’s Relations with Iran, Syria, Israel, and Russia, 1991–2000: The Kurdish and Islamist Questions* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 2001), 125–65.
67. *Ibid.*, 125–7.
68. *Ibid.*, 130–6.
69. Orhan Babaoglu, “Reliant Mermaid Naval Exercise: Increasing the Peacetime Role of Navies,” *Policy Watch* #943, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, January 18, 2005, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=2234>.
70. Martin van Crevald, “NATO, Israel and Peace in the Middle East,” *NATO Review: NATO and the Middle East*, no. 4 (Winter 2005), <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2005/issue4/english/art4.html>.
71. AIPAC, “Enduring Friendship,” *Near East Report*, February 7, 2005, http://www.aipac.org/Publications/AIPACPeriodicalsNearEastReport/REPRINT--_Israel-Turkey_Relationship.pdf.
72. “With Trade Pact, Turkey Seeks Better Israel Ties,” *New York Times*, July 20 1997, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9A05E6D9143BF933A15754C0A961958260>.
73. Israel Export and International Cooperation Institute, “Factsheet: Turkey,” <http://www.export.gov.il/NewsHTML/FactSheets/turkey07.pdf>.
74. K. Gajendra Singh, “Turkey, Israel aim to forgive and forget,” *Asia Times*, July 28, 2004, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/FG28Ak02.html. Between 1990 and 2004, more than three-and-a-half million Israelis traveled to Turkey, spending an estimated \$2.4 billion. Calev Ben-David, “Israeli PM Ehud Olmert Travels to Turkey on Wednesday,” <http://newsblaze.com/story/20070213213547nnnn.nb/topstory.html>
75. This story has appeared occasionally in a variety of places, but it was most widely covered as it appeared in Seymour Hersh, “Plan B: As June 30th Approaches, Israel Looks to the Kurds,” *New Yorker*, June 28, 2004, http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2004/06/28/040628fa_fact.
76. “Erdoğan: ‘This war will not have a winner’—Extraordinary OIC Meeting Starts,” *Ankara Anatolia*, August 3, 2006.
77. Walker, “Turkey and Israel’s Relationship in the Middle East,” 89.
78. “Ankara hosts historic visit by Peres and Abbas,” *Turkish Daily News*, November 12, 2007, <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=88374>.
79. “Turkey condemns Israel over Gaza,” *Turkish Daily News*, March 4, 2008, <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=97974>.
80. “Turkey Strongly Condemns Terrorist Attack in Israel,” *Ankara Anatolia*, March 7, 2008.

81. Some have suggested that PJAK is supported by U.S. covert programs and Israel as a counter to Iran. James Brandon, "Iran's Kurdish Threat: PJAK," *Terrorism Monitor* 4, no. 12 (June 15, 2006), http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/uploads/TM_004_012.pdf.

82. F. Stephen Larrabee, "Turkey Rediscovered the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs* 86, no. 4 (July/August 2007), <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070701faessay86408/f-stephen-larrabee/turkey-rediscovered-the-middle-east.html>. For a news report on the MOU in January 2008, see "Iran, Turkey ink MoU to fight terrorism, drug trafficking," *Islamic Republic News Agency*, January 16, 2008, <http://www2.irna.ir/en/news/view/line-16/0801164904164204.htm>.

83. "Report: Turkey, Iran open fire on PKK camps in Iraq," *Turkish Daily News*, August 14, 2006, <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=51441>. News reports have hinted at more official bilateral cooperation. In November 2006, news reports stated Iran and Turkey established a joint PKK Commission, and in October 2007, news reports stated Turkey and Iran formed a military alliance as declared by PJAK fighters. See "Iran, Turkey Establish Joint PKK commission," *Today's Zaman*, November 22, 2006, <http://www.todayzaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=38540>; Kenneth R. Timmerman, "Turkey Forms Alliance with Iran Against Kurds," *Newsmax*, October 15, 2007, http://www.newsmax.com/timmerman/turkey_iran_/2007/10/15/40957.html.

84. Breffni O'Rourke, "Turkey/Iran: Gas Deal Marks New Stage in Energy Cooperation," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, July 19, 2007, <http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2007/07/4875C449-63C9-4724-B9B9-6AAD1CAF4BEF.html>.

85. Igor Torbakov, *Making Sense of the Current Phase of Turkish-Russian Relations* (Washington, DC: Jamestown Foundation, October 2007), 9.

86. Larrabee, "Turkey Rediscovered the Middle East."

87. Williams & Associates, *Survey of Turkish Public Opinion: May 31–June 7, 2007* (Washington, DC: International Republican Institute, 2007), 46, <http://www.iri.org/europe/turkey/pdfs/2007-06-28-Turkey.ppt>; and Transatlantic Trends, *Transatlantic Trends 2007* (Washington, DC: German Marshall Fund of the United States, 2007), 19–21, http://www.transatlantictrends.org/trends/doc/TT07Topline_FINAL.pdf.

88. "Larijani heads to Turkey for talks with Solana," *Islamic Republic News Agency*, April 25, 2007, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/iran/2007/iran-070425-irna03.htm>.

89. "Assad says Turkey trying to mediate between Syria, Israel," *Associated Press*, October 16, 2007, <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/913479.html>.

90. "Turkey, Syria discuss energy cooperation," *Ankara Anatolia*, February 25, 2008.

91. "Babacan-Mualem Joint News Conference (2)—Babacan: 'We Except Everyone to Act with Restraint,'" *Ankara Anatolia*, September 10, 2007.

92. Dan Williams, "Turkey's Gül says Israeli raid a 'closed matter,'" *Reuters*, November 6, 2007, <http://www.reuters.com/article/latestCrisis/idUSL06691733>.

93. This deal would also likely involve the closing of Hamas offices in Syria. It is notable that Turkey has also maintained relations with Hamas's exiled leadership. For a discussion of the Syrian disclosure and Israeli confirmation of Turkey's role, see Richard Boudreaux, "Turkey mediating Israel-Syria Peace Talks," *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 2008, <http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-fg-golan25apr25,1,186599.story?track=rss>.

94. For more in depth information on this, see Christopher Blanchard et al., *Iraq: Regional Perspectives and U.S. Policy* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, September 12, 2007); and Alfred Prados and Christopher Blanchard, *Saudi Arabia: Current Issues and U.S. Relations* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, August 2, 2006).

95. Bulent Aras, "Turkey and the GCC: An Emerging Relationship," *Middle East Policy* 12, no. 4 (Winter 2005).

96. "Baghdad press highlights 2nd Iraq's neighbors conference," *Voices of Iraq*, September 11, 2007, http://www.iraqupdates.com/p_articles.php/article/21609. For further analysis of summit, see Brian Katulis, "Iraq Summit Strategies: Ministerial Meeting in Istanbul Requires Tangible Outcomes," *Center for American Progress*, November 2, 2007, http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2007/11/iraq_summit.html.

97. "AK Party to Organize International Meeting in Antalya," *Ankara Anatolia*, March 13, 2008.

98. Greg Bruno, "Gulf States Hesitant on Iran Threat," *Council on Foreign Relations* (January 14, 2008), http://www.cfr.org/publication/15258/gulf_states_hesitant_on_iran_threat.html.

99. Military education and scientific cooperation, agreements were signed with Bahrain and Qatar in May 2007, and economic, transportation and diplomatic relation treaties have been signed with Kuwait. In February 2008, Turkey's Minister of Economy, Mehmet Şimsek, completed a tour of Qatar, Kuwait, and the UAE to promote public and private investment in Turkey. "Turkey increases military cooperation with two Gulf states," *Turkish Daily News*, May 24, 2007, <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=74002>. "Turkey's powerful diplomatic link in the Gulf," *Turkish Daily News*, February 26, 2008, <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=97345>.
100. "Saudi King arrives, Turkey says ties excellent," *The New Anatolian*, November 9, 2007, <http://www.thenewanatolian.com/tna-29450.html>.
101. "Minister invites UAE businessmen to Turkey," *Today's Zaman*, February 16, 2008, <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=134180>.
102. "Gül: Turkey will negotiate a free-trade agreement with Arab Gulf states in 2 years," Associated Press, February 6, 2008, http://www.bilaterals.org/article.php3?id_article=11081.
103. Torbakov, *Making Sense of the Current Phase of Turkish-Russian Relations*, 6.
104. Russian President Vladimir Putin's 2007 speech to the Munich security conference decrying NATO enlargement and U.S. "unbridled" unilateralism was posted prominently on the Web site of the Turkish General Staff. Torbakov, *Making Sense of the Current Phase of Turkish-Russian Relations*, 4.
105. Fiona Hill and Omer Taspinar, *Russia and Turkey in the Caucasus: Moving Together to Preserve the Status Quo?* (Paris: Institut Français des Relations Internationales, January 2006), http://www.brookings.edu/views/papers/fellows/hilltaspinar_20060120.pdf.
106. Ibid.
107. Fuller, *New Turkish Republic*, 79.
108. "Europe: A New Pipeline, a Different Direction," Stratfor, November 19, 2007, http://www.stratfor.com/analysis/europe_new_pipeline_different_direction.
109. Currently, the SCGPL transports gas from Azerbaijan's Shah Deniz field (but the pipeline's operational capacity has not been met due to Russian pressure on Georgia and Azerbaijan).
110. However, according to Vladimir Socor, once Russia increases its purchase price for Turkmen gas, the EU and the United States will have more trouble getting Turkmenistan to support the planned Trans-Caspian pipeline project. Since the Caspian Coastal line project is already further ahead, with the security of higher prices paid by Russia, Turkmenistan will have little impetus to send Central Asian gas westward toward Nabucco. The TCP's viability is vital for Nabucco's future, which the United States and the EU have put all hope in. Russia's stake in European gas will only grow. Vladimir Socor, "Russia to Increase Purchase Prices for Central Asian Gas," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, March 17, 2008, http://jamestown.org/edm/article.php?article_id=2372888.
111. Daniel Fried, Assistant Secretary European and Eurasian Affairs, "U.S.-Turkey-Azerbaijan: A Strategic Partnership," remarks to the Center for Eurasian Policy conference on "Azerbaijan-Turkey-U.S. Relations and Its Importance for Eurasia," Mayflower Hotel, Washington, DC, December 10, 2007.
112. "What future does Turkey have in Central Asia and the Caucasus?" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, November 19, 2007, http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/inside/forum/CACI_2007_1119.html.
113. Turkey supports the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Minsk Process as a means to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute.
114. Emil Danielyan, "Turkey, Armenian Miss Opportunity for Rapprochement," EurasiaNet, June 3, 2005, <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav060305.shtml>.
115. Michael Lake, *The EU & Turkey: A Glittering Prize or a Millstone?* (London: Federal Trust, 2005), 21.
116. Only the ethnic Greek south of Cyprus was admitted into the EU. The EU *acquis communautaire* remains suspended "in those areas of the Republic of Cyprus in which the Government of the Republic of Cyprus does not exercise effective control..." See "Protocol No 10 on Cyprus," *Official Journal of the European Union* (September 23, 2003): 955.
117. The EU Commission concluded that, "Overall, Turkey is well prepared for accession in this area ["Science and Research"] and is well advanced in designing and applying an integrated research strategy." Commission of European Communities, *Turkey 2007 Progress Report* (Brussels: Commission of European Communities, June 11, 2007), http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2007/nov/turkey_progress_reports_en.pdf.

118. Turkey's Secretariat for EU Affairs. "EU Opens Two New Chapters in Turkey's Accession Process," ABGS, July 3, 2007, <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=5982&l=2>.

119. Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn said that this development was "important to ensure fundamental rights and freedoms for all Turkish citizens." "Turkey removes key obstacle to EU membership," EurActiv, February 22, 2008, <http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/turkey-removes-key-obstacle-eu-membership/article-170471>.

120. The chapters that are closed due to this issue include: "Free Movement of Goods," "Right of Establishment and Freedom to Provide Services," "Financial Services," "Agriculture," "Fisheries," and "Transport Policy."

121. George Harris, "The European Union and Turkey," (lecture, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, NC, January 29, 2008). Transcript available at <http://www.mideasti.org/transcript/european-union-and-turkey>.

122. Jean-Dominique Giuliani, "In favor of a privileged partnership," *Le Figaro*, October 5, 2004, http://www.jd-giuliani.eu/en/article/cat-3/12_In-favour-of-a-privileged-partnership.html. EU enlargement Commissioner Rehn has noted that Turkey is already a privileged partner. "Rehn: Turkey is already a 'privileged partner' of the EU," EurActiv, 13 July 2005, <http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/rehn-turkey-privileged-partner-eu/article-142431>

123. "Turkey removes key obstacle to EU membership," EurActiv.

124. Germany, which has a population of 83 million and whose population is projected to decrease to 80 million by 2020, is worried about this troubling demographic trend because Turkey's population is projected to increase to approximately 80 to 85 million in this same time frame. "EU-Turkey Relations," EurActiv, September 23, 2004, <http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/eu-turkey-relations/article-129678>.

125. Ibid.

126. James Neugger, "Turkish Support for Joining EU Plunges, Poll Shows," Bloomberg News, September 6, 2007.

127. Transatlantic Trends, *Transatlantic Trends 2007*.

128. Ibid.

129. George Harris, "The European Union and Turkey."

130. "Turkey-EU Trade Volume Close to 100 billion Euros," *Ankara Anatolia*, March 19, 2008.

131. In a comprehensive 2007 poll conducted on the island by the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), general trends showed that Greek Cypriots continued to favor a unitary state and opposed any two-state arrangement. Turkish Cypriots most favored a two-state arrangement and strongly opposed a unitary Cyprus. There appeared to be some room for compromise among both populations, however, on a "bizonal, bicomunal federation"—the basis of the Annan plan—which 47 percent of Greek Cypriots polled found "tolerable" and 45 percent of Turkish Cypriots "satisfactory." Greek Cypriots point to the remaining Turkish troops on the island as a continued obstacle to any solution with the north of the island. Turkish Cypriots continue to view this military presence as essential to their security. Not encouragingly, in the same UNFICYP 2007 poll, 57 percent of Greek Cypriots and 70 percent of Turkish Cypriots said "the [Cyprus] problem will not be solved in the foreseeable future." See UNFICYP, *The UN in Cyprus: An Intercommunal Survey of Public Opinion by UNFICYP* (Nicosia, Cyprus: UNFICYP, April 24, 2007), <http://www.unficy.org/UNFICYP%20Survey.htm>.

132. The political system of the TRNC is based on that of the Republic of Turkey, and it has a powerful prime minister of a unicameral legislative body. TRNC Prime Minister Ferdi Sabit Soyer heads the Council of Ministers (cabinet) in coalition with "Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister" Turgay Avci. Both are strongly supportive of reunification and President Talat's efforts.

133. To this day, Turkey maintains a force of about 35,000 troops in the north of Cyprus, occupying 37 percent of the island's total land area. The island is ethnically 77 percent Greek, 18 percent Turkish, and 5 percent other groups. Aid from Turkey to the TRNC has reached over \$400 million per annum in recent years, and the island remains dependent on this inflow for about one-third of its annual budget. The TRNC is experiencing strong economic growth: 10.6 percent in 2006–2007 (compared to 3.6 percent in the Greek area); but its per capita GDP remains only 30 percent of that in the island's south (\$7,135 compared to \$27,100). 2001 data from CIA, *World Factbook* (Washington, DC: CIA, nd), <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html>.

134. EU enlargement commissioner at the time, Gunther Verheugen, said he felt “taken for a ride” by the Greek Cypriot government. See Philip Gordon, “EU Enlargement: Cyprus is a Poor Excuse for Turning Away Turkey,” *International Herald Tribune*, August 18, 2005, http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2005/0818europe_gordon.aspx.

135. For full text of the Annan Plan, see <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/annanplan/annanplan.pdf>.

136. Turkey is losing leverage with Azerbaijan and angering other consortium members by attempting to negotiate rights to resell Azeri gas transported through the planned Nabucco pipeline in addition to high transport fees. To get the project off the ground and resolve the issues between the EU and Turkey, the Nabucco pipeline also needs Turkmen gas in order to fill its capacity; since it has been determined that Azerbaijan’s Shah Deniz field’s reserves are not adequate for the estimated capacity of Nabucco. Turkmenistan has shown interest in selling gas to the EU, and according to EU officials, Turkmenistan will supply up to 10 bcm for the Nabucco project.

Andrew Neff, “Does Turkmenistan’s Willingness to Supply Gas to Europe Surpass its Ability?” *Global Insight*, April 14, 2008.

137. Russia has manipulated the lack of a unified European energy policy by signing bilateral deals with individual European countries.

138. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül, “Remarks with Deputy Prime Minister Abdullah Gül after Their Meeting” (U.S. State Department, Washington, DC, July 6, 2006), <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/68577.htm>.



ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Stephen Flanagan is senior vice president and director of the International Security Program at CSIS, where he holds the Henry A. Kissinger Chair in National Security Policy. Before joining CSIS, he was director of the Institute for National Strategic Studies and vice president for research at the National Defense University (NDU) from January 2001 through May 2007. He held several senior positions in government between 1989 and 1999, including special assistant to the president and senior director for Central and Eastern Europe on the National Security Council Staff; associate director and member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff; and national intelligence officer for Europe. Earlier in his career, he was a professional staff member of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Flanagan has also held several academic and research positions, including senior fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies, faculty member at the National War College, executive director of the Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University, and international affairs fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. He has written numerous books, reports, and articles on international security affairs and is coauthor of *Challenges of the Global Century* (2001) and coeditor of *The PLA and China in Transition* (2003) and *Strategic Challenges: America's Global Security Agenda* (2007). He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies and serves on the editorial boards of the journals *Joint Force Quarterly*, *International Security*, and *Politique Americaine*. Flanagan earned his B.A. in political science from Columbia University and his Ph.D. in international relations from the Fletcher School at Tufts University.

Samuel J. Brannen is a fellow with the CSIS International Security Program, where he works on projects related to defense strategy and policy, Middle East security, and U.S. national security reform. He is a frequent media commentator and has appeared on CNN, Fox News, Al Jazeera, and NPR. During the summer of 2007, he served as a staff member for the Independent Commission on the Security Forces of Iraq, chaired by General (Ret.) James L. Jones. Previously, Brannen was a policy planner in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, with portfolios including maritime security and the future security environment with a focus on energy and climate change. Prior to his time in government, he was assistant director of the CSIS Global Strategy Institute. He began his tenure at CSIS in 2002 as a research intern with the Turkey Project. Brannen holds a B.A. in political science from Trinity University and an M.A. from the Elliott School of International Affairs at the George Washington University. He also studied as a graduate student at the Bogazici University in Istanbul, Turkey.

