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**TURKEY AND USA FOREIGN RELATIONS BETWEEN 2009 AND 2015**

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*“To my dear mother in heaven,  
my precious father Şenal Bilen  
and my sister Seda Bilen”*



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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AKP</b>	: Justice and Development Party
<b>ANCA</b>	: Armenian National Committee of America
<b>BSEC</b>	: Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation
<b>CFR</b>	: Council on Foreign Relations
<b>CSIS</b>	: Center for Strategic and International Studies
<b>EU</b>	: European Union
<b>FSECC</b>	: Framework for Strategic Economic and Commercial Cooperation
<b>GDP</b>	: Gross Domestic Product
<b>GWOT</b>	: Global War on Terror
<b>ISIL</b>	: Islamic State of Iraq and Levant
<b>KRG</b>	: Kurdistan Regional Government
<b>NATO</b>	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NERS</b>	: Near East Relief Society
<b>NGOs</b>	: Non – governmental Organizations
<b>PKK</b>	: Kurdistan Workers Party
<b>PNAC</b>	: Project for New American Century
<b>SCO</b>	: Shanghai Cooperation Organization
<b>TGNA</b>	: Turkey Grand National Assembly
<b>TIFA</b>	: Trade and Investment Talks
<b>UN</b>	: United Nations
<b>UNSC</b>	: United Nations Security Council
<b>US</b>	: The United States (of America)
<b>USA</b>	: United States of America
<b>USSR</b>	: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
<b>WINEP</b>	: Washington Institute for Near East Policy

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## 2009 VE 2015 YILLARI ARASI TÜRKİYE VE ABD DIŞ İLİŞKİLERİ

### ÖZET

Bu tez çalışmasında tarihsel süreç göz önüne alınarak 2009-2015 yılları arası Türkiye ve ABD'nin dış ilişkileri üzerinde durulmuştur. İlk olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son döneminden başlayarak, 11 Eylül 2001 terör saldırıları ve sonrası döneme kadar olan uzun süreçte Türk-Amerikan ilişkileri incelenmiştir. Ardından 2009 yılında Barack Obama'nın ABD başkanı seçilmesiyle beraber Türkiye ve ABD arasında stratejik ortaklıktan, model ortaklığa geçiş süreci başlamıştır.

Bu bağlamda bu tez çalışmasında Türkiye ve ABD dış ilişkilerinin şekillenme süreçleri ele alınmış, dış etkenlerin dış politikada ve ikili ilişkilerdeki yarattığı sorunlar, uzlaşma noktaları ve ayrışma noktaları ekseninde açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Türkiye, Türk – Amerikan İlişkileri, Dış ilişkiler, Dış Politika.*



## **TURKEY AND USA FOREIGN RELATIONS BETWEEN 2009 AND 2015**

### **ABSTRACT**

This thesis focuses on Turkey and USA foreign relations between 2009 and 2015 with considering historical perspective. Starting from the first period of the Ottoman Empire, until 11 September 2001, terrorist attacks, and the period after the lengthy process of Turkish-American relations are examined. Then in 2009 with the election of Barack Obama as US president from the strategic partnership between Turkey and the United States began the process of transition to model partnership.

In this context, this thesis dealt with Turkey and the US foreign policy formation processes at work, the problems created by external factors in the foreign policy and bilateral relations, reconciliation points and decomposition points were explained in the axis.

**Keywords:** *United States of America, Turkey, Turkish – American Relations, Foreign Relations, Foreign Policy.*





## **1. INTRODUCTION**

United States is a superpower that shapes the world of politics today. Turkey is a country aiming to become a regional power in the international system. Aim of that thesis is to investigate the actual face of Turkish-U.S.A relations. Our thesis is to prove that relations between two nations are not good as seen in the media and have many adverse aspects which may give serious harms to future geopolitics. To do that, I focus on the relations in Obama period particularly dealing with the Middle East and conflicting interests of both nations in sectoral dimensions. In this case, Turkey and the United States foreign relations are important for both countries, because the US in the region have economic, political, and military interests. Overall, bilateral relations said that the shape of relations with Turkey within the framework of regional interest of the United States is examined.

Turkey-US relations have started trade relations with the Ottoman Empire after the First World War in the wake of the period with Wilson's attempt to spread to the world; the United States began its own idealism. However, with the establishment of bilateral relations with the Republic of Turkey has switched diplomatic field.

Turkey's neutrality during World War II is supported by the US. However, after the war the United States and the Soviet Union took place in the international system as the two superpowers. Naturally, these two superpowers was the basis for the bipolar system, so it has become a part of the global competitive system. In this context, Turkey wanted to be a part of the international system to continue maintaining her neutrality. However, the post-war period in Britain's leadership in the West gradually lost effectiveness has taken place in the pole representing the western United States. Thus the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, and subsequent shaping foreign assistance (foreign aid) finds itself alongside the US in Turkey. The reason for this is another factor, which is Turkey's reluctance to leap to their country of communism in Russia. However, Turkey was strategically located on a very important point in both

countries; and served as a bridge to Europe opened to both the Middle East. Therefore, it became the focus of mutual strife.

With the beginning of the 1950's, it gained importance in military partnership. In addition, pre-set in Turkey in NATO want to have participated in the Korean War with the United States has been adopted formally after NATO membership. Thus, according to the US, it formed a new obstacle to Russia's European policy of containment. In this context, the period between 1950-1960, Turkey has been shaped as an ally of the United States according to their national interests of the US interests. However, the US stance of Turkey during the Cuban Missile Crisis in Cyprus was followed by Johnson's letter left the policy alone. The fact that United States attitude gave Turkey a multi-dimensional foreign policy seeking rise to the end of the years between 1960-1970. Even If experienced military coup in Turkey in 1980 caused the cessation of bilateral relations to end for a certain time, the elections held in 1983, Turgut Özal who is Turkey's prime minister has turned to liberal economic policies and an entry into a strategic partnership with the US during this time period.

During this period, Iran-Iraq War and the Gulf War took place. Turkey has been seriously damaged both sense of political and economic. In addition, the war in the region has given rise to the emergence of the PKK and the Kurdish issue. 90 events in the Middle East with the start of the year and ended the cold war in the changing world situation and has entered into the world globalization process by the end of the bipolar system. He also began to see itself as the dominant force in the international system, the US only. During this period, Ankara-Washington relations began to progress gradually. Especially from 1993 until 2001, Turkey-US relations in the coming trends continued stability and cooperation. But in 2001, he ended the presidency of Bill Clinton in the United States, the Republican Party, George W. Bush was elected as a president; soon there have been terrorist attacks in 11 September 2001. Thus some gaps would start in Turkey-US relations.

However, Turkey had to fight with the PKK and terror and was aware of how much damage it could give to the country. Hence, the United States was among the first countries to condemn against the attacks to Turkey. Later, the US has made military intervention first in Afghanistan later in Iraq. US interventions to reshape the Middle East have reviewed as part of the Greater Middle East Project.

To enter the United States, wanted to use Turkey's territory in Iraq In 2003, but has been vetoed by Parliament. This situation has created a breaking point in Turkey-US foreign relations. As well as coming to power in 2002 with the Justice and Development Party in 2003, later it changed paradigms of Turkish foreign policy. As a new era will begin in Turkey-US relations, this situation has given signals. Since 2003, Turkey-US foreign relations after the Iraq issue and the PKK terror, the Armenian lobby has been shaped over the issues. Changing the conceptual framework of Turkish foreign policy in 2007, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan visited the United States was found and had a meeting with George W. Bush.

Terrorist incidents in Turkey were the main topic of the visit. However, literally a program of cooperation in the fight against the PKK could not be created. Despite this, it agreed to receive support from the US intelligence about it. In November 2008, the Democratic Party after the presidential election, Barack Obama was elected as the president of the United States. Obama's presidency and within the framework of Turkey Ahmet Davutoglu's foreign affairs minister after being strategic depth idea of changing the conceptual foundations of the Turkish foreign policy has been the beginning of a new era in Turkey-US relations. In parallel, the US president Barack Obama visited Turkey in April 2009, so that bilateral relations have gained a new dimension. Turkey-US relations, according to Obama's statement has made the transition from the strategic partnership is now a model partnership process.

In this context, between 2009-2015 Turkey-US foreign relations in this study, Obama's first presidential term (2009-2012) and Obama's second presidential term (2012-2015) has been divided into two types.

2009-2012, that Obama's first presidential period in Turkey as a regional power transition model has formed partnerships with the United States main frame of the Turkish-American relations. In addition to this, the United States between Iraq and the PKK issue with Turkey, the Armenian issue, Cyprus and Syria, are issues that are still ongoing. At this point, it has been sought on issues of common solutions to problems between the two countries was conducted bilateral negotiations. In particular, the PKK and the Kurdish issue within the framework of Turkey as "model partner" Kurdish initiative launched in the first expansion pack in the history of

democratic republic. This is how it is right or wrong in terms of a policy of Turkey is still being discussed.

In addition, USA deploy to Malatya / Kürecik the NATO missile shield as an event that raises the tension in USA – Turkey – Iran triangle is an important factor affecting this period. Obama's second term (2012 – 2015) outside the Turkey – USA relations has been shaped throughout the Middle East axis. Especially Syria, Israel and ISIL issue are the most important factors affecting bilateral relations. This addition was made to the development of Turkey – US foreign relations in the economic field, many attempts have been made in this regard.

Elsewhere, in order to diversify the Turkey-US relations in this thesis; education, research centers and thinking enterprise, has been mentioned studies on lobbying. The last chapter in Turkey-US will be coming under the heading of external relations and should have been dealt briefly.

## **2. HISTORICAL VIEW OF TURKEY – USA RELATIONS**

### **2.1. Relations Between The Period Of 1914 – 1923**

After the America's declaration of independence in July 4, 1776, United States declared that, Doctrine of Monroe in 1823 so, with this doctrine US turned own internal politics and it also did not care other part of the world. This isolation politics continued until April 6, 1917. Despite all of this Turkey – US relations would be continued in transition process of Ottoman. When between the periods of 1914 – 1923 there were a lot of and various bilateral relations. These relations based on Armenian issue until 1917. Besides the peak point of relations were realized in the period of II. Abdulhamit, especially Ottoman Empire had purchased weapons from the US in this period and also it provided to allow for opening American schools in Ottoman's territory. But in 1917 US entered into the World War I, for this reason relations between US and Ottoman Empire ended, though US declared the war against Germany, US did not make a declaration against Ottoman Empire that was ally with Germany during the World War I period. Actually the relation between US and Ottoman Empire depends on before America's declaration of independence, as a matter of fact in 1824 US opened own first consulate in Izmir. After that, relations started to change form from cultural to economics by this way two states signed a trade agreement in 1830. Furthermore US – Turkey trade agreement was consisted 29 articles and with this agreement, US was taken the status of "the most favored nation. But this status issue is a part of American foreign policy with providing to US benefit from whole advantages and trade concession in a directly way. With these developments, bilateral relations would be continued in a period of time even in internal war of US. Additionally in 1899, US – Spain war period of US, Ottoman Empire declared that to Muslims who lived in Philippines for more friendly in favor of US. But on the other hand, when Italians attacked to Tripoli, Ottoman Empire wanted to take a mediator role from US. This wished did not accept by US and it announced that wanted to stay neutral in face of these developments. However after

these mutual relations period some missionaries that were from US started to come in Ottoman's territory and they wanted to establish close relationship with Jewish and Armenian community that lived in Ottoman Empire. This situation was a beginning of some problems to disintegration period of Ottomans especially after the Turkish – Armenian population exchange period.

Shortly, there were two main element, these are determinative on Turkey – USA relations until the middle of 1900s in other word beginning of First World War. The first one is exchange of communities in other word migrations and the second one is missionary activities of USA in Ottoman land. In this period Ottoman Empire was described as a sick man by whole European countries, as a result of this Ottoman Empire wanted to find new partnership to get rid of its troublesome conditions. Also USA wanted to access into raw material needs of developing own industry and economy in this period. Under this circumstances a trade based or economic based collaborate on is natural situation in terms of two states in this sense. However this situation did not like by Europeans that wanted to share Ottoman land so, in other saying, this situation caused some conflict of interest. On the other hand returning to main factors that determined to general course of relations between Western Countries, Ottoman Empire and USA matter would be, politics of USA which about Ottoman land generally managed by missionaries who are from USA. American missionaries continued their activity especially on Armenians. So it can be said that, the second activity of USA was generally in cultural fields after trade activities and American citizens and some protestant missionaries were active about this situation. Actually the real purpose was to spread Christianity to non – Christian people in Ottoman land but after a while activity of spreading Christianity did not provide a sufficient success by this way these missionaries started to contact with Christian people who lived in Ottoman Empire and especially Armenians and Greek minorities were take a part of this group but American missionaries would be showed that their efficiency on Armenians. Furthermore with the starting of 1830s many American schools established in Anatolia and they were also provided a support to spread their missionary activities. Supporting to separatist groups with American missionaries was another important issue that related to Armenians.

All these activities have been damaged to relations between Ottoman Empire and Armenian citizen who lived in Ottoman Empire. Naturally this problem and missionary activities of USA on Armenian citizens were caused to emerge Armenian uprisings in Ottoman land (Erhan, 2000). For these reasons, some disagreement especially workings of the United States about establish an Armenian state in Ottoman Land with the scope of Wilson's Principles were occurred between Ottoman – USA relations until the beginning of First World War, by this way bilateral relations were damaged (Özkan 2006) . Also in the same period the other big problem was migrations. Many Armenian citizens who lived in Ottoman Empire migrated to USA and then they were passed to American citizenship. Therefore many problems emerged after these migrations because when Armenians turned to Ottoman Empire from USA, they were not depended to Ottoman laws so, and they were American citizens. This citizenship problem and mandate problem caused many meeting in following periods in fact these issues negotiated in conference of Lausanne but there did not take any solution about Armenian problem. Nowadays Turkey and USA would not reach a common solution on this issue.

Actually this period that began in 1890s is like an indicator in terms of uprising in Anatolian cities and Balkans until First World War. Ottoman Empire was behaving as skeptical against American missionaries in last period of Ottoman Empire but the First World War began as result of conflict between European countries for own interest, and after this Ottoman Empire entered in to this war with Germany in triple entente that a lot of source mentioned that, the real aim of First World War is to share Ottoman territory between European countries. By this way USA used Armenian groups to get its part of share in a manner that secretly way. Because Ottoman Empire had been noticed policy of USA so, Ottoman Empire did not allow to American missioner's activities in its region in this way the relations between two states entered into a new configuration period but despite this, Ottoman Empire had not wanted to damage towards American missionaries that lived in Ottoman land. With the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the relations of Ottoman Empire and USA was started but USA participated to First World War for this reason mutual relation were almost ended; however in April 6, 1917 USA declared war against Germany despite Turkey and Germany were allied between each other besides USA did not make a war



declaration against Turkey, most important reason of this USA did not want to any damage to American missionaries that lived in Turkey (Yılmaz, 2014a).

On the other hand, in 1919 a Near East Relief Society (NERS) was established by under the protection of President Wilson and the real purpose of establishing to this community would be determined historical problems, political problems geographical problems and economic problems before the Paris Peace Conference. In this period Ottoman Empire wanted to provide a control mechanism on American missionaries but it did not successful because of own internal problems. In this case foreign relations between Turkey and United States of America have progressed with the effect of non – state actors and national interest of USA. Besides in the context of relations this could be called between these two states the group that determines the progress of the relationship has been American missionaries instead of diplomatic ways of USA. In this situation there were emerged some wrong perception about Turks in the mind of American people that caused prejudice especially on minority policies of Turkey for this reason the claim of Armenian genocide emerged in American public opinion.

Ottoman Empire had to enter into First World War with Germany in October, 1914. For this reason relations between Ottoman Empire and USA were suspended and then United States of America declared war against Germany in 1917 so, as a result of this all diplomatic relations ended. At this time European Allies continued to their secret meeting about the share of Ottoman territory, but in the same period Bolshevik Revolution (October Revolution) was realized in Russia in 1917 for this reason the new communist governments declared that all secret meetings of his former allies to whole world, US government did not aware of this secret meetings before Russia's declaration, by this way USA started to make some changes on own foreign policy, after this period of time President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points were declared to whole world. Especially 12<sup>th</sup> point was directly related to Turkey. According to this point, the Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of an autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under

international guarantees (Woolley, 1918). This self – determination thought affected to Turkish public opinion and many Turkish intellectuals supported to this thought in fact, these peoples wanted to American mandate for the salvation of Ottoman Empire.

The idea of American mandate would be mention in 1919 at Paris Peace Conference and ten after the May 19, 1919 Mustafa Kemal Ataturk went to Samsun and with this situation the steps of Turkish Independence War was started by this way the ideas of American mandate would be mention in Erzurum Congress and Sivas Congress. During the Paris Peace Conference, Prime minister of United Kingdom Lloyd George proposed to President Wilson about American mandate, according to him, USA should establish a mandate especially in region of Armenian. In this period a group of people were sent to Turkey for prepare a report about Armenian issue and General Harbord was the most important report in terms of this issue. According to report Pending the ultimate settlement of these questions the mission believes that, for reasons set forth, the power which takes a mandate for Armenia should also exercise a mandate for Anatolia, Roumelia, Constantinople, and Transcaucasia; the boundaries of the Turkish-vilayets of Armenia and Anatolia and the interior boundaries of Russian Armenia, Georgia, and Azarbaijan to remain substantially as they are for the present. The divisions of such mandate are an administrative detail to be worked out by the mandatory power. Good administration indicates that there should be some intermediate authority between the provinces and the capital. A natural subdivision of such a mandate as has been indicated would probably be: Roumelia, city of Constantinople (federal district), Anatolia, Armenia, district of Transcaucasia (less Russian Armenia) (Harbord, 1920). Actually mandate had proposed in general of report but at the same time Armenian population was not enough to establish a state so a Armenian state in Anatolian land did not possible in terms of this report. In contrast to all of them, in Erzurum Congress and Sivas Congress especially Mustafa Kemal and other participant of these congresses emphasized that their aims would be integrity and sovereignty of Turkish state and Turkish nation so by this way mandate or any protection did not accepted in terms of salvation of Turkish nation. According to USA the issue of mandate should be presented to United States Senate and then this issue discusses by senate but a positive result did not emerge after this period. So there was not formed a proposal of

mandate in U.S Congress besides, USA could not participate to negotiation period of Treaty of Sèvres. On the other hand USA continued relations with Turkey and also Ankara government during the Turkish Salvation war in a non – diplomatic way on the contrary to attitudes of European Countries. However, USA thought that; if a Turkish state would establish, there could be an investment region for own economy.

After Independence War of Turkey, in November 22, 1922 Conference of Lausanne was started, but USA participated as observer status because it did not enter into First World War. During the conference a lot of issues were discussed especially, borders of Turkey, abolition of capitulations and also status of Turkish Straits. The most interesting issue of USA was the status of Turkish Straits.

After Conference of Lausanne Republic of Turkey was recognized in a diplomatic manner so, both Turkey and USA and also other states have entered into a new period.

## **2.2. Relations Between The Period Of 1923 – 1945**

With the declaration of Turkish Republic in October 29, 1923, Ottoman Empire ended and new republic was born; Republic of Turkey, this new state was started a new period with USA like the other states in terms of foreign policy and also mutual foreign relations. According to America, a big empire was collapsed but Turkish nation have managed to establish a democratic, sovereign and independent state like itself. For this reason this result is important and admirable in terms of USA. In this period diplomats have a great role in the way of bilateral relations. Consequently, Turkish revolution would provide to establish tie between two states. After American Revolution, USA has been a country of freedom and democracy in this respect the bilateral relations of Turkey and USA could get ahead clearly because with the establishing of Turkish Republic, some worst thought about Turkish policies against Armenians and the other minorities was started decrease in American public opinion day after day; by this way Turkey provided to fix its image on USA.

The Great Depression in 1929 affected to whole world especially in economic term, naturally Turkey influenced negatively from this crisis, but protectionist economy policies of Ataturk's period could provide to decrease the affects of Great Depression period, as a matter of fact Turkey signed some trade agreements with USA in this

period. Ford Motor Company's Assembly was important example of this. In this period USA wanted to get rid of economic crisis for this reason own economy should open to foreign market so, as a matter of fact, the assembly plant that began operating in Tophane at the end of 1929, constitutes a reflection of the spatial phenomenon of this “internationalization”, which is characteristic for the period and the company (Odman, 2011). This situation will create economic tie between Turkey and USA in later time period.

In 1930s the mutual trade agreement meetings provided to progress bilateral foreign relations between USA and Turkey and also in 1939 Turkey and USA signed this trade agreement, besides in this period many American diplomats visited to Turkey, this situation had been pleased by Turkish governments. Roosevelt would establish close relationship with Ataturk via official letters. With all of these situations, generally mutual relations came into a high level. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk died in November 10, 1938, in this period this situation influenced to whole world. Many famous press groups published some articles, columns and news about Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and his leadership and character in many parts of the world, actually American press also influenced to this situation so, the most important and famous American journals and newspapers have been mention with great praise about Ataturk.

After Mustafa Kemal, some states were started to enter in to a new war period but Turkey did not want to participate this type of conflict because Turkey has still ended its own war and it still felt exhausted and also foreign policy of this period took form to this way. During the same period USA also did not want to participate to this war like Turkey, but USA would be take own part at the end of the war because their own national interest and international system required to this type of policy. In spite of everything foreign relations between Turkey and USA did not ended by the way of mutually on the contrary USA wanted to some make some agreements with Turkey about external aid at the same time. Within this framework, Turkey could take an external aid under USA’s scope of law besides Turkey both provide aid from USA and also USA would supported to Turkey about defense if a negative situation would realized in Second World War period. But this agreement could damage to Turkey because Turkey would became a side of Second World War so, this agreement

signed at the end of the war. On the other hand especially Turkish Straits became an important issue in Yalta Conference in 1945, so the status of Turkish Straits should be reorganize in favor of Soviet Russia by foreign ministers and then Turkey should be informed form this change (Armaoğlu, 2012).

Under this situation whole sides did not provide a result, especially British side insisted about Turkey's participation in this war; in fact, for this reason Soviet Union mention that their own wishes about the status of Turkish Straits and also especially on Montreux Convention Regarding the Regime of the Straits according to Soviet Union this agreement and its conditions should be changed because Soviet Union wanted have to control on Turkish Straits. Under this circumstances Turkey has entered into a predicament and both a near neighbor Soviet Union and Great Britain that as a representative of European isolated to Turkey. At this time United States of America was under the Roosevelt presidency and this government declared that there were not necessary any changing on the status of Turkish straits so USA supported to Turkey about this situation. At this point, the reason of USA's support were in the context of their national interest because if any changing could be realize on the status of Turkish straits, the status of Suez Canal and Panama Canal would be become a current issue in like these conference that these canals stay the key position of USA's foreign trade and any changing on the status of these transition would be effect in a negatively way on economy of USA.

On the other hand generally USA respected to Turkey's neutrality decision in the period of Second World War and also again USA supported to Turkey about the status of straits against Soviet Union and Great Britain. All of these as a first step with respect to future foreign relations in terms of trade, military cooperation and economic cooperation.

### **2.3 Turkey – USA Foreign Relations in Cold War Area**

Turkey was a one of the key state of containment theory in Cold War period, for this reason Turkey has a strategic importance in and also Turkey's geopolitical location is significance because Turkey is located near the fundamental energy basin such as, Middle East and Caspian Region, under this circumstances Turkey would constituted a important role in term of US foreign policy and USA wanted to provide the balance

of power so, it generally supports to Turkey for a regional leadership but this situation would create sometimes big facilities but also sometimes big obstacles in a period of time.

After the Second World War, world had been entered in to a new system; one side was USA and the other side was Soviet Union. This bipolar system represented to two different ideologies; socialism and capitalism and these two ideologies challenged against each fairly. During the Second World War Turkey provide to protect its neutral attitude for this reason Turkey stayed together between this bipolar world system. After Second World War all sides of this war wanted to a meeting in San Francisco under the root of United Nations at this point Turkey wanted to participate in this conference but if Turkey would participate in San Francisco Conference, Turkey was necessary to declare war according to participating states, thereupon Turkey declared war against Germany at the end of the war in accordance with procedures and then Turkey could be included in San Francisco by this way so, at the end of this conference participating states signed the convention of founding agreements in this manner this conference was started to call under the name of United Nations Conference on International Organization. But Turkey's participation was not positive in terms of Soviet Union because Russian's policy of accession to the warm sea ports was still continuing since before the First World War. For these reasons Turkey had left alone at this period and this situation created an opportunity in terms of for realizing Soviet Russia's policies besides Great Britain and USA did not adopt a certain attitude during the war period and during the conferences after Second World War (Sander, 2009).

Thereupon Moscow stated that; 1925 Turkish – Soviet friendship and nonaggression agreement do not accommodate with the new international system anymore, at this point Turkey had to adopt a compromiser attitude against Soviet Russia's statements. However, this type of statements of Russia caused to bring mutual relations up to breakaway point. In the meantime England made first explanation about this issue and Great Britain supported to Turkey for this situation besides USA supported to Turkey against Soviet Union especially on status of Turkish straits. In this respect Turkey's geostrategic and geopolitical location has been play a big role on shaping international system and also Turkey's future, on the other hand such an attitude of

Soviet Union was the first signal for the starting of Cold War Period. After this, Soviet Union again gave a memorandum to Turkey, according to USSR Turkey could not provide the security of Black Sea and Turkish Strait should always open for countries that have borders the Black Sea in case of war and peace. But if the wishes of Soviet Russia would be realize, the control of straits could take to its hegemony. In this context USA should not allow like this situation, furthermore Soviet Union declared that; this memorandum was made against not only to Turkey but also both Great Britain and USA so, USA declared again that complete support would be provide to Turkey and during this period USA wanted to carry this issue in United Nations Security Council, after that American Navy and British Navy made a common military drill. All these situations could provide to decrease Soviet Union's oppressive attitude against to Turkey but this do not show that Soviet Union's attitude fully change, because bipolar system in other words Cold War was still continuing.

After a period of time Great Britain wanted to grow away from its own super power role because after Second World War Great Britain were get tired and its industry came to bankruptcy point for this reason economic and military aid were not provide for other states, but the government of Great Britain has been guaranteed about foreign aids after Second World War. At this point Great Britain wanted to transfer own mission to a strong power like its and this State should be United States of America because both First World period and Second World War USA has a big role and mission in international system. This transfer period was continued mutual and diplomatic way and then USA took whole responsibilities from Great Britain. During this period Washington made a lot of congress about foreign aids and as a result of these congresses Truman Doctrine was created by this way both the foreign aid would provide to other countries and Soviet expansion would be stop. Beginning from Marshall Plan foreign relations between Turkey and USA will create a strategic partnership in later times, after approving of Marshall Plan from congress foreign aid packages were determined and US Congress (Türkmen, 2012).

A general looking was made about starting point of Truman doctrine, international threat that was formed by Soviet communism revealed to take some preventive measures in international foreign policy. In this case USA that take flag from United

Kingdom started to change its traditional foreign policy, Truman Doctrine would be formed this changing. Communist system of Soviet Union could be spread easily whole world, for this reason USA wanted to send foreign aid to some countries in economic manner so, in March 12, 1947 foreign aid decision was determined by US Congress with President Truman's approval and Turkey and Greece would take 400 billion dollar for military aid in first step and 300 billion was reserved for Greece and 100 billion was reserved for Turkey (Oran, 2011). The fundamental reason of these foreign aids, if Greece and especially Turkey would be affect to Soviet pressure, all Middle East and also all Asian Region could be stay under the Soviet regime, so this situation would create a big threat in terms of USA and its big power mission.

Marshall Plan contained all these military aid and this plan would change shape in a period of time, Marshall Plan had not only military purposes but also now included economic purposes. The fundamental reasons of this situation, after Second War period Europe has collapsed economically because industrial activities ended after war so European countries were experiencing troublesome times, Soviet Communist parties started to show its effect in Italy and France, for this reason USA made foreign aid to Turkey and Greece and at the same period USA supported to economical term in order to get rid of economic crises to Western Europe. In other words Marshall Plan was produced with the aim of rebuilding European Countries in economic manner. However Turkey wanted to increase this foreign aid's rate by this way Turkey made some meetings and after this Turkey – US relations continued both economic and political with the framework of Marshall Plan. In this respect, Turkey's participation in San Francisco Conference and signing United Nations agreement were another reason to Turkey's close relationship with USA; besides all these situations were an important step Turkey's democratization process according to USA. On the other hand Turkey also started to harmonization process about democratization and liberal policies, all these processes would be formed a step both economic changing process and political transformation process for Turkey. As a matter of fact the main aim of United States was protection of Middle East against communism in both Truman Doctrine and Eisenhower Doctrine. Thereupon, Soviet Union was continuing opposite attitude against USA and it declared that USA could continue to protect Europe, Soviet Russia are determined to own policy so, USA understood that its national security was under the Soviet threats by this way they



determined a military alliance for provide security against Soviet Union. USA, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Portugal signed North Atlantic Pact to establish military organization. At this time Turkey felt alone against Soviet threat in international area because of Turkey was a part of this organization. If Turkey and all Europe do not take American supports in economic and military manner, these countries could not stay alone against Soviet imperialism. Actually USA had been aware to this situation but, Turkey's NATO membership was not accepted in first step. After one year, Turkey made a first official application for provide NATO membership in May 11, 1950. Although Turkey's factors for membership take placed in a logical framework, US have rejected Turkey's NATO membership in an unconditional way. But Turkey was started to changing process Democrat Party won the elections so, changing in political conjuncture especially transition to multi party system from one party system and were very important developments for Turkey according to USA. All of these developments and Turkey's participation in Korean War would open a new door on security policies of Turkey and in this way Turkey had a new role in international system. Besides, the participation of Korean War was a key for Turkey's NATO membership. At this point this determination of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes were perceived negatively by opposition parties, and opposite side declared that, Turkey will participate to Korean war but Turkey has not a membership a security organization so this situation will able to create an adversity against Soviet Union in terms of Turkey but these discussion were still continuing, Turkish soldier is already had gone to Korea. Korean War and oppositional Soviet policies and some initiatives of Turkish diplomats could started to changed ideas of USA because, while all these circumstances were continuing, USA started change its own security perceptions so, in May 15, 1951 USA wanted to acceptance Turkey's participation of NATO and also with Greece, suggestion of USA were accepted by NATO's General Assembly (Ibid,Oran, 2011). In this framework Turkey and Greece has already been NATO member and Mediterranean side of this alliance were taken under own security umbrella by USA.

Generally, NATO membership of Turkey was not possible before the participation of Turkey to Korean War because geopolitical and geostrategic location of Turkey is like a door that provides a prevention Soviet containment policy against western world. But the participation of Turkey to Korean War with USA provided to

accelerate NATO membership process of Turkey. In this context establishment of NATO and all other process obtained to stop Soviet containment policy in Europe. In terms of mutual relations between Turkey and USA, this period was like a beginning the process of cooperation in economic, military and political manner, Turkish Armed Forces and US Military Forces took part in many common projects under the NATO's umbrella. On the other hand Turkey and USA signed a lot of agreements military, economic and political mutually; these agreements were related to foreign aid in the framework of Marshall Plan. In this respect Turkey – USA foreign relations period between the years of 1945 and 1960 able to describe a strategic alliance period, the establishing American military base were allowed under the defense against Soviet Union in Turkey's territory by Turkish governments. This situation included a lot of reason, firstly Turkey did not want to stay alone against Soviet policy so, Turkey wanted to protect its place in western alliance and at the same time economic stabilization and also stabilization of domestic policy should be provided by its; then strategic alliances should be stronger with USA. Under this circumstances new regional cooperation was started for increase regional influence mutually, the most important regional alliances were Baghdad Pact and Balkan Pact, at this point these two treaties were more significant both especially Turkey and USA but beginning from Ataturk period, Turkey wanted to formed a regional alliance in Balkans. When this pact was signed, Greece has participated NATO and Russia put pressure on Yugoslavia because of this pact. After this period Yugoslavia did not resist against Soviet pressure and then they participated Soviet Block by this way Balkan Pact was ended. Another one is Baghdad Pact that also important in terms of regional for Turkey and USA, because an alliance with Middle Eastern state placed in important point against Soviet Union, but in time this pact was ended due to Iranian revolution.

With the end of all these pacts, many crises would start to USA. Naturally Turkey would directly effect to these crises because of Turkey's geopolitical location and its NATO membership. Another reason of these crisis is, beginning from 1960s there were started a change period in international system. The most important crisis was Cuban Missile Crisis in the period of 1960s. The Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 was one of the turning points of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. At that time the two superpowers came close to war, possibly with

nuclear weapons; after it, both countries began to seek ways to adjust to each other, in particular, to prevent the use of nuclear weapon (Johnson & Hatch, 1998). The first satellite of the world Sputnik 1 were launched in to space by Soviet Union, when this situation was a big surprise to bi – polar world, Soviet Union was starting to launch second satellite so, USA were showed directly like a target by Soviet Union. Thereupon USA had determined to emplace Jupiter ballistic missiles in European Countries which have NATO membership, and then these states should be Turkey and Italy against Soviet Union according to USA. Firstly Turkey had not wanted to this decision because; successive Turkish governments generally stayed loyal to the alliance and defended it at home. They were put in a difficult position when developments seemed to show that NATO was an organization that served American strategic interests and not those of Turkey. The first time this happened was in 1962–63. During the negotiations following the Cuban missile crisis President Kennedy gave in to Russian demands that the missiles based in Turkey should be withdrawn in exchange for the USSR not basing missiles in Cuba (Op Cit.,Sander, 2009). This was no great sacrifice since the Jupiter system was obsolete anyway and about to be replaced by the submarine-based Polaris system, but the withdrawal of the missiles gave Turkey the feeling that it was no more than a pawn in the American game (Zürcher, 2004). Finally, Soviet missiles in Cuba were equivalent to Jupiter missiles in Turkey, by this way this crisis reached a solution for balance of power in bi – polar world system. But this crisis damaged to relations between Turkey and USA and the image of America also damaged in Turkish public opinion.

Generally in Cold War period, foreign relations between Turkey and USA had included strategic cooperation in the context of NATO but, in Turkey this situation perceived that, existence of American power in Eastern Mediterranean Region and also in Middle East Gulf Region because according the US foreign policy these regions had a critical important against potential wars due to their energy reserves. If Soviet Union could capture this region, whole Western world would not able to provide oil, in case Turkey is an energy corridor in this region so this situation is critical in terms of USA. Besides US foreign policy had wanted to containment to this region like Soviet Russia, therefore these regional states should be taken under the orbit of USA so, if a potential war would realize, these regional states could supported to themselves. Under this circumstances NATO membership of Turkey

caused to a leader or a representative in this region. On the other hand, Turkey's bridge position in Middle Eastern region and aims of USA provided to establish Baghdad Pact. Real aim of USA with this pact, if any attack would realize from this region or from Soviet Union, Baghdad Pact could provide cooperation between member states by this way regional defense could be ensured. Furthermore USA preferred that to stay out of this pact, because Saudi Arabia, Israel and Egypt could respond to this situation, so USA had only observer status. But USA did not reach success from Baghdad Pact and with the Iranian revolution Baghdad Pact was ended. In this respect westernized regional defense system was not enlarged by USA, so regional alliance system collapsed. At the same period Turkey did not produce original and independent policies related to Middle East, for this reason Turkey and also Menderes government were showed like speaker of USA in this region by Turkish public opinion and international system.

#### **2.4 Relations Between The Period Of 1960 – 1980**

With Cuban Missile Crisis USA and Soviet Union started to conflict against each other in 1960s, this situation effected to Turkey directly and negatively, in this context USA were started perceive an unpleasant manner by Turkish public opinion and Turkish media. All this process started to Marshall Plan and continued since NATO membership period of Turkey, at the same time strategic cooperation process and close relationship between Menderes government and USA damaged due to this situation. Besides military power staged 1960, 27 May Turkish coup d'état against Menderes government, in this case caused to damage foreign relations between Turkey and USA, even after coup d'état 1961 new constitution was prepared for Turkey with this constitution liberal freedoms started to increase for this reason leftist parties and leftist groups had begun to become strong in Turkey (Örmeci, 2010). Thus socialism and anti imperialism were became kind a mission in terms of leftist groups in Turkey. Inherently USA were perceived against leftist movement in Turkey by these leftist group so, all these circumstances caused to seem like close relationship between Turkey and Soviet Union in international area. Besides at the end of 1950s there were some negative relations between Turkey and USA in economic manner, according to USA Turkey did not able to adapt to Marshall Plan,

aids and other credits for this reason the amount of aids and credits were decreased. In this context a feeling of distrust were created in Turkish public opinion.

Under this negatively circumstances Cyprus Crisis occurred. London agreement and Zurich Agreement were signed and bi – zonal republic were declared in Cyprus at the beginning of 1960s. After this many disagreements were occurred in island between Turks and Greeks, these disagreements increased in a time period and then two society started to conflict against each other. In 1963 these conflicts reached peak so, United Nations sent Peace Keeping Force to Cyprus, but conflicts were not ended. The most important reason of this situation, Turkey and Greece supported own nations in their motherland. Thereupon President Cemal Gürsel wanted to connect with USA and by this way a letter that related to Cyprus issue was posted to President Johnson for support to stopping conflict in island (Op. Cit.,Türkmen, 2012). But answer of President Johnson was not satisfied in terms of Turkey.

United Nations Security Council addressed to Cyprus issue in February, 1964. According to Council if Cyprus government wants to gain legality and formality in international area, this government should be represent both Turkish side and also Greek side and United Nations Security Council started to prepare a draft for resolution of Cyprus issue. But Turkey wanted to put a paragraph about slaughter against Turks in island in this draft, under this situation USA and United Kingdom would back away from resolution process. This attitude created again a disappointment to Turkey.

The withdrawal of Jupiter Missiles, has created resentment in Turkey, if there should be a bargain or negotiate with Soviet Union, United States could sacrifice to Turkey easily in terms of Turkey's suspicion. In the period of Cyprus crisis in 1964, the attitude of President Johnson would provide to strengthen to Turkey's suspicions and Turkey would start to move for soften relations with Soviet Union before the sacrificing of USA to itself (Op. Cit.,Armaoğlu, 2012). However mutual conflicts increased more and more in Cyprus, Turkey hoped a support from USA like in Cuban Missile Crisis because USA and Turkey were a strategic alliance between each other. In order to this expectation did not realized, Turkey started to prepare military intervention to Cyprus because Cyprus issue did not still reach a diplomatic resolution so, pressure of Turkish public increased in a gradually way. Under these

circumstances President Johnson sent a letter to Prime Minister İnönü and this letter caused to damage Turkey – USA relations considerably. In letter Turkey were accused from USA because of to delay determination of Turkey's military intervention and two island nations in other words Turkey and Greece had also still membership of NATO in this context these two states were alliance mutually. In addition to this if Turkey will start to military intervention to island, Turkey could not use military equipment that came from USA in the framework of foreign aid. In this respect Prime Minister İnönü sent an answer to President Johnson, according to letter military intervention was delay in order to USA's will but if Turkey's conditions do not realize, Turkey will start military intervention to Cyprus. Besides in this letter was described that USA's attitude and deadlock of United Nations Security Council in a critical way.

Johnson's letter caused to damaged relations between Turkey and USA, Turkey has started to review all relations period with USA due to negative attitude of USA in letter, on the other hand this situation caused to restart to relations between Turkey and Soviet Union. After this period USA did not want to chafe relations with Turkey any more for this reason the new a negotiation through foreign minister. Besides USA wanted to save Cyprus issue from deadlock because, Greek side of Cyprus were ruled by leftist party and this situation provide a possibility to establish close relationship with Soviet Union. During this time a lot of negotiations were realized with representatives of United Nations, Turkey and Greece, but all these enterprises did not reach a success in a strict sense. This unsuccessful environment was occurred negative impact on Turkish public opinion and also Turkish media by leftist group.

Consequently President Johnson's letter, diplomatic and political ineffectiveness created a bad crisis management, this situation has been damaged to bilateral relation between Turkey and USA. Besides in order to Cyprus issue negotiate in United Nations, Soviet Union became an intervener side about Cyprus crisis. On the other hand this deadlock created a hope in terms of Greek side for realize Enosis because, according to them USA and Turkey would able accept any agreement in this deadlock environment. This situation caused a new crisis in 1967, before 1967 crisis Turkey and Greece made some secret meeting between each other but the idea of Enosis never acceptable in term of Turkey. During this time USA wanted to

approximate in an objective way but, in order to lose Turkey, USA voted in favor of Turkey in United Nations meeting even, this attitude of USA took negative critical from Greece lobby. Therefore Turkey and Greece again made a meeting in Keşan, Greek Cypriot still continued their idea of Enosis but Turkey wanted to a resolution without Enosis like a common government despite to this meeting, a resolution was not formed between two states.

Under this circumstances two sides started to armed conflict between each other, many Turkish villages were destroyed by Greek side, Turkey and Greece supported to own nations and the conditions of 1967 crisis became more complicated. At this point President Johnson determined to intervention for resolution and US defense minister were sent to Turkey in order to make a negotiate with two sides, after this meeting USA's mediator role and its shuttle diplomacy provided to prevent a war between two sides. American mediation gained positive impact from both Turkish public and public opinion of world.

However after 1960 military coup d'état in Turkey, new Turkish constitution created a liberal environment by this way leftist groups and rightist groups started to conflict between each other because the conditions of Turkey did not ready in terms of liberal and freedom environment, naturally leftist groups was directly against the existence of USA. 1964 Cyprus crisis, Vietnam War and its effects on whole world was a reason to increasing leftist ideology. In such an environment leftist ideology was also increased in Greece and then a military coup d'état was realized, this military governmental system wanted to achieve the aim of Enosis for this reason EOKA military organization was establishes by military government. Cyprus head of State Makarios behaved in a moderate way but, junta did not accept his behavior and junta wanted to make a coup d'état in Cyprus for capture government of island. In this case Turkey started to prepare to attack for humanitarian intervention due to protect Turkish people that live in Cyprus. When a process would be summarized, The crisis, which had died down in 1964, flared up again in 1967 when the newly installed colonels' junta in Athens encouraged the Greek nationalists in Cyprus to step up the agitation for enosis, the union of the island with mainland Greece.

The Turks put pressure on the Greek government – for a few days in November war seemed imminent, but the junta backed down and the crisis was again defused. But

when the Greek junta was in its death throes in 1974, it engineered a coup d'état against Makarios in Cyprus by the Cypriot national guard, which went on to proclaim enosis. Ecevit's government in Ankara demanded intervention by the powers that had guaranteed the independence and the constitutional order of Cyprus in 1960 (Turkey, Great Britain and Greece). Ecevit was determined to show that Turkey could act independently and when the other two countries refused to act he ordered military intervention by the Turkish armed forces alone. Turkish troops landed in northern Cyprus on 20 July and established a bridgehead around Kyrenia (Girne). Two days later a ceasefire was agreed, but when communal violence on Cyprus continued, the troops began a second offensive on 14 August, during which about 40 per cent of the island was brought under Turkish control. After these actions (which Turkish government propaganda called *Barış Harekâtı* or 'Peace Operations') the island was to all intents and purposes partitioned. The Greeks living in the north and the Turks living in the south fled their homes. Some Greek villagers were driven out at gunpoint by the army. All of the refugees had to be resettled in the other sector. In 1983 a formally independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (*Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti*) was proclaimed, though only Turkey recognized it. (Op. Cit., ZÜRCHER, 2004). As a result of this process, Cyprus separated two sides and then this resolution was kind of a deadlock, military intervention of Turkey reflected to whole international media.

After the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus, democratic governance took over from junta in Greece and this situation caused to rebirth Greece lobby in United States. As a result of pressure from lobby, U.S. Congress imposed embargo on weapons to Turkey in 1975 so Turkey did not take any military aid from United States, this embargo would continue until September 1978. This situation created many result in terms of both Turkey and United States. First of all, strategic partnership and mutual alliance period between 1950s and 1960s was ended by USA, so that bilateral relations damaged due to this embargo and a mistrust occurred between relations of Turkey and USA. Secondly such a mistrust of relations could form a factor to close relation between Turkey and Soviet Union. Last but not least, this embargo provided to revive defense industry in Turkey. Besides at the same time Europe started to pass détente period, this situation could ensure decrease Turkey's feeling of loneliness. USA was taken a lot of negative criticism by Turkish public opinion and Turkish



media and especially Turkish leftist group expressed many time USA's mistrust. In general context, Turkey and Greece are NATO member, in case fight with against each other was not right due to Cyprus crisis, but two states did not leave from NATO and for this reason there was not any cooperation with Soviet Union therefore in spite of everything this situation was pleasurable in terms of USA. In 1976 Jimmy Carter became new president of United States from Democrat Party, after two years arms embargo against Turkey was lifted by President Carter with decision of U.S. Congress. This development could ensure open a new window on relations of Turkey and USA. But in this period leftist groups and rightist group started to fight against each other in Turkey, this conflict was creating a political instability. On the other hand in 1979 a Islamic Revolution was realized in Iran, by this way USA became irritated from Iranian Revolution because Turkey could be impressed this kind of a radical Islamic process or due to fighting between leftist group and rightist group may lead to a communist restructuring process with the support of Soviet Union that in December 24, 1979 Afghanistan was occupied by Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, The 1979 Islamic Revolution shook the stability of Turkish-Iranian relations. The Islamic Republic of Iran's militant Islamist statements and foreign policy fuelled tension and mutual distrust (The Middle East Institute, 2008). All these developments were a big threat for United States because these developments actually as an indicator of collapsing Middle East strategy of USA. Under this circumstances USA did not want to lose Turkey but after a short period of time with the chaos environment realized to the 12 September 1980 Turkish coup d'état, headed by Chief of the General Staff General Kenan Evren. According to many sources USA did not make a complaint about 1980 Turkish coup d'état in contrast with it believed that with this coup d'état Turkey can pass again more stable and democratic governance.

After 1983 elections Turgut Özal became prime minister in Turkey at the same time Ronald Reagan was president of United States that the parameters of foreign policy of US started to change and also with the prime ministry of Turgut Özal Turkey's foreign policy all these developments lead to open new period in terms of foreign relations of Turkey and USA. According to some sources Özal generally describes a liberal and westernized but according to opposite side he was an Americanist in the strict sense. Actually Turkey started to a lot changes in many fields with his

governance, the European Union membership process, rebuilding foreign relations with Turkey's neighbors and cooperation with USA in economic, political, military and the other areas constitutes a general outline of Özal period.

President Reagan is a liberalist in political sense; Turkey met liberal policies in Özal period so, relations of Turkey and USA started to fix at that time. In general sense, an economic stabilization plan were prepared and then and in January 24, 1980 this economic stability program was declared to Turkish public. With 24<sup>th</sup> January Decisions neo – liberalism stamped to economy in Turkey and this effect is still continuing (Op. Cit., Yılmaz, 2014). Because according to USA, liberal policies of Özal period and new face of Turkish foreign policy were quite positive developments, with these positive impacts of this change, foreign investment of USA would increase to Turkey. These investments were generally in military and economic manner but military investment and military aids had been below Turkey's expectation because the negative effects of 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus were still continuing in 1980s. After this period, in 1983 a formally independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus declared that its own independence and only Turkey recognized it. Since then, Turkey has been struggling with the outcomes of the creation of an isolated Turkish Republic in the Northern Cyprus and desperately looks for recognition of it (Baştürk, 2011). Under these circumstances Greek lobbying has started to accelerate their activities on U.S Congress and declaration of Turkish Republic in the Northern Cyprus became a controversy issue between Turkey and United States.

At the same period in September 1980 Iran and Iraq started a war against each other, this war period would continue during 8 years. Turkey worried about this war because two states are close boundary neighbors. In this situation Turkey wanted to protect own neutrality, in order to war of two states, Turkey's foreign trade also effected but Turkey could successful in this period in terms of economical relations in this period own regional importance. In opposite to these positive developments in Iran – Iraq war process, PKK terrorism occurred suddenly. On the other hand during the period of Iran – Iraq war Turkey opened own border door for refugees that escaped from war region, besides Turkey made an invitation to United Nations for humanitarian aid.

Beginning from 1980 during the 10 years period Turkey protected to continue own geostrategic importance against USA and economic and military cooperation processes progressed between Turkey and USA in this decade. Besides Turkey gained a success during the Iran – Iraq war period due to its neutrality attitude in a regional context, despite of this PKK terrorism and Kurdish problem created big problems in internal policies of Turkey at the same time. Especially some new mentioned American supports to independence of Kurds created again anti Americanism on public opinion in Turkey. Under this circumstances with these developments constituted a rapprochement process in terms of bilateral relations of Turkey and USA, even President Bush visited to Turkey and he also first visitor American President that came to Turkey after 32 years. All these close relations gained advantages from strategic partnership period for Turkey and USA.

## **2.5 Turkey – USA Relations After Cold War**

With the end of the Cold War period, bi – polar system expired in the international system therefore balance of power was starting to change in the world. Therefore the entire world started to enter in to a change period in terms of economic, cultural and political because globalization process began to show its effects with the technological developments. Despite all of these Turkey could not enter into changing period with globalization in the first step because in last decade was very exhaustive in terms of Turkey for this reason new policies did not produce yet. Naturally some changes would realize in terms of foreign relations of Turkey of USA in new world order after the end of Cold War.

Within the framework of this new international system some factors had been effective on relations of Turkey and USA, especially Turkey entered in to a new process after 1980 military Coup D'état and with starting to Özal Period, liberalist structure had began to influence on Turkey's economy so, these developments has been provide to develop relations with the United States. On the other hand Cyprus issue had continued to protect own importance and Kardak issue created negative impact in terms of reaching a fundamental solution on Cyprus issue. Besides European Union membership process of Turkey had developed during this period. Additionally with the ending of Cold War period, the role of energy sources had started to increase its importance in international system, according to the United

States, Turkey has important geography within the scope of energy route. Under this situations all these factors constitutes the basic framework of after cold war period on relations of Turkey and USA.

Positive relations in the period of Gulf War at the end of 1980s will show its impact in 1990s. In 1993 Bill Clinton became a new president of United States from Democrat Party, at the same period with the impact of policies of Özal period, in 1990s Turkey was started to rule by coalition government, in this respect Clinton wanted to establish close relationship with Turkey, so this period had many developments in terms of mutual relations by this way many 1990s should be examine with many subtitles.

First of all Cyprus issue and solution seeking process continued in this period, besides 1990s was important within the scope of European Union membership process of Turkey and in these case American support had important role because Turkey was still protect own geopolitical and geostrategic importance after Cold War period. On the other hand two states made much cooperation in economic manner, with the trade agreements the volume of foreign trade increased between Turkey and USA. This successful cooperation was an important factor that provided to support of USA to Turkey in diplomatic field; especially in searching a resolution o Cyprus issue USA had played a mediator role between Turkey and Greece. But in 1995 Kardak Crisis occurred for this reason big tension existed between Turkey and Greece at his point Clinton and his team became a part of this crisis and they provided to prevent a war between two states. As a result of this, the issue seethed yet again in early 1996, when the two countries almost came to blows because of a territorial dispute over an Aegean islet that the Greeks call Imia and the Turks Kardak. Though each country determinedly displayed its military strength, the United States managed to diffuse the tensions between them through frantic diplomacy. Nevertheless, Imia/Kardak is only one of many disputed islets in the Aegean. Control over Aegean airspace is also disputed, though the matter of civil aviation flights seems to have been resolved. Military flights, however, continue to cause friction (Bahcheli, et al., 1997). European Union membership process was another important issue in 1990s in terms of Turkey for this reason Turkey made an application for participate Custom Union to European Parliament and in 1996

Turkey's application was accepted by European Parliament. But after this, European Union made some summits there are; 1997 Luxemburg summit, 1999 Helsinki Summit, after these meetings Turkey's membership of European Union was not accepted despite this official membership status was given to Turkey. USA had a role for Turkey's gain because according to USA if Turkey is a member of European Union, Turkey could be a part of western axis and this situation has importance in terms of national interest of United States. Besides in order to Turkey's geopolitical location locates on energy corridor, Turkey's membership of European Union able to provides to facilitate cooperation on energy field in terms of USA. As a matter of fact energy has vital importance for being a super power according to USA and own national interest. Because Russian Federation supplies to Europe their energy need. This situation created dependence to Russia in terms of European countries and also Turkey. For this reason after Cold War period, the most important aim of US foreign policy was energy reserves of Caucasian Region and naturally Turkey has a key role on this corridor. Because Caucasian countries had almost provide their own sovereignty from Russian Federation and USA wanted to send own corporations to this region for energy investment therefore oil and natural gas which obtain from Caucasian region could transferred via pipelines to Europe at this point these pipelines should be pass in Turkey so, Russian Federation could be by pass easily. Under these circumstances, Baku–Tbilisi–Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline Project was prepared in Clinton period and United States supported to this project, Turkey had appositive look for this project due to regional and economic gain. Baku–Tbilisi–Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline Project completed in 2005 with this pipeline Turkey's geopolitical importance has risen once again and by this way Turkey as like a bridge between Central Asia and Europe. This project was the best example in terms of foreign relations between Turkey and United States.

At the end of 1990s Turkey was started a struggle to arrest the head of PKK terror organization, intelligence service of United Stated gave support to Turkey for arrest of Abdullah Öcalan after this, he was arrested by this way.

Under these circumstances foreign relations of Turkey and USA passed a new period during Clinton era by this way two states progressed towards strategic partnership process in the context of own national interests.

## **2.6 Turkey – USA Relations After 9/11 Attacks**

George W. Bush was elected from Republican Party as a new President of United States in 2001. At that time there was a general prediction towards continuing good relationship process between Turkey and USA, especially Turkey's wanted to cooperation with US on Palestine issue and Iraq and Israel problems but in September 11, 2001 were realized a series attacks by the Islamic Terrorist group al – Qaeda the against United States in New York and the Washington. First two attacks was against to World Trade Center and two planes flown into buildings, third plane crashed into Pentagon and fourth plane flown into Washington, D.C. After these terrorist attacks, thousands peopled died. Turkey declared that all kinds of terrorist attack never accept and also necessary support provides within the scope of counter terrorism for US in a stringently manner, besides Turkish public opinion protested against these attacks. All these situations created an important foreign policy tool in terms of strengthen relations with US such that with 9/11 attacks counter terrorism in a global manner became a part of US foreign policy targets. In this case USA made a military cooperation against containment policy of Soviet Union after Second World War and now under the NATO umbrella some military cooperation will continue between Turkey and USA in the context of fight against terrorism. With the year 2002 AKP (Justice and Development Party) became the ruling party in Turkey, this situation caused to some changing on Turkey's targets of internal affairs and foreign affair. With the AKP government started to new Turkish Foreign Policy period. The foreign relations of Turkey and USA generally were continuing on positive trend until 2002 because with the impact of environment of Iraq war, Turkey parliament rejected U.S troop proposal in March 1, 2003 (CNN International, 2003). Therefore bilateral relations passed to negative trend and Turkey's rejection created a fragile towards Turkish – American relations. As a result of these new paradigms of Turkish foreign policy, consequences of this new policies and changing perception of public opinion caused a new type of anti Americanism by that means bilateral relations and also Kurdish problem became important factor in new foreign policy of this period due to Iraq War, for these reasons relations of Turkey and United States would effected in a bad way.

With collapse of Soviet Union, world conjuncture started to change and in 2001 terrorist attacks was realized against to United States, all these changes caused to form new security perception on US foreign policy because terror just became a global threat. Naturally the Agenda of Bush government focused on 9/11 attacks, besides the Middle East region was the main source of these type of terrorist organization and regional energy reserves could increase strategic importance along history, due to this reasons Middle East became a target in terms of USA. On the other hand after September 11 Bush doctrine was declared, this doctrine constituted National Security Strategy of the United States, this strategy targeted Global War on Terror (GWOT); in this framework all initiative would controlled by the United States so, if any threat is felt by USA, directly military intervention could realized by itself (Barkey, 2005). This situation did not approve from the international community and United States separated from whole world with this doctrine and bi – polar system was creating again by USA. At the same time Turkey’s foreign policy target on Iraq was different from USA, according to Turkey integrity of Iraq should be protected because if Iraq would disintegrate, a Kurdish state could establish easily in this region. In addition to this protection of Turkmens who live in Iraq took part in priority of Turkish foreign policy.

Turkey has entered in to difficult situation that hard to manage with invasion of Iraq, in this context the United States wanted to use Turkey’s territory to entering Iraq and support of Turkey had important factor in terms of USA because Turkey has key role in Middle East region. Under this circumstanced United States made a proposal to Turkey in order to entering Iraq in northern side, therefore Saddam’s troops would distributed easily and then the control of oil wells passed to USA in easily way. But Turkey rejected this proposal in March 1, 2003 with the voting results of Turkish Grand National Assembly. This decision created a surprise for USA but according to Turkey there were many reasons of this rejection, firstly in this period there were not any consensus in AKP, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who was head of party in that period supported to proposal of United States, but opposite to this foreign minister Ahmet Davutoğlu did not support to this proposal. Secondly there was an anti – war perception in the mind of Turkish society, last but not least USA was making cooperation with Kurdish group in north of Iraq so, this situation was damaging to Turkey’s fight against terrorism. On the other hand with this rejection of Turkey,

Kurdish groups started to control North of Iraq, according to United States this situation was provide more advantages because the control of Turkey could be difficult in this region whereas Kurdish groups could managed by USA in easily way. However this attitude of Unites Stated damaged to relation with Turkey, besides Turkey did not allow to use own territory for entering Iraq to USA despite this Turkey did not want to break relations mutually so, some air corridors were opened to use of United States and humanitarian aid, rescue teams were sent to region by Turkey. Turkey's Iraq policy cannot be studied in isolation from Turkish-American relations which, according to some, have reached one of its lowest points with Turkey's dismissal of an American request to open up a northern front against Iraq in 2003 (Görener, 2008). Therefore there is no doubt that Turkey's decision effectively marginalized its interests from Iraqi affairs, yet not so much as a result of a deliberate policy of punishment on the part of the US-as it is perceived by Turkey-but because American interests were focused elsewhere and its energy was stretched too thin. As a result, the US has failed to act on Turkey's legitimate security concerns for a long time, and it has not put much pressure on Iraqi Kurds for adopting a tougher stand against the PKK. This has fueled Turkey's suspicions about American intensions concerning the Kurds, animating conspiracy theories derived from Turkey's perennial fear of being divided by foreign actors and there is no doubt that the two sides had diverging interests in northern Iraq; while Turkey perceived the consolidation of Kurdish authority in northern Iraq as an existential security threat, the US considered any intervention in northern Iraq as endangering all chances of stability in the rest of Iraq and as result of this ,Americans finally decided to listen to Turkey's concerns not because Turkish intervention seemed imminent, but because US interests in the changing regional power dynamics have placed Turkey into an almost indispensable position (Ibid,Görener, 2008). Under this circumstances 1<sup>st</sup> March decision of Turkey and USA support to Kurdish groups in north of Iraq created a intervention effect on relations of Turkey and United States, also the hood event on July 4, 2003 showed that the break point of bilateral relations. To sum up, with the beginning of 1990s Kurdish problem had started to threat towards Turkey's territorial integrity, especially fighting with PKK terrorism is a part of Turkey's most important problem in international area. Because Turkey's fighting with PKK terrorism was presented as a precondition like Armenian issue and Cyprus problem



by both the United States and European Union against Turkey. On the other hand the United States has an important role during the capturing process of the head of PKK, by this way this situation has been provided to détente environment between relations of Ankara and Washington. But during the Iraq War, Turkey's successful result of fighting with PKK has been lost its meaning; because after war PKK had started to spread towards north of Iraq and by this way they provided to increase their power. Besides due to support of USA to Kurdish groups, security policies of Turkey have been affected negatively and this PKK structure in north of Iraq formed an important security threat against Turkey. On the other hand with the existence of this type of terrorist organization and expectation an military operation against PKK terror organization for certain resolution within the scope of Turkey's territorial integrity had interrupted because of this situation had contradict to USA's interest in this region (Op. Cit., Yılmaz, 2014). In this respect September 11 terror attacks had formed a tie on mutual relations so, strategic partnership process has been started to deepening. But Turkey's rejection in 1 March 2003 created damage on Turkey's foreign relations with the United States.

After this process Prime Minister Erdoğan would visit Washington on November 5, 2007 for the restoration of Turkish-American relations. President Bush accepted to support for the Turkish case against the PKK and therefore Turkey could use to American intelligence against PKK targets.

At the end of 2002, AKP government did not make some significant changes on both PKK and Iraq issues but after the foreign ministry of Ahmet Davutoğlu , Turkish Foreign Policy passed a conceptual change process. With the foreign ministry of Davutoğlu Turkish foreign policy entered into a new axis. This foreign policy method included many dimension, the first is an integrated foreign policy approach, and second foreign policy vision is a pro-active foreign policy line supported by rhythmic diplomacy, third is presence on the ground, in particular during times of crisis, fourth is Davutoğlu's all-inclusive, equidistance policy and fifth is total performance in foreign policy (Aras, 2009) . But at the same time, for these reasons a Kurdish state had entered into establishing process, under this circumstance the existence of PKK in north of Iraq had become more complex problem between the relations of Turkey and the United States.

Events in Iraq War and changes of Turkish foreign policy, at the same time declaration of USA about Greater Middle East Project and democracy promotion to Middle Eastern states effected to relations of Turkey and United States in several times. These impacts were sometimes positive but also sometimes negatively. After Cold War period the axis of World shifted to Middle East from Eurasia, this situation occurred the term “strategic partnership” between Turkey and United States therefore common interest period was ended. If the interests would be suitable mutually, this situation could create new partnership process. As a result, establish a strong relationship is important in terms of two states for this reason bilateral relations should protect and mutual national interest should always stay in the foreground.

### **3. TURKEY – US RELATIONS IN FIRST PRESIDENCY PERIOD OF OBAMA (2009 – 2012)**

#### **3.1. New Partnership Process Between US and Turkey, as a Regional Power**

A Regional power has capabilities large in their regions but not in broad – spectrum and it generally influenced by higher – level power’s policies, and a regional power have to exclude from the higher – level of calculations. Turkey wants to be a regional power in 21<sup>st</sup> century but its regional power became restricted because of its geography. Therefore Turkey is still a sub – regional power. When a general looking will be made toward after Cold War period, many conflict, war, crisis and instabilities were realized around the Turkey’s geography, for this reason and with the effect of foreign impacts and especially American interventions, Turkey did not evaluate geographical possibility and true policies its near environment. In order to become a regional power, Turkey should be implement proactive policies in the scope of national interest. In this context relations with USA can create a new opportunities in Obama period in terms of Turkey.

Barack Hussein Obama became 44<sup>th</sup> President of United States in November 2008; Presidency of Obama was occurred a turning point for USA because Obama has been won the elections during the national economic crisis. Due to all negative conditions, he said “Yes, we can”; and also he started to manage with a new method and vision on both foreign policy and internal policy. This situation created a positive aura in Turkey like whole world so, relations between Turkey and USA took a step in a new period, especially perception of anti – Americanism that realized in Bush period with Afghanistan war and Iraq war started to destroy with Obama’s Presidency and positive perceptions arise from this situations. Besides at the same time Ahmet Davutoğlu became foreign minister in Turkey and Turkey’s foreign policy parameters started to change so, this process was a beginning of new period in terms of two states.

Before the Presidency elections of United States, Obama declared that his fundamental aims on foreign policy these are; (Op.Cit.,Türkmen, 2012).

- Ending war in Iraq.
- Reach an ending on the issue of Al – Qaeda and Taliban.
- Provide energy security.
- Prevent to reachability all nuclear weapons and materials to terrorists and rogue state.
- Rebuilding alliances of United States to meet the challenges of the 21st century in a global world.

Under this circumstances Turkey has a key role with its geopolitical location, at this point relations between Turkey and USA would enter into a shaping new process with Obama's Presidency. The most important factor of this situation actually Turkey plays an active role in some regions that included interest of United States. As a matter of fact Turkey always protects their strategic importance against relations with United States. According to USA, if a state wants to reach a success on multilateral policies, it should be establish strategic ties with regional actors. A related factor emerging in this atmosphere was the change of administration in the US. The inauguration of Barack Hussein Obama as president on 20 January 2009 played a decisive role in Turkish-American relations.

Obama's understanding of foreign policy, different from that of his predecessor Bush in terms of both its content and geopolitical conceptualization, accentuated Turkey's role (Gözen, 2010). In this respect USA have to carry relation with Turkey to a new dimension from strategic partnership because of American aims of Middle East region. Therefore bilateral relations could pass "Model Partnership" process. The U.S. President Barack Obama paid his first overseas bilateral official visit to our country in 2009. During the visit, President Obama defined Turkish – U.S. relations as a "model partnership" and the leadership of both governments reached a high level consensus to bring the bilateral economic, commercial, investment and technologic dimension of the relationship to a level proportionate with political, military, and security cooperation. The concept of "Model Partnership" reflects the advanced level that Turkey and the U.S. have reached in the relationship (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015). According to Obama's own description, Model

Partnership did not based on religion and beliefs in opposite to this, Model Partnership based on ideas and values under a union model. Relationship between the two countries will no longer be limited only security, but also cooperation should be broader. Religious freedom, the rule of law, democratic values are common factors between two countries. With the light of these values Muslim world and western world will able to provide integration between each other and this integration will be like a route that leads to welfare and security for whole world. A Christian Nation and a Muslim nation will come together and two different civilizations provide integration. In parallel with continuity of Turkey's secularism and rule of law, a significant impact will be occurred that move together as East and West (SAE - Institute for Strategic Studies, 2009). Besides US policies that focuses on Middle East shifted towards Eurasia with Obama's administration, definitely providing energy security policy underlies this shifting. But in this respect Turkey provided an important position on relations with United States for the first time for this reason Turkey partnership and cooperation became significant more than former period in terms of USA with Obama's policies. Therefore Obama and his administration wanted to change Turkey's negative perception that formed in Bush period so, Obama repeated in many times Turkey's secularism and democracy during the meeting in Turkey and these statements also would continue afterwards.

However Barack Obama made his first overseas bilateral official visit to Turkey in April, 2009 so, in this respect common vision document declared in 2006; it included many issue in terms of common interest between Turkey and USA these are Middle East, Iraq, Caucasian, EU, Energy, Cyprus, fighting against terror and it also underlie in terms of transition to Model Partnership process. Then in December 2009, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan visited to United States within the scope of Model Partnership process. During the meeting many issues were addressed in order to diversification of Model Partnership. In this context Model Partnership can based on three main process; firstly strategic partnership is still continue especially on the field of military within the framework of Model Partnership process, secondly in order to continuity of process, economic cooperation should be develop mutually and third only international relations do not enough in terms of continuity of process for this reason mutual connections should be provide between NGOs, universities and scientific fields or technological fields. As a result, The Obama administration should

impress upon Turkish officials how critical it is for Turks to hear from their leadership about the common strategic interests the two countries share, and for Turkish leadership to highlight the positive steps America takes that are in the Turkish national interest; in the end, without greater support of the United States by the Turkish people, it will be difficult for the United States and Turkey to form the type of relationship necessary to be true partners besides, the incoming Obama administration has a tremendous opportunity to help craft a new and lasting U.S.-Turkish relationship that would benefit both sides of the Atlantic and in Turkey, as in most other European countries, there was great enthusiasm for Obama's election and hope that such a dramatic change on the American scene could further economic and political ties between the United States and Turkey so, The Obama administration should use this to its advantage. An early effort in 2009, through words and deeds, to show that Turkey is a critical ally of the United States—and already an indispensable component of Europe—as well as a partner whose judgment and independence should be respected would go a long way in healing the strained relationship (Boyer & Katulis, 2008). Under these circumstances in order to develop Model Partnership process, integration should be realize between two states, and this integration should be provide not only on political area but also on intercommunal area.

### **3.2 Contrasts between Turkey and USA**

#### **3.2.1 Armenian issue, Armenian Lobby, Turkey and US**

United States has showed interest with the beginning collapsing period of Ottoman Empire, especially after First World War, United States wanted to establish an Armenian State under his hegemony with the scope of Sevres Agreement, but this wishes did not realized in President Wilson Period. But this issue is still continuing as a problem between Turkey and USA.

Armenian Lobby has a great effect on US policies and American politicians especially on presidents because presidents have to take support of Armenian Lobby for win the elections. In this context during the election process Obama declared that, 1915 case should be recognized as genocide over and over again, this behavior of Obama created a tension in terms of Turkey. With the presidency of Obama this declaration started to change shape, during the speech of Obama in TGNA in 2009,

he stated that, mutual relations should be enter into a normalization process between Turkey and Armenia. Thereupon some protocols prepared for normalization process of two states with the support of USA, establishing diplomatic relations and developing bilateral relations are the fundamental aims of this protocol. But this situation created negative impacts in Turkish public and also Turkey's neighbors, especially Azerbaijan wanted to resolution on Nagorno- Karabagh region firstly and besides, some oppositional views occurred in Armenia about these protocols. For this reason, signing period of protocols affected negatively by this way and in April 2010, Armenian side suspended to protocols in unilateral manner. On the other hand before this process, US President Barack Obama did not please anyone with the speech he delivered on April 24, 2009. Armenians in the US who expected to hear the word "genocide" in Obama's speech were disappointed. Ken Hachikian, the chairman of the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA), expressed the general sentiment among Armenians in these words: "I join with all Armenian Americans in voicing our sharp disappointment with President Obama's failure to honor his solemn pledge to recognize the Armenian genocide." Obama's reference to the events of 1915 as "Meds Yeghern," which denotes "Great Calamity/Great Disaster" in the Armenian language, has also sparked some reaction in Turkey (Bulaç, 2009). At this point this declaration of Obama was another pre – reason in order to suspending of protocols according to Armenian side. But after a year later in March 2010, Barack Obama's administration, which regards Turkey as an important ally, was desperately seeking to defuse the row. It expressed its frustration with the House of Representatives' foreign affairs committee, which voted 23-22 in favor of a resolution labeling the 1915 massacre of up to 1.5 million Armenians a "genocide" (The Guardian, 2010). This situation was creating a disappointment in terms of Turkey and this situation lead to distrust between the relations of Turkey and USA.

Generally there were a lot of reasons at the scope of normalization of relationship between Turkey and Armenia in terms of USA. for this reason the resolution of Turkish-Armenian problems is important for Obama for three reasons. First, the administration can be relieved of pressure from the lobbies in domestic politics; by ending the Armenian lobby's attempts every year to get a resolution passed by Congress, it would help the administration get rid of being squeezed between the Congress and Turkish Realpolitik. Second, the development of Turkish-Armenian

relations may facilitate Armenia's move away from the Russian sphere of influence towards the US/NATO sphere of influence with the help of Turkey. Third, Armenian rapprochement towards Turkey would facilitate the flow of the region's energy resources to the West (Op.Cit., Gözen, 2010). Under this circumstances United States actually needs the support in order to get rid of Russia's pressure in this region by this way energy flow provide by the way of any obstacle via energy route of Caucasias. For this reason it can be say, USA do not give up its national interest on this region so, trilateral relations (USA, Turkey and Armenia) will continue in a prospective time of period. But with the effect of Arab Spring relations of Turkey and Armenia have lost their importance since 2011. In conclusion, Both Turkish and Armenian leaders are taking major political risks by opening up the possibility of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Armenia. They deserve American and European support in their effort to move toward a new relationship defined by shared opportunity rather than a painful past (Op.Cit., Boyer & Katulis, 2008). At this point USA will continue their activities with Armenian lobby in order to realize own aims towards this region so, Turkey always should be careful to protect their national interest against USA and Armenia.

### **3.2.2 PKK Terrorism, Turkey – US and Iraq Issue**

Before 2003 fighting against PKK created many problems on relations between Ankara and Washington and there were not realize important cooperation mutually in respect support to fighting against PKK terrorism. With the beginning 2003, Turkish – American relations was started to change in terms of fighting against terrorism because of terrorist attacks against USA on September 11, 2001. After these terrorist attacks United States changed their foreign policy agenda and also fighting against terrorism has took part in starring course in terms of foreign policy agenda of United States. Agenda of Bush government focused on 9/11 attacks, with this changing the Middle East region was the main source of these type of terrorist organization and regional energy reserves could increase strategic importance along history, for these reasons Middle East became a target in terms of USA. besides at the same time, after September 11 Bush doctrine was declared, this doctrine constituted National Security Strategy of the United States, this strategy targeted Global War on Terror (GWOT); in this framework all initiative would controlled by the United States so, if any threat



is felt by USA, directly military intervention could realized by itself. In this respect USA started to invasion to Iraq and therefore Turkey gained importance to fighting terrorism because of their geopolitical locations and NATO membership.

During this period United States wanted to use territory of Turkey to open a second front against Iraq in the scope of Global war on terror but Turkish Grand National Assembly refused after voting on March 1, 2003. This refusal came as a shock to U.S. officials, who had expected the resolution to pass since the AKP had a strong majority in the parliament, and dealt a serious political blow to relations between Ankara and Washington (Larrabee, 2010). Under this circumstances USA started to cooperation Kurdish groups in North of Iraq this situation created the resurgence of PKK terrorism. Turkish leaders and the Turkish public view the United States as responsible for the resurgence in Kurdish violence and have been frustrated by what they perceive as U.S. reluctance to deal with the PKK challenge because of Washington's strong ties with Iraqi Kurds, who have proven to be reliable allies (Wehrey, et al., 2010). On the other hand Turkey wanted to integrity of Iraq, because military intervention would be occurred separatist group in Iraq and this situation will provide a possibility to establish a Kurdish state in north of Iraq that nowadays Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) shows existence against Central Government of Iraq. At this point activity of PKK terrorism will continue against Turkey. In addition with the establish KRG exacerbated to Kurdish separatist movement in Turkey's southeastern.

Before the Presidency of Obama, there were many problems in terms of PKK problem. As a matter of fact US Foreign Minister Rice visited to Turkey on July 2006 and after this visit "Shared Vision and Structured Dialogue to Advance the Turkish-American Strategic Partnership Paper" were declared. This paper included many titles on the scope of relations between Turkey and United States and in this respect according to paper; the relationship between Turkey and the United States is characterized by strong bonds of friendship, alliance, mutual trust and unity of vision and US and Turkey share the same set of values and ideals in our regional and global objectives: the promotion of peace, democracy, freedom and prosperity thus, Turkey and the United States face common challenges and opportunities that demand our concerted efforts (Embassy of The United States, 2006). Therefore after Iraq

invasion, relations of Turkey and USA started to fix, because with this paper fighting against PKK became a part of common strategic factor in the context of cooperation counter global terrorism. But cooperation on counter terrorism did not work after the attacks of PKK against Turkey in southeastern with the beginning from 2007. Thereupon Turkey Grand National Assembly determined military intervention to north of Iraq but USA worried about to realize chaos on north of Iraq because American military power were in there. For this reason Bush administration wanted to become a part this issue and they started a negotiation process with Barzani. After that on November 5, 2007 intelligence sharing were started via satellites between Turkey and USA to fighting against PKK and Turkey delayed military intervention so, during this period Turkey could able to benefit from technological infrastructure of the United States. This intelligence sharing period is like a turning point in terms of bilateral relations. But PKK problem was still continuing. The problems posed by the Turkish-Kurdish dispute in the US-Turkish relationship were vividly underlined towards the end of Gul's trip to Washington on January 2008 and after an unnamed US official had stated that "a comprehensive solution to the PKK problem, which means not just military action, but also political action, including things within Turkey -- economic, political development, social development in the southeast" had been discussed during the Bush-Gul meeting, Gul reacted angrily by comparing the PKK to Al Qaeda and saying that there were "no political solutions to terrorism coming from outside." For good measure, he added that Turkey did "not need external advice on this issue" (Aliriza, 2008). After that Turkey realized some attacks against PKK camps in Iraqi borders on February in the scope of intelligence sharing with United States. According to Turkey's objective, Turkish authorities have declared that the operation is targeting PKK bases only, with no harm to civilians; it has been carried out by infantry and commando units and has not involved tanks which have also stated that the incursion will be limited in time and territory, lasting until PKK fighters have been cleared out of the area. Ankara maintains that the operation, which was launched with the acknowledgement of Iraqi and U.S. authorities, will help increase stability in Iraq as well (Onay & Çağaptay, 2008). Thereupon Bush made a declaration and he said; United States considered PKK as a common enemy like other terrorist organizations.

As a result of this process firstly Ankara did not want to a military intervention against Iraq. Turkey wanted to integration and stabilization of Iraq because of possible terrorist attacks of PKK against so, these activities maybe damaged Turkey's territorial integrity on southeastern region due to Kurdish issue. But United States started to Iraq war and Kurdish groups became a part of this war, therefore Kurdish groups separated from central government and KRG established by this way so, Turkey started to damage this situation as it said. These circumstances could create tension on bilateral relations, moreover anti – Americanism began to increase on Turkish public and media. But Turkey's decision about military intervention against north of Iraq will be damage American national interest so at this point United states played a meditational role between AKP government and KRG in order to prevent a possible armed conflict because if a chaos would realize in north of Iraq, USA could be lose its control over this region. Last but not least, this process showed that if strategic interest would be common, support of USA would be start to Turkey. After this process Turkey will start to expansion toward Northern Iraq in terms of politically and economical.

From the outset Obama's declarations shows that United States will continue partnership with Turkey especially in the context of security because Obama wanted to end Iraq war. The arrival of a new administration in Washington presents an important opportunity for repairing the fissures in the U.S.-Turkish security partnership and putting relations on a firmer footing. President Barack Obama's visit to Ankara in April 2009 helped to set a new tone in relations. But the visit needs to be followed up by concrete steps in a number of areas outlined below if the U.S.-Turkish security partnership is to be infused with new vitality and strength (Op.Cit.,Larrabee, 2010). With this framework according to Obama administration, there were some advice to reach solution on PKK problem and northern Iraq issue. Such as;

- The United States should increase its political and intelligence support for Turkey's struggle against PKK terrorism.
- The United States should put greater pressure on the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) to crack down on the PKK and cease its logistical and political support of the group.

- The PKK threat cannot be resolved by military means. A strong antiterrorist program is essential, but to be successful, it must be combined with social and economic reforms that address the root causes of the Kurdish grievances.
- The United States should strongly encourage and support Turkey's efforts to open a direct dialogue with the leadership of the KRG in northern Iraq.
- As the United States withdraws its forces from Iraq, it needs to intensify efforts to defuse tension between the KRG and the central government in Baghdad (Ibid.,Larrabee, 2010).

Generally with these explanations a compromise seemed to be providing after Bush period on Iraq issue but PKK problem do not like this but, the titles; dialogs with KRG and cooperation fighting against terror created a small rapprochement between the line of Ankara and Washington. After this period intensive and high-level diplomatic relations developed between Turkey and Iraq and a very important step taken by Turkey was President Gül's visit to Baghdad on 23-24 March 2009, which was the first visit at the presidential level in 33 years; addition, there were several visits at different levels from the Turkish side, especially from the foreign minister and the interior minister to Baghdad and Erbil, the center of the Northern Iraq Kurdish Administration (Op.Cit.,Gözen, 2010). This visit showed that Turkish Foreign policy entered into a change process. Since 2007 the problem of Iraq has been continue in high level and Iraq's instability and terrorist groups formed a big threat in terms of Turkey's security. Domestic conflicts, instability, and other problems ongoing in Iraq were having a negative impact on the security and economic interests of both countries. Therefore, Turkey and the US visibly improved their cooperation on Iraq in 2009 (Ibid.,Gözen, 2010). By these developments the relations between Iraq and Turkey started to improve with the mediator of Obama administration. But these developments will not prevent PKK terror against Turkey and therefore AKP administration started to a democratic initiative or in other word democratic opening process. Democratic initiative package includes many issues like human rights and minority rights; but Kurdish initiative was the top on the list for this reason this initiative was the most discussed issue of democratic initiative package on Turkey Grand National Assembly. On the other hand this situation has been created many discussion between public and media, one side supported the this process and according to this side democratization initiative process will provide

positive effect in the context of membership process of European Union and relations with US will become more powerful, but opposite to this, another side did not support even according to them, these meetings as like a negotiation with terror and this situation never acceptable besides, Kurdish initiative threaten to directly Turkish national security that may create a separation on Turkish land so, AKP government and foreign minister Davutoğlu should change their politics immediately. Despite all of these AKP government did not change their policy but democratic opening policy changed its shape in a time period. This shaping able to explain like this; In the early years of the AKP government, the Kurdish issue fell under the umbrella of facilitating EU membership, partly to open up politics to minorities and religious people—and thus to the AKP itself—and partly to weaken the military's role in the political sphere and more recently, the peace process has become important in light of efforts to reduce energy shortfalls through outreach to the autonomous Kurdish region in northern Iraq (Werz & Hoffman, 2014).

Under these circumstances, Kurdish problem was carry to political area with this opening process and negotiations with KRG governments by AKP government, whereas Kurdish problem did not a political issue before democratic opening package. On the other hand, this process was conducted alongside the secretly held talks between officials and Öcalan who is the leader of PKK terrorist organization under arrest, mediated by Sweden, and now known as the “Oslo Process”, efforts that dried up during 2010 (Casier, et al., 2013). This situation reflected to media after the period of Oslo meetings and this mediation process did not take positive perceptions by Turkish public debate and opposition parties in TGNA, because national values of Turkey damaged due to this situation. But these situations was a positive development in terms of USA and by this way Turkey became more democratic state and besides Turkey was able to provide more gain in the way of political, economic, energy as part of dialogue with the Iraqi Kurdish leadership.

As is known, solution of Kurdish problem and PKK terrorism have vital important in terms of Turkey's external security and internal security. But sometimes Ankara wanted to more support from United States and western world, whereas United States would start to decrease support on this issue. Because with respect to Washington, Turkey failed to achieve desired success and Kurdish opening process

did not reach a solution up till now, furthermore this situations shows that, on the issue of US, PKK and Iraq triangle cannot reach a successful solution in every respect in terms of Turkey in the long – term.

### **3.2.3 Turkey – USA Relations and New Dimensions on Cyprus**

Cyprus issue always protects its important on Turkey – USA relations, in this context USA played a mediator role during the negotiations between Turkey and Greece many times in order to find a solution about Cyprus problem. Even with the initiative of the United States United Nations became involved at resolution process, so alternative plans formed for reach a solution. In this respect the most important is Annan Plan. But there are not reach a solution, Cyprus still constitute two parts; Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Greek Cypriot. Geostrategic importance of Cyprus Island is one of the most important factors about this deadlock.

However especially during last 5 years, except Cyprus problem, energy issue last became a current issue. Important reserves found in East Mediterranean, at this point in terms of both Turkey and USA resolution process on Cyprus problem decreased second plan, therefore energy issue became a primary target on current agenda. Interest of the United States towards energy fields of Eastern Mediterranean is normal within the scope of eventual aims of USA and also Greater Middle East Project. Promoting European energy security by supporting diversification is also a part of Greater Middle East Project in an effort to provide interest from Middle East. On the other hand, another important factor is Israel in terms of the United States because Israel cannot to easily marketing this gas by the way of alone. At this point, USA wanted to be a part of this issue for this reason American Noble Energy Company would started to exploration in this region.

Three main energy fields locates in Cyprus, most important one is Levantine Energy Corridor which exists between Cyprus and Israel. By U.S. firm Noble Energy confirmed the presence of significant quantities of natural gas in the Levant Basin and the largest offshore discovery in the eastern Mediterranean to date is the Leviathan field (U.S Energy Information Administration, 2013). Essentially exploration process started in 2007 within the scope of new game in Cyprus and

Israel and also with the leadership of Noble Energy Company. In this manner Turkey could not be a part of this issue in the first step, even the most important reason of participation of Noble Energy Company, the United States targeted constitute a new route for provide energy transshipment to Europe because by this way Russia could able to by pass easily so, European energy dependence could ended. Clearly, the Eastern Mediterranean's reserves offer European consumers alternative energy supplies at a time when the E.U.'s dependence on Russia raises pointedly the question of E.U. energy security (Cropsey, 2015). Besides Israel received natural gas need from Egypt, but a coup d'état realized against Husnu Mubarek and his governments so, in 2012 during the Mursi period, natural gas that transferred to Israel was cut. In this respect there is not energy security of Egypt's natural gas and own natural gas of Israel did not enough for consume of its land. In this respect, U.S foreign policies in the region are: to supports Israel's security; to provide an incentive for political reconciliation among states in the region; to promote European Energy security through supply diversification (Tagliapietra, 2013). For this reason the United States wanted to find a solution on Turkish – Israel conflict and also Cyprus problem but these problems would be difficult to reach a solve in a long – term.

These developments caused to starting exploration workings of Greek Cypriot side and also Greece. In response to the start of drilling in September 2011 by the U.S. company Noble Energy in Cyprus's "block 12," which abuts the large Leviathan field discovered in Israeli waters in 2010, Turkey threatened to send naval vessels into the area and ratified a continental shelf delimitation agreement with northern Cyprus (Öğütçü, 2012). Therefore Turkey have to start same working for gain own part of energy field so, Turkey sent to a ship in order to exploration by this way Turkey and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus wanted to be a part of this energy game. But both Turkey and Israel has many political problems on marketing this energy. Palestine issue is an obstacle in terms of Israel and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus do not still recognize by other states and this situation is an obstacle to marketing process in terms of Turkey. Despite this Turkey can use this situation as an advantage in long – term in terms of recognition process of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus because energy needs of world continue increase day by day. Turkey aims to meet growing domestic demand for energy, spurred by economic

growth, by developing a multitude of energy routes, in particular the “Southern Corridor” as a transit route for gas from Central Asia, the southern Caucasus, and the Middle East (Ibid., Öğütçü, 2012). By this way Turkey wants to decrease its energy dependence from Russia and also Turkey wants to become an energy hub in terms of Europe. In this sense, participation of the United States may create an important factor in terms of marketing process according to both Turkey and Israel. In this respect, U.S. experience in information operations and strategic communications can help its partners in the East Mediterranean craft their strategy for creating public support for any negotiated regional gas trading and cooperation framework (Strategic Studies Institute, 2014).

### **3.2.4 Black Sea Region, Turkey and USA**

Before and after the Cold War due to the transition point of the power lines of Black Sea, the geographical strategic importance is quite large. Russia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia constitute the countries bordering the Black Sea. Due to the importance of the region, the Black Sea is the scene of fighting between Russia and Western countries power control. However, Russia is in a dominant power position. Under these circumstances, the US is keen to ensure that activities in the region through NATO; at this point, Turkey's regional importance is increasing even more. Thus, the Black Sea in the process of US-Russian rivalry Turkey needs a balanced foreign policy. However, Turkey is to ensure stability in the Black Sea region, control access to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, to balance Russia in the Caucasus, southern assurance of NATO acts as an antidote against the Islamic conservatism (Brzezinski, 2005).

However, US to ensure influence in the region, especially after 11 September 2001 in Central Asia and the Caucasus have acquired various military bases. This has bothered Russia however Russian President Vladimir Putin to avoid damage its relations with the West, has entered into efforts to ensure regional stability by using the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Those NATO member countries of this region as well as the United States are among the targets. In particular, both Russia and Ukraine, this issue is of military and strategic importance in the region for the United States. It will therefore use its military power in the region in Russia later



time. Because, according to Russia; the Rose Revolution in Georgia in 2003 and lived there in Ukraine's Orange Revolution 'and the influence of the United States was quite large. In contrast, according to the US experienced the revolution and the containment policy of Russia was the result. During elections, the people living in the region now say that they want to integrate with the West to get rid of Russian pressure. By this way pro – western candidates have been won the elections but, they did not realize their promises so, Russia would able to provide again its domination on this region.

In addition to this, the US for a long had the disadvantage of Montreux Straits Convention seeking to create that they are over; besides the fact that other minerals, mainly unexplored energy resources in the Black Sea are also under this interest against the Russian navy, which wants to create a balance here (Op.Cit.,Yılmaz, 2014). At this point, the straits issue is of great importance for Turkey, and Turkey should protect its status provided by the Straits Montreux Convention to itself. On the other hand, Russia is Turkey's neighboring countries; Turkey meets the majority of its energy needs from Russia. In addition, Turkey's economic relations with Russia are very strong, the large share of Russia's foreign trade. In this context, Turkey shouldn't take Russia as opposed. This is an indication that Turkey is a member of the Black Sea Cooperation Organization. On 25 June 1992, the Heads of State and Government of eleven countries, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine, signed in Istanbul the Summit Declaration and the Bosphorus Statement giving birth to the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) so, It came into existence as a unique and promising model of multilateral political and economic initiative aimed at fostering interaction and harmony among the Member States, as well as to ensure peace, stability and prosperity encouraging friendly and good-neighbourly relations in the Black Sea region (Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015). But the heart of the EU enlargement process and the launch of the Eastern European countries in this region have reduced the interest of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization member states and to increase the efficiency of the organization has been negatively affected (Yılmaz, 2008). In addition, NATO's expansion towards the Black Sea and in the region is carried out in practice obstacle to Russia's initiative. However, the ultimate goal of the Soviet Union in the region is to ensure the effectiveness of the

Russian era. In addition, in Turkey, in the face of the attraction of western integration, it could produce enough expansions (Yılmaz, 2007). For all of these reasons, the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization's future is also uncertain.

In 2009, after Obama became president in the US, it made all the changes been made with the Russian foreign policy. Start Agreement was signed between the two countries (Op.Cit.,Türkmen, 2012). So, it is aimed to fit a healthier ground for US-Russia relations. However, both Russia and the Black Sea would never surrender to the US control of the region extending from the Caucasus to Afghanistan, therefore, the United States will not abandon its strategy particularly on power lines to bypass Russia. In this context, Russian President Vladimir Putin continues to work on the Eurasian Union project against Western integration. According to Moscow within the meaning of dominion in the Black Sea, Ukraine will be the most important members of this union. However, as the crisis began in March 2014 between Russia and Ukraine it resulted in the annexation of the Crimea in April 2014. This has a great impact on world public opinion. Washington has welcomed the downside of this situation, because to have such a strategic area will allow Russia to create a buffer zone between NATO and Moscow region. Also in Russia, all the way in Ukraine could provide domination, thereby severed ties with the West of Ukraine. In this struggle process in the Black Sea need to practice, Turkey is very carefully at this point and produces smart policies. As a result, it has been declared independence referendum held two weeks after the Crimean annexation, after the decision has been taken to connect to Russia's regions. This is the military power in the region and that Russia is an indication that the energy card to play both right. In this context, the US put pressure on NATO membership in Ukraine; it has similar potential that a rigid policy in Russia is the Crimea.

Therefore, if Turkey were located next to US ally as a NATO member, it would be taken against Russia. However, Russia is neighbor with Turkey and gets the majority of the energy from Russia. Russia-Turkey economic relations are also at an advanced level, in this case Ankara's confrontation with Moscow will not be accurate in this context; in any case even at the expense of Turkey. Therefore, Turkey is both the regional context as well as a balanced foreign policy between Russia and the United States is inevitable.

### **3.3 Turkey's Membership Process of European Union and the United States**

A possible European Union membership of Turkey generally leads to much contention in terms of United States, one side support this issue due to national interest of USA but the other side do not support Turkey's membership process of European Union. Especially Greece lobby and Armenian lobby opposed to EU membership process of Turkey. Despite this, in the period of last decade Clinton administration and Bush administration supported to this process, by this way integration would provide between East and West. In this context with the presidency of Obama supporting for Turkey's membership of EU is like a continuation of previous administration's policies. But this supporting integrated foreign policy of USA in Obama period, especially Obama's declarations parallel with supporting for Turkey's membership of EU. Obama declared that in TGNA on April 6, 2009: "This is my first trip overseas as President of the United States. I've been to the G-20 summit in London and the NATO summit in Strasbourg and the European Union summit in Prague. Some people have asked me if I chose to continue my travels to Ankara and Istanbul to send a message to the world. And my answer is simple: evet--yes. Turkey is a critical ally. Turkey is an important part of Europe. And Turkey and the United States must stand together and work together to overcome the challenges of our time" (Obama, 2009).

According to United States, Turkey's membership process of EU contributes to developing process of Turkey's democratization and broader Turkish laws and political vision. On the other hand a possible full EU membership of Turkey will creates a bridge between Balkans, Middle East and Caucasian in terms USA, by this way diplomatic relations will get easy and more important, energy sources will more reachable against Russia. At this point Obama administration will continue to support your central role as an east-west corridor for oil and natural gas.

However Turkey signed Custom Union agreement in 1996 for the membership of EU, by this mutual trade relationship will continue with European Countries. In addition to this many European Countries and Turkey have NATO membership so, military cooperation will continue in the scope of security also at this side. In line with this according to Obama; this economic cooperation only reinforces the common security that Europe and the United States share with Turkey as a NATO

ally and the common values that we share as democracies. So in meeting the challenges of the 21st century, we must seek the strength of a Europe that is truly united, peaceful, and free. The United States strongly supports Turkey's bid to become a member of the European Union. We speak not as members of the EU, but as close friends of both Turkey and Europe. Turkey has been a resolute ally and a responsible partner in transatlantic and European institutions. Turkey is bound to Europe by more than the bridges over the Bosphorus. Centuries of shared history, culture, and commerce bring you together. Europe gains by the diversity of ethnicity, tradition and faith; it is not diminished by it, and Turkish membership would broaden and strengthen Europe's foundation once more (Ibid.,Obama, 2009). Besides these declarations of Obama created positive effect on Turkish public opinion and the image of USA would start to change positively after Bush administration. Beyond that Cyprus issue and Armenian genocide claims always continue to constitute an obstacle in terms of full EU membership of Turkey and USA will continue the third part role between Turkey and EU during the negotiations. But in opposite to this according to Ankara support of United States created positive image and prestige during the negotiations and meetings in the context of European Union membership process of Turkey.

Turkey-EU-US s trilateral relationship will inherently experience a significant transformation. Deepening relations with the EU requires a parallel deepening of the reform process. American support is not likely to generate smooth progress towards EU membership in the absence of radical commitment and implementation of economic and political reforms. Deepening relations with the EU, in turn, will offer Turkey the prospect of reconstituting its relations with the United States, which will be more in line with its national interests and which will also enable it to play a more constructive role in the broader Middle East and furthermore, Turkey could play a significant role as a predominantly Muslim, yet secular country in a volatile region vital for both American and European interests. Indeed, as a member of a broader entity such as the EU, rather than an isolated middle power in itself, and acting in cooperation with the United States, Turkey is more likely to play a constructive role in this respect (Kalin, 2005).

As a result of this, the European Union membership process of Turkey seems like continue in long- term because according to European Parliament Turkey did not reach a solution to Cyprus issue; to terrorism and Kurdish issue; to Armenian issue etc. For this reason Turkey will need support from the United States with the scope of membership process of EU, in this respect if mutual interest would suitable with each other, Washington would support to Ankara on this process.

### **3.4 NATO's Missile Shield Project and Triangle of Turkey – USA – Iran**

Turkey's importance for the US is its role and policies around NATO membership, which is very critical for the establishment of Turkey's international position and foreign policy (Op.Cit.,Gözen, 2010). Between at the end of 2008 and 2012 relations of Turkey and USA managed most unproblematic process with the scope of NATO. Especially after Iraq war and Afghanistan war Turkey's activities had create positive effect in terms of USA under the scope of NATO. In this respect, Turkey's role within NATO is not a fight on the ground, but it makes a peaceful contribution to the civilian restructuring of Afghanistan and Iraq (Ibid.,Gözen, 2010). Besides due to geopolitical position of Turkey become more important, in this context İncirlik Base is the most critical position in terms of Washington because this base can open both Middle East and Central Asia easily so, at this point Turkey is a powerful and important part of NATO. With this situation and the other regional factors, Turkey can become an integral part of Western alliance. Therefore Obama's emphasis is normal about Turkey's democratization, rule of law and secularity.

Especially during the 2009, Turkey played a mediator role between Afghanistan and Pakistan, according to United States Turkey's role is very significant as a NATO member at this point. Taliban and Al – Qaeda continued terror attacks in there, in this context Pakistan and Afghanistan should be fight against terrorism, herein foreign minister Davutoğlu visited both states to supporting with the scope of fight against terrorism and after that Obama's administration declared Turkey's leadership on this issue was very crucial to resolution process of global terrorism as party of US – NATO strategy so, this would be a first step beginning of close relationship between Turkey and USA in terms of NATO's framework.

With respect to Obama administration, Iran's nuclear proliferation and other ambitious created a big concern to whole world, at this point Washington wanted to control Iran's nuclear ambitious because this situation is a serious threat to western world and also Israel in terms of Security. In opposite to this Tehran declared that, own nuclear capacity has only peaceful aims like energy production, but American governments did not accepted Iran's declaration and Iran's ultimate aim to produce mass destruction and other different weapons by view of United States. Under this situation Turkey wanted to provide balance between its strategic partnership and neighbor. Despite of this, as the criticisms of Iran's nuclear program increased in the West, Turkey gave the impression that it was, in fact, defending its neighbor (Sayari, 2013). Before this perception of West, in 2010, the separate deal on the nuclear issue that Turkey and Brazil struck with Iran was immediately opposed by the United States, and soon afterward Turkey voted against a U.S.-sponsored package of sanctions at the UN Security Council (Aliriza & Aras, 2012). By this way Turkey's veto created negative effect relations with the United States in the matter of Iran issue.

On November 2010, NATO's Lisbon Summit was realized, during the meeting most important issue about missile defense system against Iran's missiles, with regard to United States these missile defense systems should emplaced different locations in Europe and also in Turkey so, Turkey supported this project in the context of NATO and this project was presented to negotiation. Finally, Turkey has agreed to base a critical NATO anti-missile system radar on its territory, which Washington considers an important component of European security (Council on Foreign Relations, 2012). But at this point Turkey did not want to get a negative reaction Iran, in opposite to this Ankara wanted to maintain stable relations with Tehran. As is known NATO's missile shield system may be create a threat perception in terms of Russia, but Obama administration made some changes on this project, because of Russia's reaction in Bush period. Even, Russia, although initially positive over the cancellation of the Bush Administration's plan, later found reason to criticize the Obama plan, reviving the argument that it would compromise Russia's nuclear forces (Hildreth & Ek, 2010). By this way Missile defense system project and NATO's Lisbon Summit was managed with cooperation of Russia by leadership of United States.

Under these circumstances Turkey accepted the missile shield project, so the new strategic concept was also agreed between Ankara and Washington, in this context Malatya / Kürecik was endorsement in terms of project's target, NATO and also Obama administration. But Turkey's concerns were still continued at the same time, therefore foreign minister Davutoğlu wanted to accept three conditions, before building the missile shield system on Turkey's territory.

- First, the Turkish authorities insist on building NATO, but not the U.S. missile defense system.
- Second, the anti-missile shield should be deployed in the all alliance's states-members.
- Third, Turkey would not allow NATO to turn it into the alliance's frontline state as it was during the Cold War. (Sputnik International, 2013)

These conditions were accepted by all sides and also the United States and after Ankara allowed to start to place the missile shield system on its own territory. With this framework, since 2011, the relations between Ankara and Washington have improved significantly and the alliance has, once again, displayed a greater degree of cooperation than conflict (Op.Cit., Sayarı, 2013).

However Iran began to be disturbed due to the missile defense system, because missile shields are directly targeted to Iran's territory and according to Tehran, this project was prepared against the existence of their land. In mid-December 2011, Hussein Ibrahim, the acting president of the Iranian Parliament's Foreign Policy and National Security Commission, stated that Iran would retaliate by striking the radar site in Turkey should it be attacked (Ülgen, 2012).

Besides another reaction came from the oppositional party of Turkey especially, CHP so, this situation caused to increase anti-Americanism and anti-NATO. But more important threat came from Iran, Turkey did not want to face with like this situation, but these negative developments created a distance on the relations of Turkey and Iran. As a result of this, the Iran issue is not a factor of disagreement between Ankara and Washington, therefore Turkey continued to play a negotiator role between Iran and USA especially on Nuclear Security. Because Iran has strategic importance for Turkey in terms of as a border neighbor, trade relations and also as an energy

supplier. For this reason Ankara do not want to break ties with Tehran and in this context Turkey always endeavor balance on the line of Tehran and Washington.

As a conclusion with the Obama administration Turkey – USA relation entered into a new trend under the framework of new strategic concept and at this point NATO has an important factor in terms of relation. Radar system that locates in Malatya – Kürecik created a rationalistic step for Turkey in terms of developing relation with the United States. But Iran's attitude became a difficult situation in terms of Ankara – Tehran – Washington triangle. Because with the scope of regional view; to a great extent, this is consistent with Turkey's own perception of Iran as a rival with policies that could endanger regional stability (Op.Cit.,Aliriza & Aras, 2012). However, Ankara continues to view the possible escalation of the U.S.-Iranian confrontation to the point of armed conflict as detrimental to regional peace and stability; consequently, in its balancing act of maintaining relations with Iran while also cooperating closely with the United States, Ankara has regularly been conveying Washington's concerns to Tehran in order to try to defuse tensions (Ibid.,Aliriza & Aras, 2012).

### **3.5 Russia as a New Alternative Partnership to Turkey against USA**

With the AKP government, while many developments was continuing on relations of Turkey and U.S., besides new dimensions was constituted on Turkish Foreign Policy. Due to these new dimensions Ankara wanted to establish new ties with own neighbors and other states under the title of “Zero Problem with Turkey's Neighbors.” The zero problems policy steered by Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu has facilitated further development of Turkish-Russian commercial ties, while the issues in dispute keep a low profile (Magen & Lindenstraruss, 2013). Meanwhile after the Putin's presidency relationship between Turkey and Russia entered in to a new radical change process. Definitely changing factors in a globalized world play an important role on this radical change process. For this reason insecurity environment in past started to substitute mutual trust and cooperation process anymore. As a matter of fact both Turkey and Russia attach importance to Eurasian Region so, Russia and Turkey are a important political actor in terms of Eurasian Region. In this respect political, economic and cultural



cooperation is normal with the scope of strategic partnership. In parallel with, Prime Minister Erdoğan stated that; United States is an ally of Turkey, but Russia has strategic importance which is the one of the most important neighbor of Turkey. Besides Russia is the biggest trade partnership in terms of Turkey and Turkey provides own energy need from Russia. For these reasons Russian Federation does not disregard in any circumstances by Turkey in terms of to protect both regional interest and national interest.

Furthermore, during the cold war period Turkey was avoided containment policy of Soviet Union, therefore Turkey appeared in Western alliances with the scope of NATO membership and cooperation with the United States. Nowadays this perception is changing; relations of Turkey and Russia develop day by day in a positive manner. On the other hand, after the collapse of Soviet Union, Turkey started to establish relations with regional states which gain own independence against Soviet Union such as Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. This situation created thought-provoking effect on Russia, because when Turkey developed relations with these states, new meeting was starting about energy project and cooperation. Besides The so-called ‘Turkish model’ that was introduced by Ankara during this period was based on the promotion of secular democracy with a free-market economy and planned to provide guidance to the authoritarian leaders of Central Asia and Caucasus (Erşen, 2011). This model supported from Western World but at this point, Moscow perceived again; Turkey is an important actor in this region and Russia started to develop own policies in return for Turkey’s policies. Eventually, Russia developed a more assertive policy under the name of the ‘Near Abroad’, which claimed the former Soviet space within its own natural geopolitical sphere of influence (Ibid., Erşen, 2011). For this reason especially USA wanted to develop new energy policies which should be independence from Russia, in this respect Turkey was very suitable to transmit energy flow towards Europe. In this context Baku – Tiflis – Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline project was quite supported from the United States. This powerful US support was one of the most important advantages of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline project, which became the main competitor of the Baku-Novorossiysk route that was proposed by Russia (Ibid., Erşen, 2011).

Notwithstanding many developments realized between two states, both the situation of Turkey's NATO membership and national interest of Turkey caused some conflicts in terms of two states.

Most important conflict among them such as;

- Russia supports to Greek Cypriots in terms of political and militarily on Cyprus problem. For example, Russia sold S – 300 missiles to Greek Cypriot and then crisis occurred by this way.
- Turkey geopolitical position is very suitable to transfer energy, because Turkey as an energy corridor between Europe and Eurasia. Due to Turkey's position Russia many times was by – passed to Turkey and it preferred Greece and Bulgaria in an attempt to transfer energy to European countries.
- Russia wants to continue own containment policy like the USSR period and Russia wants to exert dominance on Eurasian Region.
- Armenian and Nagorno Karabakh problem did not reach a solution yet.

However, Turkey continued to make cooperation with Russia, because common economic interest, regional security issues and political developments constituted fundamental factors of relations between Turkey and Russia.

Moreover, the United States wanted to use Turkey's territory to pass Iraq and Turkey did not allow this request of U.S. on March 1, 2003. According to Russia this veto decision of AKP and Turkey Grand National Assembly was very important. This veto created disappointment in terms of the United States because Turkey is a member of NATO and bilateral relation is in strategic partnership level. Additionally, Turkey's relations with the U.S. have worsened as a consequence of the Bush administration's unilateral policies, especially the 2003 invasion of Iraq, while relations with the EU have been affected by a slowdown in accession negotiations, owing to the reluctance of key EU members (France and Germany) to accept Turkey as a member state (Balcer, 2009). As opposed to USA, Russia was pleased with this situation. Turkey's veto gave rise to increase Turkey's status and according to Moscow Turkey make decision without affected from external powers if need be and by this way a political will was provided by Turkey.

Between the years of 2004 and 2005 there were many visits between Erdoğan and Putin and after these meetings towards a New Stage in Relations and Further Deepening of Friendship and Multidimensional Partnership Declaration was signed mutually. With this declaration military and economic cooperation continued increasingly between Turkey and Russia. Generally the most significant factor that is most effective on Turkey – Russia relation is economic ties because bi – lateral relations provided development via trade relationship. When one considers that the trade volume between the two countries reached a total of 38 billion dollars as of 2008, it seems that economic interests once again played an important role in the maintenance of Turkish-Russian détente (Op.Cit., Erşen, 2011). Likewise nowadays trade relations are continuing progressively with the scope of mutual economic interests.

Another cooperation field is energy, natural gas and oil form biggest part of trade between Turkey and Russia. But Turkey's energy dependence is continuing to rise sharply, for this reason Turkey wants to find new alternatives. Because, this energy dependence of Turkey caused to increase Russia's power with the scope of balance of power against Turkey. Blue Straem Pipeline, South Stream Pipeline, Samsun – Adana Pipeline and Mersin Akkuyu Nuclear Power Station Project constituted main energy projects between Russia and Turkey. At that point Putin's pragmatic foreign policy with its emphasis on Russia's foreign economic relations and immense energy resources seems to have been particularly influential in the change of perceptions in Moscow about the future of its relations with Ankara – especially when one considers that the Blue Stream was one of the greatest projects of the Russian Gazprom company (Ibid., Erşen, 2011). Otherwise on 2008 and afterward Georgia War and Russia's military intervention against South Ossetia was realized. These circumstances was very difficult in terms of Turkey, because both NATO and as a strategic partnership the United States put pressure on Turkey. But due to this pressure, Turkey wanted to be neutral. At the same time American battleship entered into coast of Black sea to intervention Georgia, Turkey preferred to apply the articles of Montreux Convention Regarding the Regime of the Straits and Turkey paid attention to numbers of ships or persistency of ships. In spite of the NATO membership, Turkey's behavior against the United States showed that Turkey's regional power towards Russia. Under this circumstances, as a result of March 1,

2003 and with the Georgia intervention USA started to produce alternative economic and political policies on new energy projects; and trade relations against Russia for Turkey and after this Common Vision Paper declared by Foreign Minister Rice in order to develop cooperation and strategic partnership with Turkey. Additionally, the United States do not pleased energy dependence of Europe to Russia for this reason within the framework of Greater Middle East Project; USA wants to find new alternative routes in Middle East in an effort to transmit Middle Eastern energy reserves and also Eurasian energy reserves towards Europe. Thus Russia will lose the biggest card easily. This competition for control of the region, known as the “New Great Game,” is conducted mainly through economic levers. Russia believes that its main problem in the region is the US effort to gain access to the area’s energy resources (Op.Cit., Magen & Lindenstraruss, 2013). On the contrary Russia began to military settlement and economic settlement in own region against unipolar policy of the United States. In this respect in order to provide balance of power Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and Eurasian Union constituted by the leadership of Russian Federation. On April 26, 2013, Turkey is the first NATO member state to have become a “dialogue partner” with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Davutoğlu stated that; the Cold War has ended. Turkey won’t be a slave of the Cold War logic (Hürriyet Daily News, 2013).

Generally, in Obama period Turkey and the United States entered in to model partnership process but Turkey have to protect own regional interest and national interest and also provide energy need. For these reasons Russia never disregard by Turkey. In fact, Russia became one of Turkey’s biggest trade partners in the 2000-10 periods and the trade volume between the two countries is expected to reach 100 billion dollars in 2015 (Op.Cit., Erşen, 2011). Besides, Moscow wants to manage new energy project with Turkey like Blue Stream. In short, developing relations of Turkey and Russia has substantially valid factors in an attempt to enter a new strategic partnership period.

## **4. TURKEY – US RELATIONS IN SECOND PRESIDENCY PERIOD OF OBAMA (2012 – 2015)**

### **4.1 Middle East – Turkey and US**

#### **4.1.1 Syria**

Relations between Turkey and Syria did not progress in a positive sense, whereas Syria has the longest territorial border with Turkey but two states has many problems between each other, especially Hatay issue, water problem and Syrian support to PKK terrorism are the most important problems in last year's. Besides, during the Cold War period Syria became an ally with Soviet Russia and for this reason Turkey was a collaborator with the United States.

Until AKP became a head of governmental system, Turkey's foreign policy continues its status quo and on the other hand the secular and democratic structure of Turkey, all these situations provided an advantage and prestige towards its neighbors especially in the Middle East region due to all problems with own neighbors. After September 11, the United States started to change foreign policy against Middle East region, in this respect the problems began to decrease between regional states in Middle East with the scope of changing world's conjuncture in globalization process. So, after 2001 this situation exerted a positive influence between the relations Turkey and Syria until Syrian uprisings. Especially in 2003, with the starting of Iraq War, relations of Ankara and Damascus rise sharply to highest level in history. In this respect Davutoğlu's foreign policy method gave rise to this situation because according to him historical common values is important factor to international relation so, Ottoman Empire is a significance tie between Turkey and Syria. Additionally, after Iraq war, the United States supported to Kurdish population and Turkey became irritated because of this support and Kurdistan Regional Government that locates in north of Iraq could show activity against Syria, so these circumstances constituted the most fundamental factors on developing relations of Turkey and

Syria. At that period Ankara and Damascus wanted to protect Iran's integrity and stabilization, by this way two states proceeded by common action. This common action affected the regional balance in international area which had a potential to create a new period in terms of regional policies.

In 2007 Syria and Turkey signed Free Trade Agreement between each other to develop economic relations and then, Council on Highest level Strategic Cooperation was established in 2009. These progressive relation and rapprochement of Erdoğan – Assad created a big reflection on international media. But the wind of Arab spring started to effect to Syria in 2011 and whole positive developments did not to be realized between Turkey and Syria. Turkey acted parallel with USA on Syrian Crisis and Assad used to card of PKK against Turkey's behavior.

When a general look would be making on the relations between USA and Syria, Arab Spring started in the period of Obama's administration which firstly started in Tunisia and its effects continued in Egypt and Libya. The United States supported to democratic transformation in order to these three Middle Eastern states but USA preferred to fall behind in terms of militarily. For this reason Washington wanted to use own strategic partnerships and allies with the scope of to protect its effectiveness on this region. During the military intervention against to Libya uprisings France was leaved alone by the United States, at this point this situation is the best example on policy of USA. In this respect, when the Arab Spring spread to Syria, Washington prefer to passive again in terms of military intervention during the uprisings. The fundamental reason of this attitude, the United States tired because of Iraq War and Afghanistan War at Bush period and with the Obama's Presidency these wars have been ended yet. Under this circumstances when the Arab Spring started in Syria, American military was began to return to the United States from Middle East, so these two situations realized at the same time and USA did not ready to like this type of chaos in Middle East. On the contrary of this Obama administration wanted to protect the role of American global leadership towards this region, for this reason it should be provided support from own allies especially Western world, in other words, democratic European Union. At this juncture, Turkey which is the model partnership of the United States is the most significance supporter of Washington on Syria issue. According to Washington Turkey should take a leader role for

democratization process after fall down period of authoritarian leaders in Middle East, in short Turkey should be act like example of France during this period. But, alongside of this policies of USA, conflict process of Syria are still continuing, this situation is like an indicator concerning possible separation of Syria. This possible separation might be caused to increase terrorism and instability on this region and Turkey will be damaged due to this situation.

Syria and Iran were allies with Soviet Russia during the Cold War period, for this reason there was not realized foreign relations between Syria and the United states at this period. After that Syria protested American military intervention in Iraq and tensions raised sharply between two states and when Syria was described as a collaborator of terrorist groups by Washington on 2003, Bush threaten with Syria via possible military intervention against attitude of Damascus governments. This situation formed a real threat in terms of Syria for this reason Damascus administration wanted to develop their relations with Western world in this respect Syria began to attach importance to relations with Ankara and mutual relations would continue until Syrian uprising in a progressive trend. After that diplomatic relations was ended because Lebanon Prime Minister gets killed in 2005 and according to Washington Syria was in charge of this situation. This situation created doubtfulness in terms Turkey, because Ankara wanted to Syria's integrity due to a possible spreading of PKK terrorism. Because during the Iraq War and afterward of Iraq War, PKK terrorism increased against Turkey, in this respect Turkey did not want to encounter like this crisis. For this reason Ankara government began to some diplomatic enterprises between Washington and Damascus so, high tension started to decrease on the relations of Syria in 2009 and the United States and an ambassador was appointed to Damascus by Obama administration.

But after two years, Arab Spring began to show its effects over Syria and beginning from first moment the United States stated that; Syria should not use violence against oppositional groups, instead of this Assad administration should establish a dialogue with opponent groups in a democratic manner. Due to whole explanations uprisings raised sharply and this chaos was bring to the agenda by United Nations, at this point USA did not want a military intervention against Syria, as opposed to Bush period and Obama wanted to diplomatic negotiations to resolution of Syrian case. But

democratic resolution plans did not work in Syria, therefore Assad administration should be give up governance of State and violence should be ended immediately in terms of Washington, meanwhile on February 2012, American diplomats return from Syria. After this period, Washington declared again, American army do not make a military intervention and Assad administration should be give up governance of state in a democratic manner, besides if a military intervention would realized, international community should be make a common decision according to Obama. Under this circumstance, the United States wanted to managed this process with United Nations so, Turkey affected negatively, because Turkey is a member both United Nations and NATO and at the same time Turkey did not want to cut the ties with Middle East by this way Ankara wanted to provide a balance between international community and Damascus, but relations of Turkey became more fragile with two sides. Besides, The Syrian conflict had created serious tensions between the major powers (Gowan, 2013). Thereupon Kofi Annan, Joint Special Envoy for the United Nations and the League of Arab States, drew up this six-point peace plan for Syria. It was submitted to the UN in March 2012 and on March 27 the Syrian government accepted the proposal (Annan, 2012). Annan's plan has six points to ended civil war in Syria, these are (United Nations Security Council, 2012);

- Syrian-led political process to address the aspirations and concerns of the Syrian people
- UN-supervised cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties to protect civilians
- All parties to ensure provision of humanitarian assistance to all areas affected by the fighting, and implement a daily two-hour humanitarian pause
- Authorities to intensify the pace and scale of release of arbitrarily detained persons
- Authorities to ensure freedom of movement throughout the country for journalists
- Authorities to respect freedom of association and the right to demonstrate peacefully

Obama administration supported to Annan Plan on United Nations Security Council. But this mediation did not work and after a while later, this process had failed.



Within the framework of this plan, international observer mission reached to Syria and multi party elections was realized in Syria for the first time since 1973. Baas Party won the elections but election results were not found realistic by international society. However Syrian Crisis has a big importance not only Turkey but also other countries in Middle East region. Especially Iran and Iraq attached importance to own policies during this crisis. In this context a possible cooperation between Turkey, Iran and Iraq might be ameliorate Syrian Crisis with common negotiations and integration of Syria might be provided by this way because both Iran and Iraq did not want to separation of Shiah axes in their region. But throughout of this process Iran and Syria liaise in a common sense and two states have common strategic aims therefore this cooperation formed a factor decomposition of Turkey and Syria. Furthermore, Iran showed more reaction due to NATO missile defense system which locates in Malatya – Kürecik and a short – lasting tension raised sharply between Iran and Turkey. Under this circumstance, USA did not start a military intervention against Syrian crisis therefore Turkey had to play a mediator role between Western World and Syria but this situation damaged relations of Turkey with own neighbors. In this respect policy of zero problems with Turkey's neighbors lost its meaning on Turkey's foreign policy. For this reason security policies gained importance again by virtue of this situation. Because Syrian uprising was starting to transform an internal civil war and these conditions constituted directly threat in terms of national security of Turkey. On the other hand Syrian case was not only a regional security problem; it became a global security problem for international system. More than 200,000 Syrians have lost their lives in four years of armed conflict, which began with anti-government protests before escalating into a full-scale civil war (BBC News, 2015). After that, Governments around the world expelled Syrian ambassadors and diplomats, an unusual, coordinated blow to Syrian President Bashar Assad's regime following a gruesome massacre that the United Nations said involved close-range shootings of scores of children and parents in their homes (Emirates 24/7 News, 2012). Turkey and other European Union countries declared that, Syrian ambassadors as a persona non grata.

Thus conflicts reach to culmination in Syria so, this internal war exerted on influence over Turkey in a negatively way. Revolts in Syria began in March 2011, but it wasn't until November when Erdoğan finally understood that he wouldn't be able to

convince Assad to act in line with Turkey's counsel and Turkey urgently needed a solution to the Syrian problem because they were faced not only with security risks, but also with a refugee crisis (Niyego, 2013). Almost 4 million people have fled Syria since the start of the conflict, most of them women and children and it is one of the largest refugee exoduses in recent history therefore neighboring countries have borne the brunt of the refugee crisis, with Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey struggling to accommodate the flood of new arrivals (Op.Cit., BBC News, 2015). Under this circumstances Turkey had started to protect these refugees, according to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees statistic; since the Syrian crisis began in 2011, Turkey - estimated to host over one million Syrians assistance in 22 camps, where an estimated 217,000 people are staying. Turkey is currently constructing two additional camps and now the number of refugees and asylum-seekers in Turkey in 2015 is expected to rise to nearly 1.9 million, including 1.7 million Syrian refugees (UNHRC, The UN Refugee Agency, 2015). The Syrians in Turkey, similar to the other countries, should be handled in two categories: those living in camps and those living outside of camps (ORSAM, 2014). For these reasons Turkey still continues this problem increasingly without a foreign support.

Therefore Turkey is the biggest supporter of democratization process in Syria in order to provide regional stability in this respect, Ankara believed that, a regional democratic peace should ensure. On the other hand Arab Spring and its effect formed an economic problem in terms of Turkey's export, because Middle East is an important market and any problem able to created a domino effect with the scope of economic relations.

In short, first of all when the effects of Arab Spring began in Syria, Turkey was making pressure against Assad administration with international community especially with the scope of decision of United Nations for realizing democratic reforms. After, according to decision of United Nations, Assad administration should make a dialogue with opponent groups within the democratic framework if these are not realized by Assad administration international sanctions would be implement. Turkey supported these decisions and also Annan Plan. But all these sanctions process and other plans did work against Assad administration. Violence, armed conflicts and chaos are still continuing in Syria as an internal war. From the outset

the United States did not directly participate on Syrian crisis and as opposite to USA, Russia supported to Assad administration and Assad directly, furthermore Russia used its veto right about international sanction on United Nations Security Council by this way Russia played both regional and global role during the Syrian case. In this respect Turkey did not find support from the United States about Syria issue and Turkey's policies did not reach a success therefore it could not play active role as a regional power, owing to the fact that this situation Turkey did not make true assumptions about Assad regime's resistance power.

In this context, crisis environment is still continuing in Syria, As well as efforts of Turkey to resolve the problem in Syria with the Middle Eastern countries, especially Iran, has not yet to produce result. In other words, Turkey's foreign policy did not reach a success therefore the perception of Model state in Middle East damaged by virtue of this situation. For this reason AKP government should be change foreign policy method and they should be turn realist and security policies for regain Turkey's regional power and prestige.

#### **4.1.2 Iraq and Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant Terrorist Organization (ISIL) Issue**

Firstly, ISIL emerged in 2003 as Al – Qaeda of Iraq, and then this organized was named Islamic State of Iraq. Member of terror organization deployed in Syria and they wanted establish an Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. Some analyst claimed that ISIL is a transformation of Al – Qaeda with the effect of Arab Spring, but the another side claimed that, ISIL a terrorist group which will resign to Middle East region towards the aims of the United States, so ISIL is a part of New Great Game and by this way with the attacks of ISIL, Middle Eastern big states like Syria and Iran will separated in case of ethnic groups, tribes and clans and USA could constituted new energy route to use and control energy sources of Middle East. According to this view separation of Middle East as a Balkanization period, because religious sectarian separatism caused regional war in Middle East and after this period possible results might be like followings: (Yılmaz, 2014b)

- An Alawite (Shiah) state in Syria

- A Sunni state in Damascus and Aleppo
- A Druze state in north of Jordan
- Separation of Yemen and Libya
- Increasing of armament towards Kurdistan Regional Government in north of Iraq.

This general analysis shows that, Balkanization period of Middle East and this chaotic and instability environment will create a big threat in terms of Turkey's integrity and security.

Turkey has a key role with the scope of USA's struggle against ISIL, but Turkey avoided this plan of the United States. Actually USA's plan has only prevented to potential expansion of ISIL, so this situation shows that Washington has not a new comprehensive plan intended for Iraq and Syria. In this respect Turkey did not want to a target against ISIL because this terror organization has many terrorist camps on near the border of Syria and Iraq and this situation is also directly formed a threat in terms of Turkey's national security. After the spreading period of ISIL to Syria and Iraq, it was continuing to spread towards Iran's border. Thereupon President Obama explained own strategy against ISIL on September 10, 2014; according to Obama administration this strategy depended on four main articles:

- First, the United States will conduct a systematic campaign of airstrikes against these terrorists.
- Second, U.S will increase our support to forces fighting these terrorists on the ground.
- Third, U.S will continue to draw on our substantial counterterrorism capabilities to prevent ISIL attacks.
- Fourth, the United States will continue to provide humanitarian assistance to innocent civilians who have been displaced by this terrorist organization (Obama, 2014)

In this respect, with the scope of fighting with ISIL, the United States will support to this process with airstrikes, it means that if a ground offensive would become necessary, United States will want to support from own partnership. At this point the

most appropriate state is Turkey in terms of both regional manner and militarily manner.

Besides, Kurdistan Regional Government region has been took military support from USA with the scope of fighting against with ISIL. An armed struggle in this region formed doubtfulness on Turkey. In addition, preparing process a strategy or a plan is also very hard and critical against ISIL which has many terrorist camps both in north of Iraq and Syria, because Iraq and Syria are different type of states between each other and their internal dynamics is also different. But Washington would trend to integrated policies due to different policies cannot work with the scope of fighting with ISIL. On the other hand within the framework of recent policies of USA, there did not produce a new policy towards Syria. USA targeted camps of ISIL via airstrikes and many of these camps locate in Syria. But another characteristic of this region, oil reserves and oil refinery is also located in this region. In this case ISIL cannot completely destroy by the United States, in other word, USA could decrease threat of ISIL toward Kurdish group and ISIL's economic sources could cut by this policy.

Many regions that are controlled by ISIL locate in near the territorial border of Turkey. At this point, according to the United States and fighting coalition with ISIL, Turkey should be biggest supporter on fighting against ISIL but Turkey did not want to take an irrelevance position and at the same time it did not want to directly military intervention against ISIL due to own national security. For these reasons Ankara government has taken into account own priority of foreign policy because this type of military intervention has a potential to form directly negative effects on Turkey. In this context Turkey wants to internal war of Syria could reach an end in first step, then due to end of this chaos environment and internal war, ISIL and other terrorist organizations will not feed from chaos atmosphere so, it will wear thin. In short firstly emerged reasons of ISIL should be removing and an ultimate result could provide with this policy in terms of Ankara's view. On the other hand according to Ankara, USA cannot reach a result with only airstrikes, in this respect Turkey prepared a plan that has three main titles; firstly a secured region should be provide, second no – fly zone should be form and third the train – equip program for Syrian opposition should be signed. Turkey's plan was presented to international

area by Ankara government. Thereupon Turkey and the United States will begin training and equipping moderate Syrian opposition fighters on March 1, 2015 within the framework of a February, 19 agreement signed by the two countries, Ankara has announced (Hürriyet Daily News, 2015). Under these circumstances in first step Ankara wants to destroy threats that directly against national security of Turkey so PKK and ISIL should be resign from Turkey's territorial border immediately, which Prime Minister Davutoğlu's explanations realized from that direction latterly. Furthermore border security is significant in terms of Turkey. Many people escaped from internal war of Syria and they took refuge in Turkey but now, in addition to this again many people escaped from ISIL's attacks against their villages in North of Iraq and Syria and they also took refuge in Turkey, notwithstanding this problem, Turkey could take over responsibility with respect to refugees without an international aid. This situation is also very costly in terms of economically and Ankara government works to cope with this problem progressively. Therefore in order to prevent immigration, AKP government wants to provide a secured region on border because PKK terrorists and ISIL continues to control border region so, this situation caused a vulnerable region against terrorist attacks in terms of Turkey. On the other hand, the 49 Turkish hostages were captured from the Turkish Consulate in Mosul, on June 11, 2014 and this issue had created big tension between Ankara and Iraq government. During three months Ankara government managed this process secretly and on September 20, 2014 they were saved by secret operations. At this point ISIL still continues to produce threat perception in terms of Turkey.

All these situations has increased Turkey's security concern, at this point Turkey wants to implement solution – oriented policies within the framework of thru foreign policy methods. In this respect Assad administration should be ended in Syria, despite this Turkey does not want to a separated Syria but also integrity of Syria is important in terms of Turkey's national interest because regional instability will constitute a negative effect for him. Moreover USA took leadership about fighting against ISIL and Turkey should be standing by the United States with the scope of fighting with ISIL. But Washington does not consider Turkey's security concerns therefore this situation forms a dilemma in terms of Turkey's policies.

### **4.1.3 Israel – Turkey Relations and the United States**

After Second World War Israel was established in 1948 with the support of Western World especially the United States and United Kingdom. Turkey recognized Israel in 1949 so; Israel was the first country to recognize by Turkey among the countries with Muslim population. At this point Turkey wanted to develop foreign relations with Western World and also the United States. After the period of Israel's recognition by Turkey, Ankara government managed relation with Israel in an attentive way, because Turkey became a part of Western World but it did not want to increase tension with Arab World at the same time. For this reason Ankara considered social conjuncture in order to provide balance between two sides.

After Cold War period within the framework of New World Order, USA needed new regional partnership for realizing its targets toward Middle East. In this respect USA has a big role on developing trend of Turkey – Israel relation in 1990s. By this way bilateral relations increased in 1990s with the effect of ending of Cold War period and at the same time after Arab – Israel war Middle East passed to peace process, at this point this peace process was supported by Turkey. Besides Turkey – Israel relations was started strategic in militarily, politically and economically manner.

With the beginning of 2000s Israel – Palestine problem did not still reach a solution, besides Turkey and world public opinion worried due to Israel's violence prone policies and pressure against Palestine. Under these circumstances relations between Turkey and Israel started to decline in 2000s. Besides, following the gradual improvement of Turkey's relations with Syria after the October 1998 crisis, and after the collapse of Syrian-Israeli talks in 2000 and the deterioration of U.S.-Syrian relations, Turkey has been trying to restart negotiations between Israel and Syria (Altunışık, 2008). At the end of 2002 AKP came in to power as a government party and at this time Turkey – Israel relations did not seem like pleasant. On the other hand relations between Middle East did not progress well generally. In this context within the framework of zero problems with Turkey's neighbors' policy, AKP stated that; Turkey will always support to Middle East peace process. In contrast with Israel aims to continue its policy of occupation and delay regional peace (Davutoğlu, 2012). But Turkey did not allow to use own territory for USA's military intervention against Iraq, TGNA refused this request in March 1, 2003 and this situation created a

fragile atmosphere between the foreign relations of Turkey and the United States. On the contrary this situation caused to revival on relations with Syria and Iran. At the same period, USA and Israel started to support to Kurdish groups in north of Iraq so, in terms of relations between Turkey and Israel tension was increased mutually but Turkey did not want to continue to this tension because the existence of the United States and Israel is important due to Turkey's national interest and regional interests. With multidimensional policy of AKP government Turkey became a mediator between Israel and Syria with the scope of Middle East peace process negotiations in 2006. But in the course of time period Turkey's policies had get in a bind on the grounds of continuity of Israel's violence prone policy against Palestine and Israel's bombardment against Lebanon.

Between 2008 and 2012, a tension continued on the relations of Turkey and Israel and at this point this situation was not thru in terms of Washington because according to him, Turkey and Israel never be against each other. But due to Davos crisis, lower chair crisis and especially Mavi Marmara case, ties started to break on the relations of Turkey and Israel. At this period the United States did not want to be side of and a mediator role has been more appropriate in terms of Washington.

With the starting of Arab spring, Israel has entered an isolated period in Middle East, on the contrary Turkey began to fixing relations with Egypt and the others. This situation is like an indicator on Turkey's effort to being a regional leader in Middle East. But, under these circumstances relations between Turkey and Israel could not provide a progress.

Generally Obama administration wanted to be neutral to Mavi Marmara case, thereupon Washington stated that only own sadness due to deaths. But USA did not faced with Israel about this issue, for this reason anti – Americanism has been started again on Turkish media and public opinion. On the other hand, in the meantime Israel became an important actor over east Mediterranean energy sources so, according to him their partnership should be Greek Cypriot. This situation creates another tension between Turkey and Israel and hereupon Turkey stated that, Ankara would start to drill with Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. This situation are considered important by the United States, because according to Washington's plan, energy flows could be provide to Europe via Israel and by this way Russia could



easily by –passed. Furthermore Israel enter into new enterprises with Armenia, Azerbaijan and Greece for own political aims and economic targets with the scope of energy sources in last period. With regard to view of Ankara this situation is a containment policy of Israel against Turkey. Besides attitude of Israel and USA is the same on Armenian issue, in this respect Israel lobby is always effective upon policies of Washington.

Realizing a long term break between Turkey and Israel will caused to a disbalance towards Middle East region. Turkey which is a leader on peace process of Middle East stated that; if Palestine issue would not reach a solution, all problems of Middle East region could not reach a solution. On the other hand, with regard of AKP government, if an ultimate result would become on Israel – Palestine crisis, Turkey always ready to undertake negotiations process. However NATO has a key role on the relations of two states. Turkey’s NATO membership provided to participation of western allies in a militarily manner therefore Turkey would continue military cooperation with the United States and Israel. Additionally NATO membership of Turkey always provides an obstacle against potential conflict between Turkey and Israel. For this reason, the United States should encourage Turkey and Israel to maintain and strengthen their already deep economic and military ties (Op.Cit., Boyer & Katulis, 2008). As a result, Washington wants to realize normalization process between the relations of Turkey and Israel. In this respect fighting against ISIL, energy sources and trade are most important factors that could bring close these two countries together. According to Tel – Aviv government Cyprus, Egypt, Turkey and Israel should be shake hand mutually; otherwise radicalization process will continue increase progressively. Alternatively the numbers of fly between the lines of Istanbul – Tel – Aviv are continuing increase, nowadays ten fly provides in one day. This situation shows that, culture, art and any other civil society movement are another important factor in terms of normalization process between two states and this issue will continue protect its importance for the United States because any tensions between Turkey and Israel always constitutes a big problem on the foreign relations of Turkey and USA.

## **4.2 Economic Relations Between Turkey and the United States**

Turkey was a strategic partnership with the United States during long term period, then with the Obama's Presidency this situation changed and Turkey became a Model Partnership with the scope of foreign relations. Despite this Model Partnership period, economic relations always still keep in the background. Apart from this, economic relations between Turkey and USA generally shaped under the NATO's existence so, economic relations mostly continued to progress on the axes of military and security.

After the 2001 economic crisis, Turkey's economy started to bounce back to normal during the period of AKP governance. In this respect, Turkey's economy should be formed new alternatives out of military field with USA; therefore in order to progress Strategic Partnership process, Turkey should produced different cooperation process with the United States because Turkey is a part of Western World and USA is one of the largest economy in the World. For this reason expansion of economic cooperation with USA is important in terms of Turkey. As a matter of fact with the effect of globalization due to emergent integration atmosphere, economic cooperation became a necessary condition in international area. On the other hand economic relations with USA focused on both military and security, this situation constituted an obstacle to diversification process on economic relations in terms of economic relations between Ankara and Washington. In other world, while the security aspect of the Turkey-U.S. partnership mainly keeps bilateral relations from rupturing, it also prevents relations from being more sustainable and profound (Yegin & Ersoy, 2013).

Under this circumstance, restructuring and diversification of bilateral economic relations are significant in terms of both Turkey and the United States. Thus strategic partnership process will stay not only militarily but also relations will start to deepen for two states. Besides, despite of Turkey's strategic partnership with USA, but on the contrary Turkey has sustain economic relations with Russia and China and this economic relations has good level in terms of trade relations. With its 7.9% share of Turkey's international trade, the U.S. falls behind Russia and China (Ibid., Yegin & Ersoy, 2013). In short one of the most important factors is economic relations on developing bilateral relations. At this point with the beginning of 2009 President

Obama and Prime Minister Erdoğan realized visits between each other. These visits and meetings as a beginning in terms of developing economic and trade relations and this situations was interpreted by the way of opening new process between economics of two states by public opinion and media. Position of Turkey in G – 20 and progressive expansion of trade volume with European Union constitutes most important elements to developing economic relations with the United States. After these visits, Turkey and the U.S. established the Framework for Strategic Economic and Commercial Cooperation (FSECC) (Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015).

Then, in 2013 Trade and Investment Framework Agreement was signed between Ankara and Washington. Before this Trade and Investment Framework Agreement is a mechanism between Turkey and the US, where the experts on both sides come together to discuss the agenda issues. IX. TIFA (Trade and Investment Talks) meeting was held in Washington D.C. on 21<sup>st</sup> of February in 2013 (Turkey Ministry of Economy, 2015). In this respect, according to exports data; USA was Turkey’s 9<sup>th</sup> largest goods export market in 2012 and Turkish goods exports to USA in 2012 were 5.6 billion \$, up 22% (4.6 billion \$) from 2011, besides in terms of imports data; USA was Turkey’s 4<sup>th</sup> largest supplier of goods imports in 2012 and Turkish goods imports from USA totaled 14 billion \$ in 2012, decreased 12 % (16 billion \$) compare to 2011 (Ibid.,Turkey Ministry of Economy, 2015). Generally foreign trade relations between Turkey and USA entered in to a progressive trend during last period.

**Table 4.1 :** Top US Exports to Turkey (2011) (Export.gov, 2011)



Under these circumstances according to Washington there were several reasons to establish economic cooperation with Turkey. These are: (US Commercial Service, 2015)

- **Strong and sustainable economic growth.** GDP per capita has more than tripled over the past decade. Turkey is working hard towards its goal of becoming a Top Ten economy by 2023.
- **A population ready to do business.** Turkey's rising middle class has resulted in an explosion of consumer demand. The country is home to a young, educated labor force with over half of the population under the age of thirty. Over the last year Turkish firms and individuals invested \$228 million dollars in the U.S.
- **High demand for U.S. exports.** In 2013, Turkey's imports from the U.S. reached \$12.1 billion. While this was a slight decline from 2012 (\$12.6 billion) and record-breaking 2011 (\$14.7 billion), total U.S.-Turkey trade remained at a near record of \$19 billion.
- **Friendly climate for U.S. companies.** Over 1,000 small, medium and large U.S. firms have already opened offices in Turkey. Given its close proximity to markets in Europe, the Middle East, and Central Asia, Turkey serves as a regional hub for many of these firms.

But in recent period Arab Spring, Syria case and the others in Middle East formed an obstacle factor to sustainability of economic relations between Turkey and USA. With this chaos environment Turkey – USA economic relations again had to pass towards the axes of military and security. Besides at the end of 2014 and the beginning of 2015, economic inflation rate started to increase in Turkey, this situation is another reason to decreasing investment of USA. In contrast with Turkey became a presidency of G – 20 in 2012 so, this position provide a positive atmosphere in terms of Turkey and USA within the scope of common economic interests and other economic issues.

Consequently, developing process of economic relations always provide gain in terms of all other relations mutually.

### **4.3 Diversification of Turkey – USA Relations**

Since Ottoman Empire period, Turkey – USA relations has continued, these relations generally realized on military – security based cooperation and economic fields. Out of from these bilateral relations could not diversify but in contrast with this situation in order to become more dominant own presence in the United States, Turkey should be provide diversification its relations with USA in many fields and new levels. Turkey can managed lobbying activities similarly activities of Israel lobby or Turkey can managed educational works, on the other hand Turkey can start to establish Think - Tank centers likewise in the USA and many cooperation, conferences, seminars etc. might be realize between this centers.

As a result of this importance of diplomatic relations always continue in international system; but international organizations which may be in field of educational, lobbying activities and think – tank centers constitute one of the part of soft power and cultural values. In this respect these conditions provide to progress ties between two states.

#### **4.3.1 In Educational Sense**

Education is a process that begins from birth of people and it continues until end of life. In this process schools constitutes institutional environment and they provides information, perception and concept towards people’s education during the life; at this point universities is the last step this institutional education and vocational carrier are present to people by universities. In short, education provides develop peoples mind and increase standards of society via governance.

Contemporarily education became a common process especially in university degree on whole world with the effect of globalization. For example, on the field of Political Science and International Relations, same lectures are educated Turkey, Europe and the United States. In this way, education became a global with this accreditation.

In this respect, a possible progressive educational cooperation between Turkey and the United States might be providing stronger ties between these two states. Especially common scientific studies able to prepare via universities; on the other hand cultural relations has potential to develop by this way. At this point, in these days many educational programs like Erasmus, Work and Travel and the other student exchange programs provides to progress in educational sense between two states mutually. With the effect of this, In 2012, Turkey sent the 10<sup>th</sup> highest number of students to the United States (Op.Cit.Yegin & Ersoy, 2013). Furthermore some part of students continue do master and doctorate, some of them turn back to Turkey who continue academic career as a lecturer in Turkish universities and different knowledge and new point of view was transferred by this people with the scope of their experience in USA. But some of them continue own career in USA so, they are a representative of Turkey in terms of educational sense.

On the other hand small numbers of student come to Turkey especially for university education, at this point American students are informed of Turkey, its culture and traditional values. After turning back USA they explain their experience about Turkey. Student exchange program is more effective on this issue. Turkey is the top European place of origin of international students in the U.S. and the eleventh leading place of origin worldwide. In 2013/14, there were 10,821 Turkish students studying at U.S. colleges and universities, a 4 percent decline from the previous year's total (Institute of International Education, 2015).

Furthermore this situation increased the number of foreign students; Turkey has secular, democratic and global educational system this situation creates more demand from students of Middle Eastern states to higher education in Turkey. As a result cooperation process on higher education and common scientific studies are important factors to develop bilateral relations. Besides to become prevalent the lecture of American political system and foreign policy towards in the field of international relations and political science will provide advantages, and lack of Turkish publication about this topic should be eliminated (Op.Cit., Türkmen, 2012). In addition, there are programs enhancing interactions at the professional level. The Young Turks–Young Americans, the Voluntary Visitors Program, the International Visitor Leadership Program, the Edward R. Murrow Program for International

Journalists, and other similar programs promote interaction by bringing together the media, academics, bureaucrats, and other members of civil society (Op.Cit., Yegin & Ersoy, 2013).

#### **4.3.2 Think – Tanks**

Think-tanks in the sense of the word, it means thinking institutions. Think-Tanks are a non – governmental organization which makes analysis, research and it publish them.

Think tanks use especially by defined groups, governments and leaders in order to justify their policies. These non-profit organizations are provided own tangible goods with donations. Think tanks aimed to spread their own policies through the use of various channels in order to reach decision-makers. These centers want to their promotion towards Journalists, academics, members of Congress, bureaucrats and for this reason conferences and seminars are made by Think - Tanks. Besides they want to invite these people to introduce themselves therefore they also want these people's participation in its institutions. In certain periods, they are trying to focus the attention of the government via various reports. They create affects in national level and international area with produced policies. Moreover, these institutions detect shortcomings in society and these are projecting by them. For these reasons, they could provide developing and strengthening democracy in their land.

During the historical development process in USA, Think-Tank term first appeared in the early 20th century, combining the world of politics and the world of science has led to the emergence of rational management by influencing to state policies. At this point, as an example of the oldest centers in the US Think-Tank Russell Sage Foundation (1907), Russell Foundation (1910), the Carnegie Endowment (1911) and Hoover Institution (1916). After Second World War, world system separated two blocks and bi – polar system was started, this situation caused to increase importance of Think – Tanks in whole world and also in USA. Then at the end of Cold War or in other word with the collapsed of Soviet Union, globalization process raised sharply so, this process effected to increase number of Think – Tanks. RAND cooperation, Hudson Institute, Heritage Foundation were established after Second World War and

these centers focused on the ideology of realism in this period therefore their works are based on generally security issues and strategic issues.

Big companies want to directions on decision – maker’s mechanism especially in legislation. In USA, Presidency the highest position inn decision – making system at this point academicians, universities, churches and Think – Tanks are part of this system. Therefore these are not only produce politics but also produce governments as an active player in international system. From another point of view, it can be seen as an extension of political power (Op.Cit., Yılmaz, 2008). Think-tanks centers and other actors attached to them are classified in accordance with the two main political lines in the United States. One side is closer with Republican Party in other word, conservative side and the other side is closer with Democrat Party so, they are liberals or leftist groups. Foreign policy is the best field to seen this separation. Especially by looking at the statement of Think - Tanks on Israel and Islamic issues, it can be understand whether the democratic side or republican side. As an example, during the period of Clinton, liberal academicians and Think – Tanks were a part of governance. Many Think-Tanks have formal university qualifications in the US, PNAC (Project for New American Century), CFR (Council on Foreign Relations), RAND Corporation and WINEP (Washington Institute for Near East Policy) are the some of them. But some Think – Tanks are more conservative and ideological than the others; Woodrow Wilson Center Foundation as a good example on this issue. In additions some Think – Tanks are established by governments and these are directly related with Foreign Ministry of State. These are kind of semi – official institutions and without reports of these Think – Tanks are difficult to understand American foreign policy, in this respect Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) is particularly important (Ibid., Yılmaz, 2008).

Think – Tank centers are always in a relationship with multinational companies, private educational institutions, media, churches, diplomats, academics, journalists and universities. Therefore many scientists, academicians and statesman are coming from these centers.

Under this circumstances this system of USA should taken an example by Turkey because this situation is a kind of requirement with the scope of give directions own national policy and foreign policy in international system. Because these type of



Think – Tank centers which are the part of soft power as a political actor are like an indicator on development level of a state in democratic nations. Each Think – Tank advocates different views so, this situation able to provides to progress pluralism. At this point there are some existing centers in Turkey but these centers usually have not a political role, alternatively they only prepare analysis, articles and academic reports, besides some representatives of these centers attend television programs in order to make explanation about current political issues to public opinion. Additionally, Turkish Think – Tank centers mostly organize seminars, conferences and panels and after this organizations many academic publication are pressed by these centers. Due to all of these, Turkish Think – Tanks fall behind than in the world and also in the United States.

In this context, Turkey should develop itself in this area and in its relations with the United States, at the same time Turkey should take advantage of the brain power of these centers. On the other hand, in order to diversification of relations with the scope of cooperation between centers; common projects, study – internship programs, exchange student programs and common publications able to prepare these kind of works. This situation has a power that provide to progress in terms of both scientific and cultural between Turkey and USA.

#### **4.3.3 Lobbying Activities**

Lobbying is a kind of public relations work which managed a particular group of peoples who able to create a specific pressure on political decision and it also able to constituted effect on decision makers and decision mechanism politically or by the way of strategic. In short, lobbying, lobbying; planned to influence government decisions and acts on behalf of a group or community to be established for this purpose between citizens and decision-makers can be defined as a form of communication that worked (Ari, 2005).

According to many historians, lobbying activities was stand out in USA, the most lobbies locates in the United States in nowadays. Israel lobby, Arab lobby, Armenian lobby and Greek lobby constitute some part of most popular ethnic lobbies in USA. These groups are working for establish an effect and pressure on U.S. Congress, Senate and even President of the United States within the framework own interests.

In this respect lobbying activities of these groups and even if a common interest would emerge, there were many examples that show that, different lobbies make cooperation between each other (Op.Cit., Yılmaz, 2008). Effectiveness of lobbies started to increase after Second World War in the United States and this situation is still continuing nowadays; so that lobbies had a financer role many times during the presidency elections of the United States. Therefore they became effective and influential on governmental system of USA.

Turkey has not enough working about lobbying activities; according to Prof. Tayyar Arı, Turkish lobby should be examining with separation three parts: (Op.Cit., Arı, 2005)

- Firstly, political and cultural aimed lobbies that are managed by foreign representative lobbies.
- Second political and cultural lobbies which are managed by Turkish – American institutions.
- Third, these are established by Turkish – American business world within the framework of trade.

Under these circumstances in order to develop Turkish lobby and its sustainability towards the United States, stronger financial supports and governmental support constitute necessary elements. Besides, according to Washington’s view, progressing of lobbying activities realize with parallel developing level of democracy. For this reason Turkey should make more working to develop lobbying in order to use own pressure force with the scope of diversification relations with USA. When the effectiveness of Israel lobby and Armenian lobby are examined, Turkey has to work to develop lobbying activities. On the other hand public opinion and media are the most important part of lobbying; at this point Turkey should start to cooperation with media to spread opinion.

Finally Turkey has not a success on lobbying activities yet, however promotion of own land and protection of cultural values is important for Turkey. For this reason lobbying activities should be a part of government strategy in order to develop relations between Turkey and USA and Turkey should able to use this type of power with efficient way and thru strategies.

#### **4.4 Future of Bilateral Relations between Turkey and the United States**

With the end of Cold War bi – polar system was collapsed, by this way bilateral relations started to reshape in international area. First of all Turkey – USA relations has stated to develop with scope of NATO membership process of Turkey. After this period Turkey and the United states has proceeded cooperation process step by step, first alliance period, second strategic partnership period and lastly with the Obama’s Presidency Model Partnership period was began. Especially during the last 25 years here were many fragile points between two states, but as of 2009, Turkey – USA relations entered in to a new different dimension. Besides there are a lot of decomposition points in terms of bilateral relations, in this respect cooperation processes between the relations of Washington and Ankara generally depend on military and security based so, this situation caused the fundamental reason of this decomposition point. However two states should behave to protect interest of each other’s within the framework of common way. In this respect fragile points that caused several problems between Turkey and USA should able to reach a solution. At this point PKK terrorism is a most important fragile point between Washington and Ankara and USA wants to establish a democratic dialogue with Kurdish groups by Turkey therefore Turkey has started democratic opening package and Kurdish opening process is a part of this package. But there is not a solution yet and PKK terrorism is continuing against Turkey.

On the other hand Washington has supported to Turkey’s democratic opening process, according to Obama administration if Turkey could become more powerful in terms of democracy, Turkey’s enforcement and economy would rise sharply towards high – level in international system. At this point with the globalization process only military power are not enough in order to have a right to say in international system for this reason some concepts like democracy and welfare constitute that development level of the states. Therefore Turkey should provide these concepts properly and different cooperation process might be emerging with USA by this way.

Furthermore from past to present, there were many fragile point regarding to Turkish – American relations. Especially 1964 Johnson’s Letter and the Hood Event have constituted two turning points (Op.Cit., Yılmaz, 2014a). These crises created a

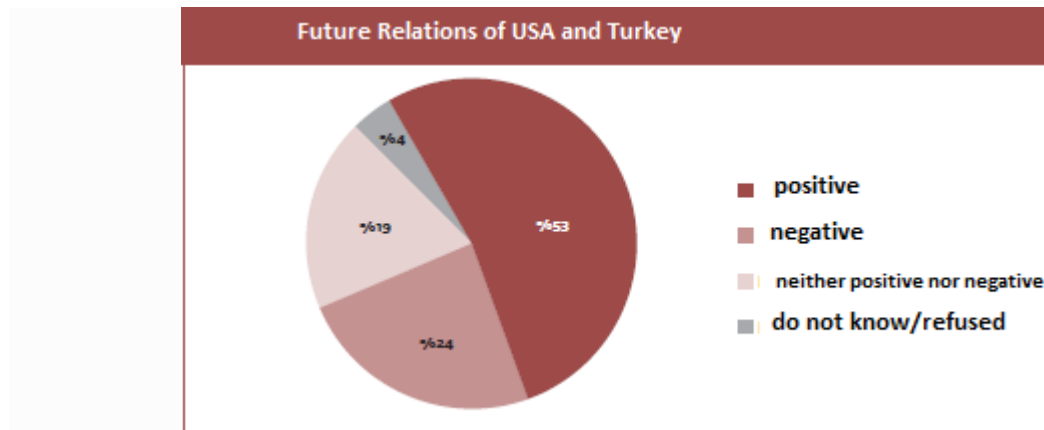
profound anti – Americanism on public opinion therefore when a cooperation process started between Turkey and USA, Turkish public were approaching to this process with a prejudice. Also this anti – Americanism created a prejudice in American public towards Turks. In this respect strategic partnership processes became important issue in a globalized world but now the perception of society became a part of state policy. Under these circumstances Greater Middle East Project was perceived as a threat by Turkish society. Today, the biggest obstacle on the future of the relationship between Turkey and USA, which is located in the Turkish public, directions of USA towards government party in Turkey, the nation state's structure and republican regime are trying to destroy and the when Middle East transformed, according to belief that try to separating of Turkey and if these suspicions could not disappear, Turkey – USA relations will not provide healthy ground (Ibid., Yılmaz, 2014a). In this context mutual equality and mutual common interest are important in terms of bilateral relations. The crises with regarding to relations between Turkey and USA generally emerged with the effect of third parties. During many years, there were lots of problems which did not reach a solution and these problems created a dead end in terms of bilateral relations. Especially Cyprus problem, Armenian issue and Israel – Palestine issue always emerged tension between the line of Washington and Ankara. For this reason the problems should reconsider and then new negotiations process should prepare in order to healthy future of relations.

On the other hand Middle East has geopolitics and strategic importance in terms of both Turkey and the United States. But Middle East policies of USA that have a big potential to caused damage towards Turkey's national interest and national sovereignty. In addition, during the Arab Spring process Washington did not supported this process in military sense and Turkey was to leaved alone by the United States so, this situation has created a back – breaking effect on bilateral relations. On this issue in order to future relations with USA, new cooperation process should able to constitute mutually and even, this process able to contribute to transformation of Middle East. By this way Turkey – USA relations are able to become more dependable.

Economic relations are not progressive mutually. Economically, USA is a global power and a Turkey's potential progressive trend with this global power economically will provide to increase regional power of Turkey. But economic relations of these two states always continue to stay in the axes of military and security latterly. Alternatively new trade agreements, economic cooperation, enterprise process are the most effective conditions in terms of develop economic relations mutually. Therefore the conception of Model Partnership will able to become more powerful because this concept was not thru perceived yet by society and according to many analyst, if Model partnership conception would not perceive in a thru way, new concepts have to produce by decision makers. Because if a development and revival would be asked, clearness and transparency important in terms of both two state's society.

According to Turkish Think – Tank center TESEV's research on foreign policy perception in Turkey, future relations of Turkey and USA have been perceived positive by majority of Turkish people (Seufert, 2011).

**Table 4.2:** Public opinion research on Future Relations of USA and Turkey (Akgün, et al., 2011).



As a result of this, in relations with the US, according to the alliance understanding, cooperation should be carried out based on the relationship of give and take in the sites that do not harm the interests of each other. The issue should be based on harm to act as a sovereign country not to be persistent so, Turkey's aim and intention should be clear, no country or management of our security initiatives must be declared, and it should be discussed openly and not be left behind in this

determination therefore Turkey is one of the world's most unstable regions, in the United States strong, stable and should evaluate opportunities as a respected friend, you must have not only the pursuit of the interests of the United States held their own hands (Op.Cit.,Yılmaz, 2014a). Last but not least, Turkey and the US, including the end of the cold war, was able to overcome many issues over the years that their alliance, they can succeed in bringing a content compatible with the age requirements and the region's dynamic, it can be a model partnership include the current name.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In this thesis, between the years 2009-2015, Turkey and US foreign relations were discussed taking into account the historical perspective, during the years 2009-2015 Turkey-US core processes that are external factors along with Turkey and the US reveal the relationship issues that shape their foreign relations, reconciliation points and decomposition points were transposed. In this thesis, in order to create a historical framework in 1914, the first part of the Ottoman Empire period starting on September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and the subsequent period up to Turkey and the US foreign relations were discussed. Bilateral relations in the framework of the period from 1914-1923 has begun the first commercial relations. It also gave some support to minorities and missionary activities in the United States which is in the period up to the First World War the Ottoman Empire. After the First World War, the United States has repercussions process of Wilson is starting to spread under its own idealism all over the world. At the end of the war with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and Turkey-US, relations have made the transition to the diplomatic level.

However, in the period after Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, it will begin to change the shape of the bilateral relations. After the war, the Republic of Turkey won the support that the independent sovereignty of attitude between Washington and Ankara has made agreements on more commercial over the years in the last 30s. Later the Second World War began. During this period, neutral Turkey had an attitude; even Turkey's neutrality was supported by the US. After the war, the United States and the Soviet Union took place in the international system as the representative of two different ideologies. This situation has led to the emergence of a bipolar international system. Turkey has wanted to maintain its neutrality in such an environment. However, leadership has now been handed over to the US post-war Britain; thus the United States has become the leader of the western world. After World War II Marshall Plan created in support of the economies of the countries participating in the war, the Truman Doctrine supported it. Thus began the process of foreign aid and

the US, Turkey found itself under these conditions. However, Turkey was a strategic importance for both the USA and Soviet Union; therefore, Turkey was always going to be the focus of mutual strife in regional sense. Military partnerships along with the 1950s began to gain importance. Turkey participated in the Korean War, alongside the United States during this period, and then it was officially accepted as a member of NATO. Thus, according to the US Russia is no longer containment policy would not apply to Europe. Turkey as an ally of the United States took place alongside the United States between 1950 and 1960; it has provided support in the military sense. Even Turkey's own national interests, has been shaped by considering the interests of the United States. Nevertheless, during the Cyprus crisis in the US by Johnson's letters during this period, with the attitude adopted by Turkey during the Cuban Missile Crisis has followed a foreign policy that leaves both difficult situations alone. This situation has also resulted in the fact that Turkey's multifaceted foreign policy in pursuit years of 1960-1970. The military coup took place in Turkey in 1980; it has cut the bilateral relations for a while. In 1983, the transition back to democratic system was the result of the elections in Turkey. With this new period in Turkey has made the transition to liberal economic policies. In this case, Washington has quite pleased to be a part of both members of NATO allies Turkey and the western world in this way is very important for the United States. In addition, Turkey's EU membership process was revived during this period. However, the Iran-Iraq war with the negative environment created by the PKK and the Kurdish issue in Turkey has become insoluble. On the other hand, we have to look at the overall period experienced great progress in Turkey-US relations, Turkey ceased to be a country allied with the United States no longer has entered into a strategic partnership process. With the beginning of the '90s the Soviet Union's bipolar system has ended with collapse, so there have been great changes in the international system. With this change, the name of globalization the world has entered a new process. However, the new international system, the US has begun to see itself as the only dominant power. Turkey-US foreign relations in this process have progressed in a positive trend. It has begun the process of economic cooperation between the two countries and signed bilateral trade agreements. In short, until the end of the 90s in bilateral relations continued stability and cooperation.



In 2001, US President George Bush was elected. Shortly after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 respectively. Turkey's fight against terrorism and as a country that was aware of how difficult the consequences on the fight against terrorism alongside the United States have expressed its will. After the terrorist attacks in Afghanistan after the US Global War in Iraq, it was before a military intervention under the name on Terror. In 2013, they wanted to use the land for logging into the United States in Iraq, but the US Grand National Assembly of Turkey rejected this request. This has created a breaking point in Turkey-US relations. After 2003, they began to experience changes in Turkish foreign policy, especially the main paradigms of Turkish foreign policy has changed completely. After the AKP government and the PKK problem with Iraqi relations have been the main issues raised in shape, as well as other Armenian issue has become a problem which cannot be solved. In 2007, it was found that Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan visited the United States, and had a meeting with US President George W. Bush. The main topic of this meeting has been terrorist incidents in Turkey. However, of cooperation between the two countries in the fight against the PKK could not be created. Turkey has not found a positive support from the US on this issue, though it has reached a consensus on the US to provide intelligence support. In November 2008, Barack Obama was elected as a president from Democratic Party as a result of the US presidential election. The second part of this test work discusses Barack Obama's first presidential term between the years 2009-2012. In the third section of Turkey, US foreign relations were handled as being outlined during Obama's second term in the years 2012-2015 and external factors affecting the bilateral relations of both sections, the consensus points and decomposition points were attempted to be addressed.

In the second part of the overall process that started with the Obama win the presidency it has started the process of change in bilateral ties. Especially in April 2009, Obama made his remarks during a visit to Turkey and has added a new dimension to bilateral relations and Turkey-US relations. According to this description now made the transition to the strategic partnership model process. Despite these positive developments in Turkey where due to regional factors, particularly the PKK issue of Iraq has not been resolved between the two countries during this period. In addition, the Armenian issue is among the main problems

continued between the two countries Cyprus and Syria. The third chapter, Obama's second term between the years 2012-2015 within the framework of Turkey-US relations has been discussed. Bilateral relations were shaped axis across the Middle East, especially Syria, Israel and ISIL took place in the main factors affecting bilateral relations.

Besides this, various attempts have been made economic sense to make progress between Turkey and the United States. Another of the topics covered in the last section of the Turkey-US relations, in order to diversify education, lobbying has been mentioned in the study of research centers and thinking enterprise. Finally, Turkey and the US should do and cannot come under the heading of external relations will be studied briefly.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A**

#### **SHARED VISION AND STRUCTURED DIALOGUE TO ADVANCE THE TURKISH-AMERICAN STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP**

##### **I. SHARED VISION**

The relationship between Turkey and the United States is characterized by strong bonds of friendship, alliance, mutual trust and unity of vision. We share the same set of values and ideals in our regional and global objectives: the promotion of peace, democracy, freedom and prosperity. Thus, Turkey and the United States face common challenges and opportunities that demand our concerted efforts. These challenges and opportunities form the specific items of our common agenda for consultation and cooperation.

We agree to translate our shared vision into common efforts through effective cooperation and structured dialogue.

Turkey and the United States pledge themselves to work together on all issues of common concern, including promoting peace and stability in the broader Middle East through democracy; supporting international efforts towards a permanent settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including international efforts to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on the basis of a two-state solution; fostering stability, democracy and prosperity in a unified Iraq; supporting diplomatic efforts on Iran's nuclear program, including the recent P5+1 initiative; contributing to stability, democracy and prosperity in the Black Sea region, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Afghanistan; supporting the achievement of a just and lasting, comprehensive and mutually-acceptable settlement of the Cyprus question under the auspices of the UN and in this context ending the isolation of the Turkish Cypriots; enhancing energy security through diversification of routes and sources, including from the Caspian basin; strengthening transatlantic relations and the transformation of NATO; countering terrorism, including the fight against the PKK and its affiliates; preventing WMD proliferation; combating illegal trafficking of persons, drugs and

weapons; increasing understanding, respect and tolerance between and among religions and cultures; and promoting together effective multilateral action to find solutions to international challenges and crises of common concern.

The United States strongly supports Turkey's accession to the European Union and the accession process now underway.

Our consultation and cooperation will also include enhanced bilateral relations with particular emphasis on economic and commercial relations and investments; defense/military cooperation; science and technology; and public diplomacy efforts and exchanges.

## **II. STRUCTURED DIALOGUE**

Turkey and the United States make use of several consultation channels at various levels. It is now time to develop a more structured framework to make our strategic partnership more effective and results-oriented.

In addition to the established High-Level Defense Group (HLDG), Economic Cooperation Partnership Council (ECPC) and Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) consultation mechanisms, we envisage four mutually-reinforcing tracks:

**a) Expert-Level Consultations:** They will be held as frequently as appropriate on issues of common concern.

**b) Policy Planning Consultations:** Regular meetings will be held between the Policy Planning Units to analyze tendencies, trends and developments from a strategic perspective, and to offer recommendations, as appropriate, in terms of policies to be pursued and means to be employed.

**c) Broad-Based Dialogue:** In our determination to enhance and diversify the scope of our relationship, we will actively promote bilateral exchanges among business groups, media, civil society, scientists and engineers, academicians and think-tanks, and educators and students. We will also facilitate opportunities for dialogue between the U.S. Congress and the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

**d) High-Level Review:** We will conduct a review at the level of Under Secretaries at least once a year to provide comprehensive and timely assessment and guidance.

Finally, the Secretary of State of the United States and the Foreign Minister of Turkey will remain in regular contact as required to develop this shared vision and structured dialogue.

## **APPENDIX B**

### **REMARKS TO THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TURKEY IN ANKARA**

#### **Speech of US President Barack Obama on April 6, 2009**

Mr. Speaker, Madam Deputy Speaker, distinguished members, I am honored to speak in this chamber, and I am committed to renewing the alliance between our nations and the friendship between our people.

This is my first trip overseas as President of the United States. I've been to the G-20 summit in London and the NATO summit in Strasbourg and the European Union summit in Prague. Some people have asked me if I chose to continue my travels to Ankara and Istanbul to send a message to the world. And my answer is simple: *evet--* yes. Turkey is a critical ally. Turkey is an important part of Europe. And Turkey and the United States must stand together and work together to overcome the challenges of our time.

Now, this morning I had the great privilege of visiting the tomb of your extraordinary founder of your republic. And I was deeply impressed by this beautiful memorial to a man who did so much to shape the course of history. But it is also clear that the greatest monument to Ataturk's life is not something that can be cast in stone and marble. His greatest legacy is Turkey's strong, vibrant, secular democracy, and that is the work that this assembly carries on today.

Now, this future was not easily assured; it was not guaranteed. At the end of World War I, Turkey could have succumbed to the foreign powers that were trying to claim its territory, or sought to restore an ancient empire. But Turkey chose a different future. You freed yourself from foreign control, and you founded a republic that commands the respect of the United States and the wider world.

And there is a simple truth to this story. Turkey's democracy is your own achievement. It was not forced upon you by any outside power, nor did it come without struggle and sacrifice. Turkey draws strength from both the successes of the past and from the efforts of each generation of Turks that makes new progress for your people.

Now, my country's democracy has its own story. The general who led America in revolution and governed as our first President was, as many of you know, George Washington. And like you, we built a grand monument to honor our Founding Father, a towering obelisk that stands in the heart of the Capital City that bears Washington's name. I can see the Washington Monument from the window of the White House every day.

It took decades to build. There were frequent delays. Over time, more and more people contributed to help make this monument the inspiring structure that still stands tall today. Among those who came to our aid were friends from all across the world who offered their own tributes to Washington and the country he helped to found.

And one of those tributes came from Istanbul. Ottoman Sultan Abdulmecid sent a marble plaque that helped to build the Washington Monument. Inscribed in the plaque was a poem that began with a few simple words: "So as to strengthen the friendship between the two countries." Over 150 years have passed since those words were carved into marble. Our nations have changed in many ways, but our friendship is strong, and our alliance endures.

It is a friendship that flourished in the years after World War II, when President Truman committed our Nation to the defense of Turkey's freedom and sovereignty and Turkey committed itself into the NATO alliance. Turkish troops have served by our side from Korea to Kosovo to Kabul. Together we withstood the great test of the cold war. Trade between our nations has steadily advanced; so has cooperation in science and research.

So the United States and Turkey have not always agreed on every issue, and that's to be expected; no two nations do. But we have stood together through many challenges over the last 60 years. And because of the strength of our alliance and the endurance

of our friendship, both America and Turkey are stronger and the world is more secure.

Now our two democracies are confronted by an unprecedented set of challenges: an economic crisis that recognizes no borders, extremism that leads to the killing of innocent men and women and children, strains on our energy supply and a changing climate, the proliferation of the world's deadliest weapons, and the persistence of tragic conflict.

These are the great tests of our young century. And the choices that we make in the coming years will determine whether the future will be shaped by fear or by freedom, by poverty or by prosperity, by strife or by a just, secure, and lasting peace.

This much is certain: No one nation can confront these challenges alone, and all nations have a stake in overcoming them. That is why we must listen to one another and seek common ground. That is why we must build on our mutual interests and rise above our differences. We are stronger when we act together. That is the message that I've carried with me throughout this trip to Europe. That is the message that I delivered when I had the privilege of meeting with your President and with your Prime Minister. That will be the approach of the United States of America going forward.

Already, America and Turkey are working with the G-20 on an unprecedented response to an unprecedented economic crisis. Now, this past week, we came together to ensure that the world's largest economies take strong and coordinated action to stimulate growth and restore the flow of credit; to reject the pressures of protectionism and to extend a hand to developing countries and the people hit hardest by this downturn; and to dramatically reform our regulatory system so that the world never faces a crisis like this again.

As we go forward, the United States and Turkey can pursue many opportunities to serve prosperity for our people. The President and I this morning talked about expanding the ties of commerce and trade. There's enormous opportunity when it comes to energy to create jobs. And we can increase new sources to not only free ourselves from dependence of other energies--other countries' energy sources, but

also to combat climate change. We should build on our Clean Technology Fund to leverage efficiency and renewable energy investments in Turkey. And to power markets in Turkey and Europe, the United States will continue to support your central role as an east-west corridor for oil and natural gas.

Now, this economic cooperation only reinforces the common security that Europe and the United States share with Turkey as a NATO ally and the common values that we share as democracies. So in meeting the challenges of the 21st century, we must seek the strength of a Europe that is truly united, peaceful, and free.

So let me be clear: The United States strongly supports Turkey's bid to become a member of the European Union. We speak not as members of the EU, but as close friends of both Turkey and Europe. Turkey has been a resolute ally and a responsible partner in transatlantic and European institutions. Turkey is bound to Europe by more than the bridges over the Bosphorus. Centuries of shared history, culture, and commerce bring you together. Europe gains by the diversity of ethnicity, tradition and faith; it is not diminished by it. And Turkish membership would broaden and strengthen Europe's foundation once more.

Now, of course, Turkey has its own responsibilities. And you've made important progress towards membership. But I also know that Turkey has pursued difficult political reforms not simply because it's good for EU membership, but because it's right for Turkey.

In the last several years, you've abolished state security courts. You've expanded the right to counsel. You've reformed the penal code and strengthened laws that govern the freedom of the press and assembly. You've lifted bans on teaching and broadcasting Kurdish, and the world noted with respect the important signal sent through a new state Kurdish television station.

Now, these achievements have created new laws that must be implemented and a momentum that should be sustained. For democracies cannot be static, they must move forward. Freedom of religion and expression lead to a strong and vibrant civil society that only strengthens the state, which is why steps like reopening Halki Seminary will send such an important signal inside Turkey and beyond. An enduring

commitment to the rule of law is the only way to achieve the security that comes from justice for all people. Robust minority rights let societies benefit from the full measure of contributions from all citizens.

I say this as the President of a country that not very long ago made it hard for somebody who looks like me to vote, much less be President of the United States. But it is precisely that capacity to change that enriches our countries. Every challenge that we face is more easily met if we tend to our own democratic foundation. Now, this work is never over. That's why, in the United States, we recently ordered the prison at Guantanamo Bay closed. That's why we prohibited, without exception or equivocation, the use of torture. All of us have to change, and sometimes change is hard.

Another issue that confronts all democracies as they move to the future is how we deal with the past. The United States is still working through some of our own darker periods in our history. Facing the Washington Monument that I spoke of is a memorial of Abraham Lincoln, the man who freed those who were enslaved even after Washington led our Revolution. Our country still struggles with the legacies of slavery and segregation, the past treatment of Native Americans.

Human endeavor is by its nature imperfect. History is often tragic, but unresolved it can be a heavy weight. Each country must work through its past. And reckoning with the past can help us seize a better future. Now, I know there's strong views in this chamber about the terrible events of 1915. And while there's been a good deal of commentary about my views, it's really about how the Turkish and Armenian people deal with the past. And the best way forward for the Turkish and Armenian people is a process that works through the past in a way that is honest, open, and constructive.

We've already seen historic and courageous steps taken by Turkish and Armenian leaders. These contacts hold out the promise of a new day. An open border would return the Turkish and Armenian people to a peaceful and prosperous coexistence that would serve both of your nations. So I want you to know that the United States strongly supports the full normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia. It is a cause worth working towards.



It speaks to Turkey's leadership that you are poised to be the only country in the region to have normal and peaceful relations with all the South Caucasus nations. And to advance that peace, you can play a constructive role in helping to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which has continued for far too long.

Advancing peace also includes the disputes that persist in the eastern Mediterranean. And here there's a cause for hope. The two Cypriot leaders have an opportunity through their commitment to negotiations under the United Nations Good Offices Mission. And the United States is willing to offer all the help sought by the parties as they work towards a just and lasting settlement that reunifies Cyprus into a bizonal and bicomunal federation.

Now, these efforts speak to one part of the critical region that surrounds Turkey. And when we consider the challenges before us, on issue after issue, we share common goals. In the Middle East, we share the goal of a lasting peace between Israel and its neighbors. Now let me be clear: The United States strongly supports the goal of two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. That is a goal shared by Palestinians, Israelis, and people of good will around the world. That is a goal that the parties agreed to in the roadmap and at Annapolis. That is a goal that I will actively pursue as President of the United States.

We know the road ahead will be difficult. Both Israelis and Palestinians must take steps that are necessary to build confidence and trust. Both Israelis and Palestinians, both must live up to the commitments they have made. Both must overcome longstanding passions and the politics of the moment to make progress towards a secure and lasting peace.

The United States and Turkey can help the Palestinians and Israelis make this journey. Like the United States, Turkey has been a friend and partner in Israel's quest for security. And like the United States, you seek a future of opportunity and statehood for the Palestinians. So now, working together, we must not give into pessimism and mistrust. We must pursue every opportunity for progress, as you've done by supporting negotiations between Syria and Israel. We must extend a hand to those Palestinians who are in need, while helping them strengthen their own

institutions. Now, we must reject the use of terror and recognize that Israel's security concerns are legitimate.

The peace of the region will also be advanced if Iran forgoes any nuclear weapons ambitions. Now, as I made clear in Prague yesterday, no one is served by the spread of nuclear weapons, least of all Turkey. You live in a difficult region, and a nuclear arm race would not serve the security of this nation well. This part of the world has known enough violence. It has known enough hatred. It does not need a race for an ever-more powerful tool of destruction.

Now, I have made it clear to the people and leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran that the United States seeks engagement based on mutual interest and mutual respect. We want Iran to play its rightful role in the community of nations. Iran is a great civilization. We want them to engage in the economic and political integration that brings prosperity and security. But Iran's leaders must choose whether they will try to build a weapon or build a better future for their people.

So both Turkey and the United States support a secure and united Iraq that does not serve as a safe haven for terrorists. I know there were differences about whether to go to war. There were differences within my own country as well. But now we must come together as we end this war responsibly, because the future of Iraq is inseparable from the future of the broader region. As I've already announced, and many of you are aware, the United States will remove our combat brigades by the end of next August, while working with the Iraqi Government as they take responsibility for security. And we will work with Iraq, Turkey, and all Iraq's neighbors to forge a new dialog that reconciles differences and advances our common security.

Make no mistake, though: Iraq, Turkey, and the United States face a common threat from terrorism. That includes the Al Qaida terrorists who have sought to drive Iraqis apart and destroy their country. That includes the PKK. There is no excuse for terror against any nation. As President and as a NATO ally, I pledge that you will have our support against the terrorist activities of the PKK or anyone else. Now, these efforts will be strengthened by the continued work to build ties of cooperation between Turkey, the Iraqi Government, and Iraq's Kurdish leaders, and by your continued

efforts to promote education and opportunity and democracy for the Kurdish population here inside Turkey.

Now, finally, we share the common goal of denying Al Qaida a safe haven in Pakistan or Afghanistan. The world has come too far to let this region backslide and to let Al Qaida terrorists plot further attacks. And that's why we are committed to a more focused effort to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat Al Qaida. That is why we are increasing our efforts to train Afghans to sustain their own security and to reconcile former adversaries. That's why we are increasing our support for the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan, so that we stand on the side not only of security, but also of opportunity and the promise of a better life.

Turkey has been a true partner. Your troops were among the first in the International Security Assistance Force. You have sacrificed much in this endeavor. Now we must achieve our goals together. I appreciate that you've offered to help us train and support Afghan security forces and expand opportunity across the region. Together, we can rise to meet this challenge like we have so many before.

I know there have been difficulties these last few years. I know that the trust that binds the United States and Turkey has been strained, and I know that strain is shared in many places where the Muslim faith is practiced. So let me say this as clearly as I can: The United States is not and will never be at war with Islam. In fact, our partnership with the Muslim world is critical, not just in rolling back the violent ideologies that people of all faiths reject, but also to strengthen opportunity for all its people.

I also want to be clear that America's relationship with the Muslim community, the Muslim world, cannot and will not just be based upon opposition to terrorism. We seek broader engagement based on mutual interests and mutual respect. We will listen carefully; we will bridge misunderstandings; and we will seek common ground. We will be respectful, even when we do not agree. We will convey our deep appreciation for the Islamic faith, which has done so much over the centuries to shape the world, including in my own country. The United States has been enriched by Muslim Americans. Many other Americans have Muslims in their families or have lived in a Muslim-majority country. I know because I am one of them.

Above all--above all we will demonstrate through actions our commitment to a better future. I want to help more children get the education that they need to succeed. We want to promote health care in places where people are vulnerable. We want to expand the trade and investment that can bring prosperity for all people. In the months ahead, I will present specific programs to advance these goals. Our focus will be on what we can do, in partnership with people across the Muslim world, to advance our common hopes and our common dreams. And when people look back on this time, let it be said of America that we extended the hand of friendship to all people.

Now, there is an old Turkish proverb: "You cannot put out fire with flames." America knows this. Turkey knows this. There's some who must be met by force; they will not compromise. But force alone cannot solve our problems, and it is no alternative to extremism. The future must belong to those who create, not those who destroy. That is the future we must work for, and we must work for it together.

I know there are those who like to debate Turkey's future. They see your country at the crossroads of continents and touched by the currents of history. They know that this has been a place where civilizations meet and different peoples come together. They wonder whether you will be pulled in one direction or another.

But I believe here is what they don't understand: Turkey's greatness lies in your ability to be at the center of things. This is not where East and West divide; this is where they come together, in the beauty of your culture, in the richness of your history, in the strength of your democracy, in your hopes for tomorrow.

I am honored to stand here with you, to look forward to the future that we must reach for together, and to reaffirm America's commitment to our strong and enduring friendship.

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you.

## **RESUME**

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