

## Abstract

This study seeks to understand and recognize changes and factors effecting such changes in Turkish policies towards Iraq during the Gulf wars, especially those contradictions in policies during the first and the second Gulf wars. The study attempts to do this through conducting a contemporary Turkey during these two wars.

The study attempts to find out and to give an accurate and comprehensive account of the essence and of the directions of contemporary Turkish foreign policy towards Iraq during the period of the study. It also tries to discover to what extent do internal and external factors influence and shape Turkish foreign policy as well as of what political goals does Turkey have in Iraq.

The scarcity of studies dealing with the relations of Turkey with the Arab states, more specifically in the realm of foreign policy, as well as the increase in Turkey's role as a major regional power in the middle East make this study quite significant. The study also gains importance from its being the first of its kind in studying Turkish foreign policy towards Iraq and in that it fulfills a need for providing us with some information with regard to the foreign policy of Turkey during the war period and knowing the potentials of that policy to keep bridge the gap in Turkish political discourse on that matter.

This study depends on two types of primary and secondary sources in both English and Arabic. The primary sources comprise documents, publications, official pamphlets, newspapers and newspaper articles. As for the secondary sources, these include books, articles, published research and annual reports.

The results of the study are summarized in the following manner: Since the establishment of the Turkish republic, the Iraqi - Turkish relations were in general relations of good cooperation between neighbours; and after resolving border disputes, these relations developed to become of strategic alliance in the fifties. Despite setbacks at the collapse of the Baghdad pact, these relations were enhanced in the eighties for mutual benefits of the two countries.

During the first Gulf war, the internal economic and security concerns of the ruling elite in Turkey the major role in defining the Turkish position from the war. However, during the second Gulf war, external factors such as changes in the international and regional arena played the major role in influencing Turkish decision maker and in formulating Turkish policy. It was also apparent that these factors were influenced by the manner in which the foreign policy decision maker understood the political environment around him.

The study concludes that during the period of concern Turkey's positions and policies towards Iraq has achieved its goals and managed to get gain on local, regional and international levels. Turkey also showed how strategically significant it proved to be for the United States and thus had enhanced its role in forming policies and keeping regional and international power balance. The study also shows in one aspect that Turkey will continue to need Iraqi oil for as long as it cannot find an alternative source to compensate for the oil which forces Turkey to follow a policy based on mutual interest with Iraq.



The kurdish question on the other hand , as the study indicates , will continue to be one of the most significant internal factors in formulating the Turkish foreign policy towards Iraq in the future . Since the kurdish question is so intricately complicated amongst the different countries involved and has its impact on security on the internal Turkish situation and on the regional level , it will continue to have its strong import on the foreign policy of Turkey .

The nineties have witnessed a return to mistrust between Turkey and Iraq despite their cooperation in the eighties . That was due to many unresolved issues between the two sides , such as water conflicts , security concerns on the regional level and meddling in the internal affairs of the other country .

The policy of Turkey towards Iraq is subject to the internal balance of powers inside Turkey itself with the growing conflict between the army and secular forces on the one hand and the ever growing Islamic powers on the other . This policy is also bound to be influenced by development in relations between Turkey and Europe , more specifically the joining of Turkey to European Union , the relationship with the United States , as well as the regional developments specially those relating to the peace process in the Middle East and ensuing .

The study is divided into five chapters . Chapter one represents the method of analysis that will be adopted in the analysis of the phenomenon of the Turkish foreign policy . Chapter two is a realistic study of internal factors relating to development of the political party life in Turkey ; Whereas Chapter three discusses and tackles the external factors in the Turkish policy and the goals Turkey aspires to achieve .

Chapter four , on the other hand , aims at giving a historical overview of the development of Turkish foreign policy towards Iraq since the establishment of the republic until the late of 1970 s . This overview is needed in order to understand all aspects of that policy and be able to recognize aspects of changes and aspects of continuity in that policy . Finally , Chapter five is meant to be as some kind of independent study and analysis of Turkish foreign policy towards Iraq during the war period comparing the changes in the first and second wars from different angles starting first with developments on traditional Turkish position . The second angle focusses on the ideological assumptions of that position ; whereas the third axis tries to reveal the bases and repercussions of Turkish policy . Finally , the fourth axis deals with the live issues which form the major axis of Turkish foreign policy towards Iraq after the second gulf war . as well as the tools Turkey utilizes to achieve its interests and goals .