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THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

OF

BİLKENT UNIVERSITY

DYNAMICS OF THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN TURKEY AND USA:

THE SOUTH CAUCASUS CASE

By

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

BİLKENT UNIVERSITY

ANKARA

July 2003

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ABSTRACT

DYNAMICS OF THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN TURKEY AND USA:

THE SOUTH CAUCASUS CASE

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M.A. In International Relations

Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Nur Bilge Criss

July 2003, 222 pages

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the South Caucasus presented several opportunities and challenges in the political, economic and military domains to the US as the unique superpower of the world, and to Turkey as a regional power. Though there occurred several crises in the Turkish-American alliance from its outset, both states whose interests converged; encouraging the development of democratic pro-Western regimes and free-market economy, hindering ethnic conflicts, expanding NATO's membership, blocking monopolization of oil export routes in the Caucasus, securing oil reserves in the Caspian, preventing the rebuilding of the Russian Empire and falling the newly independent states of the South Caucasus from falling into the hegemony of Russia and Iran, keeping Iran's fundamentalist regime in check, and pursuing active politics in the South Caucasus as a duty for the sake of their own global and regional interests. But, there had been also differences in the allies' politics as in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

However, the South Caucasian states, including Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia faced enormous difficulties in enhancing their national security, implementing the process of state building and improving their economic situation after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and therefore, independence for these states did not initially provide political stability. Internal conflicts, and Russia's imperialist policies undermined these states' efforts in order to be strong and independent states, and they could not cope with the challenges of the new geopolitical and economic environment due to the lack of their own military power, and strong economy. Thereupon, these states' first years of independence have been fraught with economic, political, and social difficulties. But the vigorous efforts of the US and Turkey prevented the South Caucasian states from falling into Russian hegemony and accelerated state-building process of these countries as examined in this study.

KEYWORDS: Turkey, United States, US, Caucasus, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, alliance , military, energy, oil, security, interest.

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE-AMERİKA MÜTTEFİKLİĞİNİN DİNAMİKLERİNİN GÜNEY KAFKASYA BOYUTUNDA İNCELENMESİ

AYHAN, HALİL SİDDİK

Uluslararası İlişkiler Yüksek Lisans

Tez Danışmanı: Asst. Prof. Dr. Nur Bilge Criss

Temmuz 2003, 222 Sayfa

Sovyetler Birliğinin yıkılmasıyla birlikte Güney Kafkasya, dünyanın tek süper gücü olan Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne ve bölgesel bir güç olan Türkiye'ye siyasi, ekonomik ve askeri alanlarda bazı zorluklar ve fırsatlar sundu. Türkiye-Amerika ittifakında başlangıcından itibaren bazı krizler yaşanmış olsa da, Güney Kafkasya'da demokratik batı yanlısı rejimleri ve serbest pazar ekonomisini teşvik etmek, etnik kargaşaları önlemek, NATO'nun genişleme sürecini desteklemek, Hazar bölgesindeki petrol rezervlerini korumak, petrol ihraç hatlarının tekelleştirilmesini, tekrar Rusya İmparatorluğunun ortaya çıkmasını ve Güney Kafkasya'nın yeni bağımsız olan devletlerinin Rusya ve İran'ın hegemonyasına girmesini önlemek, İran'ın aşırı tutucu rejimini kontrol altında tutmak gibi ortak paydaları olan müttefikler, bölgesel ve küresel çıkarları için aktif bir politika izlemeyi öngördüler. Fakat, Dağlık Karabağ çatışması gibi bazı konularda müttefiklerin politikalarında farklılıklar da oldu.

Bununla birlikte, Sovyetler Birliğinin dağılmasının ertesinde Azerbaycan, Ermenistan ve Gürcistan'dan oluşan Güney Kafkasya ülkeleri, ulusal güvenliklerini sağlamak, ekonomilerini sağlamlaştırmak ve devlet olabilmek için gereken adımları atmada çok büyük güçlüklerle karşılaştılar ve bu yüzden, başlangıçta özgürlük bu ülkeler için siyasi istikrar sağlamadı. Etnik kargaşalar, Rusya'nın emperyalist politikaları bu ülkelerin güçlü ve özgür birer devlet olma yolundaki çabalarını baltaladı ve bu ülkeler askeri güç ve ekonomilerinin yetersizliklerinden dolayı yeni jeopolitik ve ekonomik çevrenin zorluklarıyla baş edemediler. Dolayısıyla, bu devletlerin ilk özgürlük yılları siyasi, ekonomik ve askeri zorluklarla geçti. Fakat, bu çalışmada anlatıldığı gibi Türkiye ve Amerika Birleşik Devletlerinin gayretli çabaları, Güney Kafkasya devletlerinin Rusya'nın hegemonyasına girmesini önledi ve bu ülkelerin devlet olabilme süreçlerini hızlandırdı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, US, Kafkasya, Gürcistan, Azerbaycan, Ermenistan, müttefik, askeri, enerji, petrol, güvenlik, çıkar.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Above all, I would like to thank all academic and administrative staff of the Bilkent University, and of International Relations Department in particular, for sharing their knowledge and views throughout the courses.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Asst. Prof. Dr. Nur Bilge Criss, whose immense scope of knowledge and experience have been most useful during the conduct of this thesis. She has not only helped to determine and limit the boundaries of this study but also encouraged and guided me while the study went on step by step. I feel most fortunate to have been guided and supervised by her.

I am also grateful to Prof. Orhan Güvenen and Asst. Prof. Dr. Pınar Bilgin for their valuable comments and for spending their valuable time to read and review my thesis.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my mother, father, brother and relatives for their support and encouragement during my education life and to my wife for her sustained patience and support during this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	x
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1	
1. TURKISH-AMERICAN ALLIANCE FROM 1947 TO 2002	
1.1. The concept of alliance	4
1.2. The roots of Turkish-American Alliance	
1.2.1. Soviet Threat	8
1.2.2. Strategic factors	9
1.2.3. Military and economic aid	10
1.2.4. Westernization	12
1.3. Significant events and main problems in the alliance	
1.3.1. The appearance of the alliance with the Truman Doctrine	13
1.3.2. Turkey's acceptance in NATO	16
1.3.3. Baghdad Pact	18
1.3.4. Jupiter Missile Crisis	21
1.3.5. Problems in the Alliance in the 1960s (Johnson Letter and American Bases in Turkey)	24
1.3.6. Poppy problem	28

1.3.7. Arms embargo	31
1.3.8. Gulf War	33
CHAPTER 2	
2. THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AFTER 1989	39
2.1. Georgia	40
2.1.1. Internal conflicts and their effects on Georgia's political stability	41
2.1.2. The military in Georgia	50
2.1.3. Georgian economy	55
2.1.4. Georgia's foreign relations	58
2.2. Azerbaijan	60
2.2.1. Azerbaijan's foreign relations and the political situation in Azerbaijan since 1989	61
2.2.2. Oil and oil export options	69
2.2.3. Azerbaijani economy	75
2.2.4. Military developments in Azerbaijan since 1989	77
2.3. Armenia	80
2.3.1. Armenia's foreign and domestic policy	81
2.3.2. Armenian economy	87
2.3.3. Military power in Armenia	90
CHAPTER 3	
3. SIMILARITIES AND DIVERSITIES IN THE TURKISH-AMERICAN ALLIANCE POLITICS IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS REGION	94
3.1. Analysis of the allies' attitudes towards Azerbaijan	106
3.1.1. Nagorno-Karabakh ;the conflict that puts allies on the opposite sides	112
3.1.2. Energy reserves and diversification of energy supplies	120
3.2. Divergences in the allies' politics towards Armenia	127

3.3. Georgia, where the allies' interests converge	131
3.4. From competition to cooperation; Russia	138
3.5. Clashing interests between Iran and the Turkish-American alliance	144
CHAPTER 4	
4. MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF THE ALLIES IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS	
4.1. Russia's military policies and the US' attitude to the Russian military activities	151
4.2. Allies' increasing influence in the region through NATO	155
4.3. Allies' bilateral military relations with the South Caucasian States	164
4.4. Military problems between the allies	172
CONCLUSION	176
BIBLIOGRAPHY	186
APPENDICES	
1- Chronology of Turkish - American relations	208
2- Draft notes of President Truman explaining why the US should grant financial aid to Greece and Turkey.	211
3- Letter from President Johnson to Turkish Prime Minister İnönü, June 15, 1964	216
5- Oil and gas reserves in the Caspian Sea and options for export routes	218
6- Map of export routes in the Caspian region	221
7- Illegal Arms Transfer of Armenia from Russia in Figures	222

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1: US Policy towards the SU during the Cuban Crisis	23
FIGURE 2: Informal Alliances of States in Caucasus-Caspian Region	106

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: Georgia's First Ten Largest Trade Partners According to the Trade Turnover	57
TABLE 2: Georgia's Registered Exports and Imports by Regions, 2002	57
TABLE 3: Accidents in the Turkish straits	73
TABLE 4: Turkey's gas demand forecast by BOTAS and Turkish Energy Ministry	75
TABLE 5: Direction of imports and exports of Armenia	89
TABLE 6: Total US economic assistance in \$US millions	103
TABLE 7: Foreign investment in Azerbaijan	123
TABLE 8: US military aid and arms sales to Turkey, fiscal years 1980-1997	173
TABLE 9: Sources of Turkish arms imports 1997-99	174

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIOC	Azerbaijan International Operating Company
ANM	Armenian National Movement
APF	Azerbaijani Popular Front
ARF	Armenian Revolutionary Federation
BNDD	Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs
BTC	Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Oil Pipeline
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CMPC	Confederation of Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
FY	Fiscal Year
GUUAM	Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Moldova
GRFT	Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus
INOGATE	Interstate Oil and Gas Transport to Europe
IR	International Relations
IRBM	Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles
JCS	The State Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff
KADEK	Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress
MEC	Middle East Command
MEDO	Middle East Defense Organization
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
MLRS	Multiple Launch Rocket System
MoD	Ministry of Defence
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NIS	Newly Independent States
NKAO	Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast
NKR	Nagorno-Karabakh Republic
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PKK	Kurdistan Worker Party
PL	Public Law
RDF	Rapid Deployment Force
RF	Russian Federation
SOCAR	Azerbaijan State Oil Company
TPAO	Turkish Petroleum Corporation
TRACECA	Transport Corridor Europe - Caucasus – Asia
TRNC	Turkish Republic of North Cyprus
UN	United Nations
UNOMIG	United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organization
SU	Soviet Union
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, dynamics of the alliance between Turkey and the United States of America is examined but the scope of this study is restricted to examining the case of the South Caucasus between 1990 and 2003. In this study, after examining the Turkish-American alliance and general situation in the South Caucasus in a chronological order as introductory background, the similarities and differences of the global interests of the US and regional interests of Turkey in the South Caucasus will be presented. Within the framework of this topic, this study is prepared to give answers to the questions stated below:

- Which factors led to the formation of the Turkish-American alliance and which problems arose in the alliance up to now ?
- Which difficulties did the South Caucasian states meet in enhancing their national security, implementing the process of state building, improving their economic situation and constituting their military forces after the dissolution of Soviet Union ?
- What are the general characteristics of the allies' politics toward the South Caucasian states between 1990 and 2003 ?
- What are the conflicting and converging interests of the allies' politics in the region?
- What are the military activities of the US and Turkey in the South Caucasus?

This thesis consists of four chapters. The first chapter starts with the definition of alliance. After analyzing the concept of alliance, factors that were effective in the formation and development of the alliance such as the Soviet threat, military and economic aid, strategic reasons and Turkey's westernization policy is clarified. Then later, significant events such as the Truman Doctrine, Turkey's acceptance in NATO and incidents that caused crises or that Turkey suffered from will be touched upon shortly to present the evolution of the alliance up to now. These events are mainly; the 1955 Baghdad Pact, 1962 Jupiter Missile Crisis, 1964 Johnson letter, 1960-1965 U-2 crises and the problems that the American bases and military

personnel caused in that period, 1970 Poppy problem, 1975-1978 Arms embargo and 1991 Gulf War. Finally, why the alliance endured despite these crises above is evaluated in this chapter.

Chapter II analyzes the general political, economic and military situation in the South Caucasus states. While examining Georgia, factors that undermined political stability of Georgia such as ethnic conflicts, Russia's pressure and interference in Georgia's internal affairs is clarified. In the case of Azerbaijan, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which caused to lose 20 percent of its territory and Azerbaijani leaders' ideological policies, which endangered Azerbaijan's national security is discussed. As for Armenia, the domestic policy of Armenia including the effect of diaspora and its foreign policy that differentiated it from Georgia and Azerbaijan's foreign policy, because of its close relationship with Russia, is explained. In addition, the oil reserves of Azerbaijan, oil export routes, especially the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline, the evolution of these states' armed forces, and the efforts of these states in the economic domain will be emphasized.

The third chapter puts forward the US and Turkey's policies toward the South Caucasus in the aftermath of the demise of the Warsaw Pact and then of the Soviet Union. This chapter begins with explaining the changing priority in American policy towards the South Caucasus from placating Russia to supporting the stability and independence of the states through multilateral and bilateral conflict resolution efforts, strengthening the economies and armed forces within the three Caucasian states, securing the energy reserves, and shifts in Turkish foreign policy due to the new geopolitical configuration of the world that relieved Turkish foreign policy of certain constraints. Then, similarities and diversities in the Turkish-American alliance politics in the Transcaucasus is evaluated. First, is the transformation of the US' biased policy towards Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict to cooperative politics, which aims to bolster the energy security of the region.

Furthermore, this part also sheds light on Turkey's efforts to make Azerbaijan a genuinely independent state and the reasons that discouraged Turkey from applying military solutions in the Nagorno- Karabakh conflict. In the second place, the significance of diversification of energy supplies and prevention of monopolization of oil export routes is presented. Third, this chapter focuses on divergence in the allies' politics towards Armenia and convergence in the allies' politics toward Georgia. While there were clear differences on the allies' relations with Armenia, Turkey and the US supported the independence and territorial integrity of Georgia in order to secure oil transportation routes and to prevent Russian imperialistic policies on Georgia. Finally, the region will be evaluated from the viewpoint of Russia and Iran, and major areas of contention and cooperation between Russia, Iran and Turkish-American alliance will be identified.

The last chapter is devoted to the military activities of the allies in the region that are aimed to improve these states' armed forces which are necessary for the independence of the Transcaucasus states and stability in the region. In this thesis, while examining the allies politics towards the South Caucasus region, I wanted to put forward the importance of this region for the Turkish-American alliance that remained strong despite several problems and at the end, in the conclusion part, I emphasized on the points that the US and Turkey should pay attention in their policy making in the South Caucasus for the sake of their interests and the stability in the region.

The review of literature on this subject included books, articles in the books, journals and on internet, these, documents including treaties, newspapers, interviews, conference papers and research reports.

CHAPTER 1

1. TURKISH AMERICAN ALLIANCE FROM 1945 TO 2002

1.1. The Concept of Alliance

Alliance can be defined as a formal or informal union or association formed for mutual benefits by countries, organizations or firms. However, International Relations (IR) scholars mostly focus on alliances between states and define alliance as a formal or informal arrangement for security cooperation between two or more sovereign states¹. Alliances as the crucial determinants of the outbreak, spread and outcome of wars², as a response to threat and as an opportunity for profit, have been the primary foreign policy of states especially those downsize their military forces.

In the anarchic structure of the international system, external threats urge states to ally when they are incapable of unilaterally facing a stronger enemy. In this regard, states decide to cooperate with other states in order to increase their security by massing their capabilities against a common enemy.³ If the state can not deter the offensive state with its own military power, it will choose to ally with a state that will deter the aggressor. Nevertheless, in some cases, states may choose to ally with the state that constitutes the threat. This behavior is called bandwagoning “alignment with the source of danger”.⁴ Mostly weak and isolated states prefer bandwagoning to appease the strong state that has offensive intentions and to share the fruits of victory with the offensive state.

Security concerns are not the sole motivation for states to ally. External threats, benefits in the economic, political or military domain play a predominant role in the formation

¹ Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 12. Also, Glenn Snyder presents a widely accepted definition of alliances as “Formal associations of states for the use (or nonuse) of military force, in specified circumstances, against states outside their own membership” *Alliance Politics*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 4.

² Dan Reiter, “Learning, Realism and Alliances: The Weight of the Shadow of the Past,” *World Politics* 46:4 (1994), p. 490.

³George Liska, *Nations in Alliance, The Limits of Interdependence* cited in Wolfango Piccoli, *Alliance Theory: The Case of Turkey and Israel*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master’s) Thesis, 1999), p. 2.

of alliances. Because, “alliances are formed if only member states believe that the benefits outweigh the cost”.⁵ While a state outside the alliance will try to handle its problems with its own resources, the state in the alliance will have the opportunity to get the support of its allies when it can not manage with its domestic capabilities. In short, "belonging confers additional benefits from which outsiders can be excluded."⁶ Of course there is not a rule that a state in the alliance will always have much to gain. For example, especially in the bipolar system, a strong state will support the weak state to extend its hegemony and prevent its alignment with the other superpower. Therefore, the strong state will take upon the cost of that alliance for relative gains.⁷ However, generally the distribution of benefits is likely to reflect the distribution of power within an alliance, as does the determination of policies.⁸ Therefore, if a weak state's interest is not common with the others, it will be obliged to sacrifice its own interests for the preservation of alliance.

In addition to external threat and benefit, domestic factors also determine the formation of alliance. To increase their prestige in the eyes of their people, to undermine the political position of their domestic rivals and to consolidate their domestic political position, leaders of the state may choose to ally with the strong power. By this way, domestic elites will be able to retain their authority with the support of their allies and legitimize their status in the international arena and in the eyes of their people. In this type of alliance, the level of analysis is not the state but leadership. “Therefore, the political survival of the leadership predominates

⁴ Stephen Walt, op.cit., p.17.

⁵ Glenn H. Snyder, “Alliance Theory A Neorealist First Cut” cited in Banu Eligur, *Turkey's Quest For A Western Alliance (1945-1952): A Reinterpretation*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis, 1999), p. 4. .

⁶ Randall L. Schweller, *Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest* available at <http://www.ciaonet.org/book/schweller/schweller03.html>

⁷ When relative gains are important, states ask themselves “ Who will gain more?” instead of “ Will both of us gain?” See Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), p. 105. This thought had been effective in American foreign policy. America's two major wars (Korea and Vietnam) were fought under the banner of the domino theory. Neither Korea nor Vietnam was thought to have great importance for US national interests. However, US officials were aware that defeat of these states would empower the rival superpower and cause other smaller states to jump on the aggressors' bandwagon

⁸ Hans Morgenthau, “Alliances in Theory and Practice,” in (ed) Arnold Wolfers, *Alliance Policy in the Cold War*, (London: Greenwood Press,1976), p. 190.

the survival of the state.”⁹ As well, internal threats can be more dangerous than external threats and if a state can not cope with its internal problems with its domestic resources, then will choose to ally with a state or states that will help in dealing with its internal threats.

Regarding types of alliances, they can be offensive or defensive. While offensive alliances are formed to attack a third party, states form defensive alliances to protect themselves against a third party. Nevertheless, there is not a clear-cut line between the offensive and defensive alliances. Because intentions, rather than military capabilities determine the alliance as offensive or defensive and no one can be sure about the intentions of allies. Nonetheless, in the defensive or offensive alliance, if an ally is attacked or if it gets involved in any war, other members of the alliance are expected to come to its aid.

Alliances can also be classified as formal or informal alliances. Formal alliances fortify existing alignments by their solemnity, specificity and legal obligations, as well as their public visibility and introduce elements of precision, obligation and reciprocity.¹⁰ Contrary to the highly institutionalized formal alliances; informal alliances are not based on treaties. These informal alliances can be *ad hoc* coalitions or a *de facto* military alliance in the case of Turkey and Israel.

According to the relative capabilities of the allies, alliances can also be divided as symmetrical or asymmetrical. When there is an imbalance in the relationship of the allies and one state is able to dominate the relationship and influence the other state in accordance with its interests, there exists an asymmetrical alliance. In this type of alliance, the weak state makes concessions of sovereignty for greater security, restricts itself in pursuing preferred policies and risks its own security as Morton Kaplan has stated: "the weakest player, by joining a nearly predominant strong player, only creates a condition in which he will be the

⁹ Banu Eligur, op.cit., p. 12.

¹⁰ Fred Koetje San, "Shifting The Paradigm In RSA International Relations" at www.mil.za/CSANDF/CJSupp/TrainingFormation/DefenceCollege/ResearchPapers1999/koetje.htm

next victim." ¹¹. Alliances can also vary according to their duration. For instance, NATO is included in long-term alliances. In short-term alliances, partners convene for a specific purpose and when that purpose is accomplished, the group scatters as in the eviction of Iraqi forces from Kuwait in 1990 by twenty-eight states. However, such alliances are often called "coalitions". ¹²

In the anarchic structure of the international system, alliances can collapse in response to changes in the international or external environment. There are some reasons for the dissolution of an alliance. The most important reason is the lessening or disappearance of the threat. Second, if members achieve security by their own sources, there is no need for an alliance. Third, if the alliance partners avoid fulfilling their obligations, the credibility and the future of the alliance will be questioned. Fourth, if an alliance is based on common ethnic and cultural background or ideology, a change in these characteristics may cause dissolution. ¹³

The cohesion of the alliance is also affected by the structure of the international system. In a multipolar system, there is balance of power and it is maintained by alliance groups. In addition, alliances are flexible and can constantly shift. In multipolarity, a tiny alteration in the system can easily lead to the collapse of balance of power and war occurs with the aim of reestablishing that balance. ¹⁴ In a bipolar system, the structure of the system provides little opportunity or incentive for defection and as a result states do not change their partners easily for fear of being punished by their patron.

Two or more states ally for different purposes. These purposes may be to benefit, prevent or minimize losses, deter and contain an aggressor (repel and expel, disable and

¹¹ A. Morton Kaplan, "Towards Professionalism in International Theory" cited in Randall L. Schweller, *Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest* available at <http://www.ciaonet.org/book/schweller/schweller03.html>

¹² Glenn H. Snyder, "Alliance Theory A Neorealist First Cut," *Journal of International Affairs* 41:1(1990), p.107.

¹³ Stephen M. Walt, "Why Alliances Endure or Collapse," *Survival* 39:1 (1997), pp: 156-179.

disarm, deny access or directly frustrate an attack of the offensive state), defend territorial integrity, offend or annex a target state, effect the ally's behavior, gain leverage in the bargains and reflect its enhanced power and interests better in the international arena, enhance the state's internal security and domestic political stability, legitimize an existing regime, suppress internal disorder, appease the aggressor, obtain foreign aid for economic development, perfect its military and police institutions for control over its populace...¹⁵

After the Second World War, the US left its isolationist policy and began to assume responsibilities in several places of the world in accordance with its global interests. Although Turkey had been a non-belligerent in WWII, it desired to get involved in security and military alliances after the war. Turkey and the US, aware of their common and complementary interests - some listed above-, formed an alliance with the Truman doctrine and strengthened this alliance within NATO. In the following section the factors that had been effective in the formation and development of the alliance will be clarified to better understand the dynamics of this alliance.

1.2. The roots of Turkish-American Alliance

1.2.1. Soviet Threat

The Ottoman principle of seeking support from an outside power to counter the threat of an offensive state and insistence on territorial integrity and independence had been inherited by the Turkish Republic. Turkey never wanted to make concessions from its territorial integrity in any case and sought to find diplomatic and financial support against external pressures. Turks and Russians have shared the same borders for centuries but war and rivalry had dominated in their relations. Both sides had looked at each other's policy with

14 Martin Hollis & Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), p. 103.

15 Randall L. Schweller, "The Concept of Alliance" cited in Yoichi Funabashi, *Alliance Tomorrow at* www.tkfd.or.jp/eng/research/alliance/pdf/AT_Concept.pdf See also Bruce M. Russett, "Components of an Operational Theory of International Alliance Formation," *The Journal of Conflict*, 12:3, (1968), p. 285

concern. Even though there had been reciprocal good relations between Lenin's Bolshevik regime in Moscow and that of Mustafa Kemal in Ankara, this had come to an end during the Second World War. After the war, the Soviet Union put pressure on Turkey to change the Montreux Convention, demanded Kars, Ardahan provinces and a base on the Turkish Straits. At that time the newly established war-torn Turkish republic was not strong enough to resist the Soviet threat with its own resources. Relying on its historical experiences, Turkey tried to strengthen its ties with Western states to confront the perceived Soviet threat for preserving its territorial integrity and sovereignty. Therefore, Turkey sought security against the traditional threat of Russia from the United States and Turkish leaders wanted to obtain US' diplomatic and military support to balance the Soviet threat. Hence, the Turkish government did not refrain from committing 3000 soldiers to Korea for this purpose. Consequently, having fought numerous wars with Russians in the past, Turks had welcomed US assistance in containing their traditional enemy, the Soviet Union and this threat unified Turkey and US under the same perspective.

1.2.2. Strategic Factors

Turkey's geographic position was an important factor in the eyes of US officials. They saw Turkey as a natural barrier to Soviet expansion, a deterrent to a Soviet attack and a challenge to the Soviet Union's southern flank. The State Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) believed that Turkey was "the most important military factor in defending the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. By its geographical position, Turkey [constituted] the stopper in the neck of the bottle through which Soviet political and military influence could most effectively flow in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East".¹⁶ Besides, as Admiral William Crowe said "No Western or Soviet planner can address the Middle East

¹⁶ FRUS, 23 August. 1946 cited in Ekavi Athanassopoulou, *Turkey-Anglo American Security Interest 1945-1952* (London: Frank Cass, 1999), p. 61.

challenge without considering Turkey's orientation, terrain, airspace, forces and bases".¹⁷ If Turkey could not be a barrier between the Warsaw Pact and the Arabian Peninsula, the SU would have direct access to the petroleum producing areas in the Arabian Peninsula, which would radically change the balance in the world. Also the Soviet Union would be obliged to commit significant forces to protect its southern flank and its vital oil fields around Baku. In addition, Turkey was an invaluable ally as the guardian of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles as an obstacle to a sudden attack of Soviet submarines and missile-bearing surface ships. Otherwise, if the Soviet Black Sea Fleet passed into the Mediterranean in time of war, that may be a disaster for the West since the Mediterranean is crucial to the economy of the West, which are fueled by 300 to 400 oil tankers that cross its waters with 25 million barrels of oil on any given day.¹⁸ Besides, Turkey by virtue of its geography was able to supply intelligence to the US. After Turkey joined NATO, the installations and facilities in Turkey obtained information concerning Soviet space, missile, military force and weapons systems, Soviet research operations, strategic nuclear activities, Soviet military activity in bordering military districts, radar monitoring, air and naval testing, which provided 25% of NATO's hard intelligence.¹⁹ Due to the factors listed above, the US did not abstain from assisting Turkey in accordance with its global interests.

1.2.3. Military and Economic Aid

"Military [and economic] aid have a dynamics of its own and different effects on the giving and receiving nations which in turn can yield [negative and positive results for each side]".²⁰ Mostly the country providing assistance desires to control the receiving country and does not want it to run an independent policy. Besides, the aid receiving country, by taking

¹⁷ Christian Science Monitor, October 22, 1989 in from Ömer Karasapan, "Turkey and US Strategy in the Age of Glasnost," *Middle East Report*, No.160, 1989, p. 8.

¹⁸ Bruce Kuniholm, "Turkey and the United States: Views and Expectations," in *Turkish-American Relations: Forty Years of Continuity and Change*, (İstanbul: SISAV, 1987), pp:33-34.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 35.

the arms systems, military strategy, tactics and training systems, adopts the military standards and culture of the giving nation, which makes its dependence on the aid providing state in a subtle way.²¹

Although Turkey did not participate in WWII, it kept a large army ready for war. However, after the war, because of the perceived Soviet threat, Turkey's military expenditures did not decrease but increased. Turkey endeavored to be an industrialized state, but also felt obliged to maintain large armed forces. But, Turkey, due to its insufficient facilities for extraction and exploration of its mineral resources, primitive methods in agricultural production, poor transportation facilities, and dependence on oil, could not achieve industrialization and modernization of its military forces at the same time²² since the Soviet threat was hindering Turkey to focus on its economic problems and was compelling Turkey to keep a large army prepared for a sudden attack which in turn caused the Turkish economy to weaken. Besides, at that time inflationary policies and foreign trade deficits had brought Turkey's economy face to face with bankruptcy²³ and the Democrat Party government, which did not want to be criticised by the Republican People's Party, saw the US aid as a savior for their planned reforms. As a result, Turkey sought economic and military aid to bring its economy to a better situation and to modernize its armed forces to resist firmly against Soviet pressures. Briefly, Turkey's military and economic requirements and US' desire to meet Turkey's needs had been an important factor in the birth of the alliance.

1.2.4. Westernization

Westernization attempts that had started during the Ottoman era also continued more vigorously in the Turkish Republic era. Atatürk targeted to be a full, equal member of the

²⁰ Sezai Orkunt, "The Dynamics, Influence and Effects of Foreign Assistance" in *Turkish-American Relations: Forty Years of Continuity and Change*, (İstanbul: SISAV,1987), p. 81.

²¹ Ibid. p. 82.

²² Banu Eligür, *op.cit.*, p. 78.

²³ Nur Bilge Criss and Pinar Bilgin, "Turkish Foreign Policy Toward the Middle East," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (1:1) 1997, <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1997/issue1/jv1n1a3.html>

Western European community of nations as the national goal of Turkey and hence, the West has been a source of enlightenment, modernization, the key driving principles for the future Turkish state²⁴. Therefore, Westernization had been the basic foundation of Turkish foreign policy. Westernization policy, which aims for Turkey to be part of Europe and an industrialized modern state rather than an agrarian state, was one of the domestic reasons of Turkey's desire to form alliance with the US. In addition, Turkey's Westernization policy necessitated to belong to as many Western organizations as possible. Turkish foreign policymakers had always endeavored to present Turkey as a Western oriented secular state in a predominantly Muslim country, which has common features with the Western world. Therefore, Turkish administrators thought that Turkish-American alliance would strengthen their ties with the Western community and assist them to implement Westernization policies domestically. Also, the other Western states would look more moderately to Turkey that allied with the strongest member of the Western world. Hence, Turkey's military alliance with US via NATO seemed as a part of Turkey's integration with Western community. If Turkey's modernization process is examined, it is seen that Ottoman and Kemalist reforms initiated by the military- bureaucratic elite, were security focused modernization reforms²⁵, and most of the reforms were made in the military domain. This legacy had also been effective in Turkish foreign policy in the 1950s and modernization in the military field had been the vanguard of other reforms.

The main factors that led to the Turkish-American alliance also continue today. However, from the establishment of the alliance up to now, there appeared several problems in the alliance. In the following section , the beginning of the alliance and the problems that

²⁴ Graham E. Fuller, "The EU and Turkey's Eurasian Foreign Policy: The New Challenge", in (eds) Hüseyin Bağcı, Jackson Janes, Ludger Kühnhardt, *Parameters of Partnership: The US-Turkey- Europe*, (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999), p. 161.

²⁵ Dietrich Young, "Turkey at the Crossroads" available at www.ciaonet.org/wps/jud01

occurred between the two states will be analyzed and as a conclusion the question of “why did the alliance endure despite the several crises” will be answered.

1.3. Significant events and main problems in the Alliance²⁶

1.3.1. The appearance of Alliance with the Truman Doctrine

The Second World War that lasted between 1939 and 1945 had brought immense damages to the European states and finished their dominance in world politics. The US and SU (Soviet Union), which were allies in WWII had emerged as two rival superpowers after the war. While the SU intended to extend its influence well beyond its existing borders, the US initiated to replace the role of England in world affairs.

Stalin as the leader of the SU, wanted the Montreux Treaty of 1936 that regulates the use of Turkish straits, to be reviewed in the Yalta Conference in 1945, alleging that Turkey had taken an anti-Soviet stance in regulating the passage through the Turkish Straits during the war. After a month on 19 March 1945, the foreign minister of the SU, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov informed the Turkish ambassador in Moscow, Selim Sarper that the Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Neutrality and Non-Aggression of 1925 would be invalid after then.²⁷ Later on the SU increased its pressures over Turkey to change the Montreux Convention and demanded Kars, Ardahan provinces and a base on the Turkish Straits. In the Potsdam Conference (July-August 1945), Churchill, Truman and Stalin had come to an agreement on the revision of the Montreux Treaty but rejected a Soviet base on the Straits. In the following month, American Department of State informed the Turkish government about their proposals on the revision of the Montreux Treaty. Meanwhile, Georgians and Armenians claimed territories from Turkey's northeast border. While the American government was resolute on not provoking the SU, there were some American elites who were severely worried about SU policies on Turkey. According to Edwin Wilson, the American ambassador

²⁶ See appendix 1 for the chronology of Turkish-American Relations.

²⁷ Ekavi Athanassopoulou, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

in Ankara, the Russians' real purpose was to dominate Turkey and the Eastern Mediterranean. He also informed the American policymakers that Russians were trying to end the Turkish-British partnership and change the political regime in Turkey. Besides, the İnönü government struggled to enhance its relations with Washington, emphasizing Turkey's geopolitical position, which was threatened by Soviet Russia and succeeded to divert US' attention to the Soviet threat. US policymakers had begun to see Russian pressures that aimed to control the Straits and invasion routes to Iraq and the Persian Gulf as a detrimental threat to the Middle East and Mediterranean. In December 1945, Acting Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, gave private assurances to the Turkish government in reaction to the territorial claims put forward by two prominent Georgian professors in Moscow.²⁸ This was perceived by Turkish officials as the first significant sign of change in American policy. In addition, on 6 April 1946, the US sent *USS Missouri* to Istanbul in order to bring the remains of the previous Turkish ambassador in Washington. But in fact, the USA has sent the battleship to signal that it would not permit the SU to expand to the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean and would support Turkey as a barrier to Soviet expansion. Although, this was only a gesture, that visit is often accepted as the symbolic start of the Turkish-American alliance.²⁹

However, after these incidents, Kremlin sent a strong note to Turkey on August 7 1946, reiterating its demands on participation in the administration of the Straits and joint control of the waterway. After Ankara informed Washington about the note, the US administration had been obliged to choose one of the alternatives below according to the Secretary of the Navy, James V. Forrestal: - Send a protest note to Moscow and then, let Turkey and Russia resolve this problem bilaterally; or support Turkey regardless of the

²⁸George Harris, *Troubled Alliance*, (AEI- Hoover Policy Studies, 1972), p. 19.

²⁹ Kemal Kirişçi, "Ambivalent Allies", in Barry Rubin and Thomas Keaney (eds), *US Allies in A Changing World*, (London: Frank Cass, 2001), p. 118.

consequences.³⁰ The US chose the second alternative and sent a message indicating that attacks or threats of attack against the Straits would clearly be matters for action by the U.N. Security Council.³¹

Besides, in 1946 a civil war broke out in Greece. The American administration was anxious about Russian support to the Greek communist troops. Moreover, American policymakers were aware that the SU would try to dominate Greece by benefiting from its weaknesses. At that time, England informed the American government that it would not be able to bear the burden of rendering financial and military assistance to Greece and Turkey. This was a great opportunity for the US to take over the responsibilities of the bankrupt British in the Near and Middle East and to create a general policy towards the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).³²

These events prepared the suitable environment for the Truman Doctrine through which the USA devoted itself to providing economic and military aid to make Turkey and Greece strong enough to resist communist aggression. On 12 March 1947, Truman made a speech about the aid that would be given to Greece and Turkey in the Congress. The most stressed issue was to stop Soviet expansion, communist activities and support the free people of the world. Besides, Secretary of State Dean Acheson warned the US cabinet “If Greece fell within the Russian orbit, not only Turkey will be affected but also Italy, France and the whole of Western Europe”.³³

Four months later, on 12 July 1947 a treaty that was signed in accordance with the Truman doctrine, initiated an era of close cooperation and friendship between the USA and Turkey. With this treaty, the US was going to supply weapons, ammunitions, military experts

³⁰ Mehmet Gönülöbol, *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası* cited in Füsün Türkmen, “Turkey and The Korean War,” at usconsulate-istanbul.org.tr/korea/koreaft.html

³¹ George Harris, *op.cit.*, p.22.

³² See appendix 2 for the draft notes of President Truman explaining why the US should grant financial aid to Greece and Turkey.

and roads, financial and technical support in building harbor and military foundations. One year later, Turkey was also accepted into the Marshall Plan (European Recovery Program) that aimed to assist the Western countries to recover their economies.³⁴

1.3.2. Turkey's acceptance in NATO

After the establishment of NATO in 1949, Turkish officials had made a strong campaign to enter NATO. Turkish policymakers believed that if they were excluded from NATO, this would increase Soviet harassment and decrease American aid. They were thinking that Turkey could receive the military aid, which is necessary for the modernization of the Turkish army only by joining NATO, because otherwise aid had to be approved annually by the US Congress which was not a taken for granted situation. In addition, NATO membership would be a balance against the Soviet threat.

After the North Korean forces had passed the 38th parallel to invade South Korea, United Nations Security Council (UNSC) condemned the attack as a threat to world peace and recommended to the U.N. members to assist South Korea. Turkey had been the second state that replied positively to the call of the UN (United Nations) about assistance to Korea. Turkish leaders, to show their eagerness and resoluteness for NATO membership and to eradicate Turkey's image as an unreliable ally by declaring non-belligerency in World War II. despite its treaty alliance of 1939 with Britain and France,³⁵ did not refrain from sending one Turkish troop involving up to 3000 soldiers to Korea in order to facilitate Turkish membership in NATO.³⁶ In the Korean War, the Turkish brigade suffered heavy casualties

³³ Deborah Welch Larson, "Bandwagoning Images in American Foreign Policy: Myth or Reality?" cited in Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back," *International Security* 19:4 (1994), p. 73.

³⁴ Turkey was excluded from the Marshall Plan at the outset, since its economy was not devastated by the war. But Ankara insisted upon receiving aid from the Plan alleging its expenditures imposed by continuous Soviet pressures and got involved in the plan.

³⁵ İlder Turan and Dilek Barlas, "Batı İttifakına Üye Olmanın Türk Dış politikası Üzerindeki Etkileri," in *Türk Dış Politikasının Analizi* cited in Nur Bilge Criss, *Turkey's Foreign Policy and the West, 1945-999*, (unpublished), p. 8.

³⁶ At that time while the American youth were crowding into universities and colleges to escape war, in the initial days of Korea Crisis 3000 Turkish youth had enlisted voluntarily to an organization which was established

by protecting the retreat of US forces and gained the appreciation of the Western states by its bravery.³⁷ Besides, by sending troops to Korea, Turkey deviated from its traditional policy principles that did not take risks and sent a message to the West that Turkey was ready to assume military undertakings and participate in NATO.³⁸

After Turkey's participation in the Korean War, the Americans, thinking that Turkey would strengthen NATO's southern flank, accepted the membership of Turkey despite severe opposition from Britain and Scandinavian states in February 1952. The American administration was aware that with Turkey's entrance into NATO, Soviet expansion and aggressiveness would be limited in the southern flank of NATO. Besides, 22 Turkish divisions would consolidate NATO's deterrence power, and the SU would have to draw some of its troops from East Europe to face the Turkish troops that were positioned on its southern borders. In addition, Turkey's strategic position would be a barrier to the expansion of Soviet penetration to the Middle East.

After Turkey's acceptance in NATO, Turkish-American relations strengthened to a great extent so much so that Americans were completely free in their activities on Turkish territory and Turkish leaders never hesitated to think and declare that US was going to support Turkey on every issue. Turkish leaders lent almost blind support to the US and supporting the US had been accepted as a task by the Turkish government in the 1950s. While Americans appreciated Turkish heroism in the Korean War, Turks saw the US as the symbol of democracy, freedom and civilization. Also American military experts made great efforts to train, organize and equip the Turkish Army on the American model – but the equipment of

by DP deputy Semih Yürüten to send a militia force to Korea cited in M.Kemal Öke, *Unutulan Savaşın Kronolojisi: Kore 1950-53*, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları,1990), p. 78.

³⁷ Commander of the United Nations Army in Korea, General Douglas Mac Arthur characterized Turkish soldiers as 'the bravest of brave' in the Korean War in Bruce Kuniholm, "Turkey and the United States: Views and Expectations," in *Turkish-American Relations: Forty Years of Continuity and Change*, (İstanbul: SISAV,1987), p. 30. If the Turkish brigade had not delayed enemy operations, the 8th Army would have been destroyed by no less than eight Chinese divisions planning to entrap it between the front and the sea, cited in Füsün Türkmen, *op.cit.* p.37.

nearly all Turkish armed forces was US originated, and this made Turkey excessively dependent on the US via the military domain.³⁹

1.3.3. Baghdad Pact

In the 1950s Turkish elites turned their face to the West in their foreign policy dealings and divorced themselves from Middle East politics and the Arab world. Since Turkey recognized Israel in 1949, it was seen as part of the imperialist West in the eyes of Arab states. However, while Turkey abstained from the Middle East, the significance of this region was increasing day by day in the great powers' policies because of its rich oil reserves.

Britain, to preserve its position and influence in the Middle East was trying to establish a regional organization. For this reason, the English government wanted Turkey not in NATO but in a regional organization in the Middle East under British control. But, the plans that Britain proposed were not successful. Meanwhile, England withdrew its opposition to Turkey's NATO membership, which was the biggest barrier to Turkey. Thus, after joining NATO, Turkey began to look more moderately at English plans. Nevertheless, these projects (MEC); Middle East Command, (MEDO); Middle East Defense Organization had only increased the hatred of Arabs to Turkey and caused Turkey to be the common enemy of Arab nationalists. After Arabs definitely rejected the English plans, US officers thought that the leadership in the region must be transferred from England to themselves. In the US Middle East policy, the most important aim was the containment of SU in the region.⁴⁰

After the US had established SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization), there remained only one gap between Turkey and Pakistan. In the American policymakers' eyes, Turkey was the most suitable state for the leadership of a regional defense organization in the region since along with its ethnic and religious ties, Turkey as a NATO member, had the

³⁸ Yusuf Turan Cetiner, *The Making of Turkey's Western Alliance: 1944-1952*, (Ankara : Bilkent University, (Doctorate) Thesis, 2001), p.197.

³⁹ Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.* , pp: 100-106.

⁴⁰ R.K.Ramazani, *The Northern Tier* cited in Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.* , p. 111.

largest and strongest army in the region. On the other hand, Turkish officials were keen on the leadership of a defense organization that was supported by the US, since Turkish leaders believed that their security and sovereignty were firmly tied to the US. Besides, Pakistani officials were also keen on getting US support to strengthen their military power and political situation against India. Then, with the encouragement of the US government, Turkey and Pakistan signed a friendship and security cooperation treaty in 1954. At that time, the prime minister of Iraq, Nuri el-Said, was a sympathizer of the West and was keen on getting involved in a security system which was supported by the West to encounter Soviet threat to his country. Therefore Iraq and Turkey, which shared similar thoughts, had established the Baghdad Pact. In a short time, England, Pakistan and Iran entered the pact.⁴¹

Although, the US government encouraged this pact, it avoided to participate fully in this security arrangement for several reasons. First of all, US Middle East policy necessitated not to be involved in groupings in the region in order to avoid Arab reaction. Second, the US officials did not want to lose their ties with Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Third, Americans did not want their relations with Israel to be damaged because of this pact. Fourth, they did not want to provoke the SU.⁴²

While the US did not join the Baghdad Pact, this pact had brought Turkey and the Arab world at odds. The intensive propaganda that Arab states made against Turkey and the Baghdad Pact caused Turkey to be further alienated from the Arab world. Contrary to Turkish administrators, Soviet threat was not a vital and close threat for the Arab policymakers. Arab politicians were more interested in Israel that was established in the middle of the Arab world and the continuity of Western colonial-like influence in the Arab states. Therefore, the dominant trend in Arab policy was anti-Western. Consequently, Turkey's defense alliance with Iraq had been perceived as a move to divide the Arab world and this pact had also

⁴¹ Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.*, pp: 111-116.

⁴² George Lenczowski, *The Middle East in World Affairs*, (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 1980) p. 796.

strengthened inimical feelings to Turkey in the Arab world. With the encouragement of the US, Turkey aimed to gather Arab states against the Soviet Union by the Baghdad Pact. However, the Baghdad Pact had caused Egypt and Syria to strengthen their political, economic and military ties with the SU. Besides, the SU had accused Turkey of being the gendarmerie of the US and for reviving Western imperialism in the region. While Turkey always tried to stay away from Middle Eastern problems, this pact had put Turkey in the middle of the problems. Also, the armament of Syria and Egypt by the SU increased the number of threats to Turkey's national security.⁴³

Even though Western countries tried to force Lebanon, Jordan and Syria to join the Pact, Arab states saw the British formed, U.S.-backed, Baghdad Pact as an imperialist organization. Therefore, the Baghdad Pact, which was created with the aim of strengthening regional defense and prevent the infiltration of the Soviet Union into the Middle East, failed that purpose due to the strong Arab opposition. At that time, Arab radicalism, eventually led by Egypt's president Gamel Abdel-Nasser, also flourished in Iraq like in the other Arab states. In late 1958, the pro-Western government of King Faisal of Iraq was overthrown in a violent coup and afterwards Iraq was declared a republic under the nationalist regime of Brigadier Abdal-Karim Kassem. Consequently, in 1959 Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact, which ultimately became the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). After Baghdad Pact dissolved, Turkey once again returned to its non-involvement policy in the Middle East. But the Baghdad Pact in which Turkey took the lead with the US and British incitement, attracted harsh reactions from Arab regimes which saw Turkey as trying to further Western interests at the expense of Arabs. In addition, this pact had contributed to strengthen Pan-Arab ideology.⁴⁴ Not for its own sake, but in order to strengthen its position vis-à-vis the West, Turkey took the leadership of this organization but more alienated itself from the Middle

⁴³ Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.* , pp: 119-123.

East.⁴⁵ The negative effects of this pact were better understood when Turkey had tried to mobilize Muslim support on the Cyprus issue.

1.3.4. Jupiter Missile Crisis

When American U-2 planes discovered forty two medium range Soviet originated SAM missiles on the territories of Cuba, President John F. Kennedy decided to blockade Cuba. This had been the beginning of the Cuban Crisis. In a short time, two superpowers had come to the edge of a nuclear war. After receiving Kennedy's request for an embargo, İsmet İnönü told the National Assembly the next day that "when we are in danger, we expect our allies to support us. Likewise, we have to stand by our allies if they are in danger".⁴⁶ To show its support, Turkish ships refused to deliver goods to Cuba.

When the Soviets had launched Sputnik missiles in 1957, the Eisenhower government was seized with fear of falling behind the USSR in the nuclear armament race. Later on, the American proposal about deployment of intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBM) in the European territories had been accepted by NATO members.⁴⁷ However, although European states accepted, most of them had not given permission to the deployment of these missiles since they were afraid of provoking the SU and being a target in a nuclear war. The states that had accepted to deploy these missiles were only England, Italy and Turkey. Turkey had consented to the deployment of 15 Jupiter missiles on its territory.⁴⁸ Ironically, Jupiter missiles were, obsolete, liquid fueled, ignited in a long time, vulnerable to

⁴⁴ Halil Şimşek, *Türkiyenin Ulusal Güvenlik Stratejisi*, (İstanbul: IQ Yayıncılık, 2002), p. 248.

⁴⁵ Nur Bilge Criss and Pınar Bilgin, "Turkish Foreign Policy Toward the Middle East," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (1:1) 1997, <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1997/issue1/jv1n1a3.html>

⁴⁶ Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi, Vol.VIII, 1962 cited in Süha Bölükbaşı, *Turkish-American Relations and Cyprus*, (New York: University Press of America, 1988), p. 49.

⁴⁷ *The Times*, 29 October 1962 cited in Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.*, p. 137.

⁴⁸ Bernstein, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: Trading the Jupiters in Turkey?" cited in Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.*, p. 138.

air attacks, some used to be for only first attack and also their probability of hitting the target was small.⁴⁹

After the United States detected the Soviet-originated missiles in Cuba, it warned the Soviet Union to retrieve those missiles from Cuban territory. But the SU offered to remove their missiles in Cuba if the US withdrew the Jupiters from Turkey. While the tension reached a peak between the US and USSR, on October 26th, Robert Kennedy (Attorney General, and also a member of EX-COM) met with the Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, who claimed that the Soviet missiles in Cuba were justified by those of the Americans' in Turkey. Robert Kennedy convinced Ambassador Dobrynin that the removal of the missiles from Turkey in exchange for the removal of the Soviet missiles from Cuba may be implemented in four or five months and brought this bargain to the President, his brother John F. Kennedy. Then, Kennedy accepted the proposal on removing the missiles from Turkey's territory and promised that the US would not invade Cuba.⁵⁰ US policies- shortly explained in figure 1- had not been successful and decided to withdraw the missiles in Turkey. For Turkish administrators, to withdraw these missiles under the Soviet threat and pressure was impracticable. These weapons as the concrete symbol of Turkish-American alliance were enhancing the security of Turkey by deterring the SU. They did not expect the US to make Jupiter missiles a bargain issue to please its rival at the expense of its ally's interest. Before this bargain was revealed, Turkish policymakers were seeing this issue as a Soviet scenario as Foreign Minister Feridun Cemal Erkin stated, "As you know, in the Cuban Crisis a Soviet attempt had been to make the bases in our country and bases in Cuba a

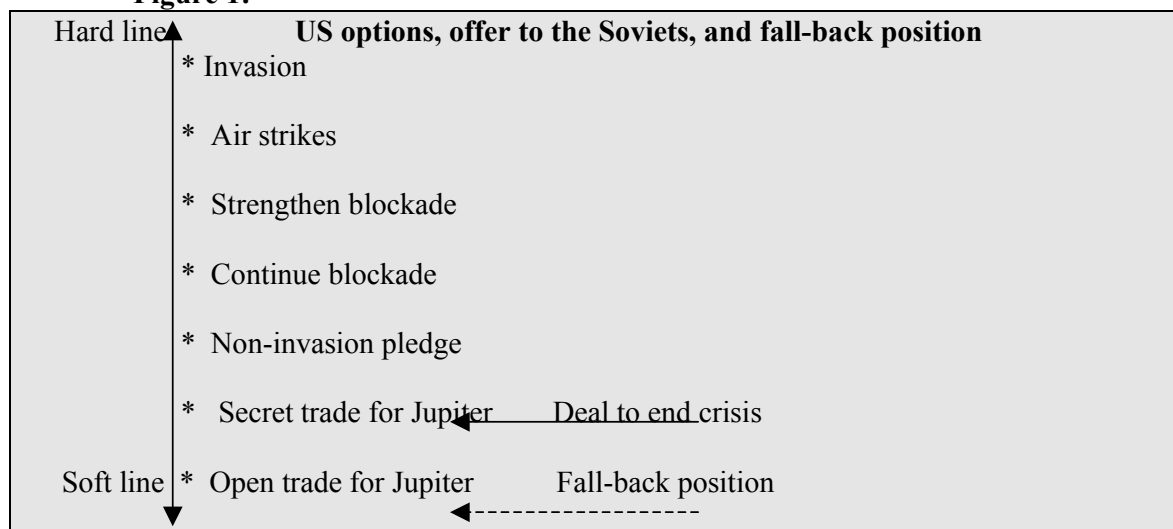
⁴⁹ US Secretary of State, Dean Rusk has once said that; "Jupiter missiles are too old weapons that we can not be sure that where they will go when they are ignited" in Michael R. Beschloss, *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-1963* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), p. 138.

⁵⁰ Available at www.angelfire.com/bc3/coldwar/cubacrisis.html.

bargain issue but USA had denied this bargain”.⁵¹ But the reality was different as stated by the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev:

“ President Kennedy told us through his brother that in exchange [of removing Soviet missiles from Cuba] he would remove missiles from Turkey. He said: If this leaks into the press, I will deny it, I give my word I will do this, but this promise should not be made public.”⁵² It is understood that Kennedy initially choose to contact with Soviet Union rather than its ally and put Turkey into a difficult situation.

⁵³**Figure 1:**



With the withdrawal of Jupiter missiles in 1963, the Cuban crisis, which had brought the two superpowers to the edge of a nuclear war, had come to an end . The US had sacrificed the Turkish missiles to pull out the Soviet missiles in Cuba. This crisis led Turkish decision makers to think that US for the sake of its own interests, would not refrain from making secret treaties with the SU or another state. Although Jupiters were obsolescent and vulnerable, Turkish officials regarded these weapons as the symbol of alliance's determination to use nuclear weapons against Russian attack. Therefore, this bargain fostered

⁵¹ MMTD, 9 January 1963 cited in Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.*, p. 164.

⁵² *Khrushchev Remembers – The Glasnost Types*, Jerold I/ schecter and Vyacheslav cited in Nur Bilge Criss, “ Strategic Nuclear Missiles in Turkey,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, {20:3} 1997, p. 108.

doubts about the US commitment to Turkey's security and showed the difficulties of allying with a superpower. Besides, Turkish leaders understood that armament does not always create security when their state had been the target of Soviet nuclear missiles because of the American nuclear weapons deployed in their territory.

1.3.5. Problems in the Alliance in the 1960s (Johnson Letter and American Bases in Turkey)

After the missile crisis, Turkey's relations with the United States continued to deteriorate. Between 1960 and 1963, the Greek Cypriots, with Greek military assistance raided isolated Turkish villages. Hundreds of Turkish Cypriots were murdered and wounded. Because of the tense situation and bloodshed in Cyprus, in 1964 Turkey as a guarantor state, decided to intervene in Cyprus by landing troops on the island to preserve the security of the Turkish community and prevent the Greek Cypriot massacres from turning into a genocide. But on 5 June the "Johnson Letter" came. The letter that President Lyndon B. Johnson sent⁵⁴ to Prime Minister İsmet İnönü in 1964 to hinder Turkish intervention in Cyprus had caused Turkish policymakers to see US from a different angle. The important factors in the letter were those; first, a war between Turkey and Greece was unthinkable. Because joining NATO necessitated that two NATO states could not fight in any case. Second, this letter pointed to the fact that Turkey would have to take the permission of US to use American supplied military equipment in the operations that it will make.⁵⁵ Therefore, it was understood that, the adversary of Turkey would be decided by the USA. For example if Greece as a NATO

⁵³ Daryl G. Press, "Power, Reputation and Assessments of Credibility During the Cuban Missile Crisis," at pro.harvard.edu/papers/018/018005PressDaryl.pdf

⁵⁴ See appendix 3 for the letter

⁵⁵ İnönü was reminded that: " Under Article IV of the Agreement with Turkey of July 1947, your government is required to obtain United States' consent for the use of military assistance for purposes other than those for which such assistance was furnished...I must tell you in all candor that the United States cannot agree to the use of any United States supplied military equipment for Turkish intervention in Cyprus under present circumstances" in Jacob M. Landau, Johnson's 1964 Letter to İnönü and Greek Lobbying cited by James H. Meyer, "Policy Watershed: Turkey's Cyprus Policy and the Interventions of 1974" at <http://www.wws.princeton.edu/~cases>

member harmed Turkey's vital interests, Turkey should keep a low profile. Especially the limitation of using weapons was a vital and delicate issue for the Turkish army whose weapons and ammunitions were mostly American originated. Third, according to the letter if Turkey intervened in Cyprus without consulting the NATO members, NATO members would rethink to help Turkey in case of an attack from the SU.⁵⁶ Until then, Turkish leaders felt themselves secure under the NATO umbrella, but this letter arose doubts about the credibility of NATO. As a result, most of the people had begun to see Turkish-American alliance as a one-sided alliance, which progressed in line with American interests. As Geoffrey Lewis stated, "NATO looked like an organization which is established for saving the American interests rather than for a reciprocal assistance".⁵⁷ Only a decade earlier, Turkey had eagerly dispatched its troop Korea to assist the US but when the Cyprus issue came on the agenda, the US support failed. Consequently, this letter started the anti-Americanism era in Turkey, frustrated Turkish politicians who trusted America deeply and caused a widespread resentment in Turkish public opinion. Turkish policymakers, who saw their interest and those of the US as identical, realized the realities of international relations with this letter. On the other hand, at that time Turkish armed forces were ill equipped for a naval landing in Cyprus. Therefore, this letter had been used as an excuse for non-intervention⁵⁸ and saved Turkey from a probable failure as İnönü said to Alparslan Türkeş 'even if we lost diplomatically, this would not be as dangerous as a military defeat'.⁵⁹ Besides, after this letter, Turkey began to

⁵⁶ Johnson stated in the letter: "I hope you will understand that your allies have not had a chance to consider whether they have an obligation to protect Turkey against the soviet Union. If Turkey takes a step which results in Soviet intervention without the full consent and understanding of its NATO allies", in "President Johnson's Letter to İnönü", *Middle East Journal*, Vol.XX, (1966), p. 386. See also Haydar Tunçkanat, *İkili Anlaşmaların İçyüzü*, (Ekim Yayınları: Ankara, 1970), pp: 189-200 for the articles of the treaty that Johnson used for hindering Turkey's operation.

⁵⁷ Geoffrey Lewis, *Modern Turkey* cited in Burcu Bostanoğlu, *Türkiye-ABD İlişkilerinin Politikası*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2000), p. 442.

⁵⁸ In January 1964, opposition leaders asked İnönü at a private meeting what plans had been prepared for invading Cyprus, and the old man answered with military bluntness, 'none' ". in James A. Stegunga, *The UN Force in Cyprus* cited by Süha Bölükbaşı, "The Johnson Letter Revisited," *Middle Eastern Studies* 29:3 (1993), p. 521.

⁵⁹ Alparslan Türkeş, *Dış Politikamız ve Kıbrıs* cited in Süha Bölükbaşı, *op.cit.*, p. 521.

strengthen its relations with the Soviet Union. In September of 1967, Turkish Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel visited Moscow and stated Turkey's attitude to the SU: "I think we have entered a new era in our dealings with the Russians. As is known, there had been great strain between our countries over the years, and in the period after World War II we had no relations at all. Now that gap has been bridged; I am not suggesting that all doubts are gone, but I think the hostility is gone".⁶⁰

Although "American military presence has been positive in the sense that Turkey could never have played a deterrent role against potential Soviet aggression on its own without risking suicide"⁶¹, there arose problems with the American bases and personnel that led Turkish leaders and public to suspect Turkey's sovereignty was not being respected.

In 1958, USA had transported 1600 American soldiers from West Germany to İncirlik when it decided to disembark troops in Lebanon. But the strange point was that Americans "due to the need for haste in preparation of the force deployment" did not inform the Turkish authorities until after the military units had landed in İncirlik.⁶² Especially Turkish leftists had criticized US at that time. According to them, US was using the İncirlik air base without consulting Turkish administrators for non-NATO purposes which would eventually lead Turkey to an unwarranted war. Besides, "Turkish press was especially upset by the fact that West European and American newsmen were permitted to enter İncirlik to cover the operation, but Turkish newsmen were not".⁶³

Turkey permitted US forces to use U-2 planes for investigations which were situated in the İncirlik base. But when a U-2 plane had been shot down on Soviet air space in 1960, there appeared discussions about the real purpose of U-2 planes. After this event, the Soviet

⁶⁰ *Milliyet*, October 14, 1967 cited in James H. Meyer, "Policy Watershed: Turkey's Cyprus Policy and the Interventions of 1974" at <http://www.wws.princeton.edu/~cases>

⁶¹ Nur Bilge Criss, "US Forces in Turkey" in Simon W. Duke (ed), *US Military Forces in Europe*, (Oxford: Westview Press, 1992), p. 332.

⁶² Ayşegül Sever, *Soğuk Savaş Kuşatmasında Türkiye- Batı ve Ortadoğu*, (İstanbul: Boyut Yayınları, 1997), p.105.

leader Khrushchev had declared Turkey as the accomplice of USA. Again as in the Cuban Crisis, Turkey had come face to face with the SU. However, the Turkish administration did not exaggerate this event and blamed Khrushchev for his offensive statements. In addition, Americans were sending meteorology balloons to collect intelligence from the Soviet Union under the guise of scientific investigation. When the Soviets blamed Turkey for these balloons, the Turkish government tried to convince the Soviets that the flights of these balloons were vital for meteorology research.⁶⁴ But after the 1962 Cuban Crisis and the Johnson letter, again in 1965, an American RB-57 reconnaissance aircraft crashed into the Black Sea. After Soviet naval authorities informed Turkey about the crash, the US military mission insisted on investigating the accident unilaterally and a US destroyer tried to move toward to the wreck of the airplane but Turkish naval ships stopped it, claiming that such an investigation was Turkey's affair. The Turkish navy concluded that the accident took place because of technical reasons. As a result of this incident, the Demirel government banned U-2 reconnaissance flights from Turkish soil in 1965 but this ban did not prevent another incident in 1967.⁶⁵

“The various agreements gave US military personnel freedom from customs, duties, established jurisdiction of US military courts over most criminal activities and allowed US facilities, including clubs and exchanges, to operate free from Turkish taxes, rules or laws”.⁶⁶ The Anatolian territory, which has one of the richest natural, historical and cultural features, was exposed to an unprecedented antiquities smuggling due to the privileges that were

⁶³ George Harris, *op.cit.*, p. 166.

⁶⁴ James Bamford, ‘The Puzzle Palace Inside the National Security Agency, America’s Most Secret Intelligence Organization’ cited in Turan Yavuz, *Satılık Müttefik: Gizli Belgeler Işığında 1962 Küba Füze Krizi ve Türkiye*, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitapçılık, 1999), p. 62.

⁶⁵ Nur Bilge Criss, ‘US Forces in Turkey’ in Simon W. Duke (ed), *US Military Forces in Europe*, (Oxford: Westview Press, 1992), p. 349. See also Nur Bilge Criss, “A Short History of Anti-Americanism and Terrorism: The Turkish Case,” www.historycooperative.org/journals

⁶⁶ Ibid, p.45.

granted to American military personnel on the postal services.⁶⁷ In November 1959, an American lieutenant- colonel driving intoxicated had ran into a formation of the elite Presidential Guard, killing one soldier and injuring 11 others. The colonel was brought to trial in an American military court since he had been accepted to be on duty during the time of the accident. The court fined him \$1.200 and relieved him of duty for a time. But, the Turkish press and public did not consider this to be adequate punishment and began to criticize even the little offences that that had been committed by the US military personnel. Especially, Americans' tearing the Turkish flag and attacking Atatürk monuments were received negatively by the Turkish people and “ much of the public agitation in Turkey against US military presence has recalled the capitulations and often parallels have been drawn between the various privileges granted to US military personnel and the concessions granted to foreigners under the Ottomans”.⁶⁸

1.3.6. Poppy Problem

The poppy growing problem became acute when the US government began a campaign against the use of narcotics, which was mostly spread among its young people. In line with the campaign, the American governments put pressure on Turkey to decrease and prohibit poppy production, which turned into a crisis between the allies later.

Drug addiction had been one of the main problems in America in the beginning of the 1960s. The chief of BNDD (Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs) stated in 1970 that the number of drug addicts had increased twofold in 1969.⁶⁹ According to statistics, one third of American families were complaining about their children's heroin addiction.⁷⁰ For American authorities, the main problem was the entrance of heroin from abroad. BNND

⁶⁷ Mehmet Gönübol, Ömer Kürçüoğlu, “1965-1973 Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası,” in *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973* (Ankara: 1977), p. 551.

⁶⁸ Richard C. Company, *Turkey and the US: The Arms Embargo Period*, (New York: Praeger Publishers,1986), p.12.

⁶⁹ Wellman, “Drug Abuse: A challenge to US-Turkish cooperation in the Seventies,” cited in Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.*, p. 225.

indicated that %80 of the heroin, which was consumed illegally in the USA, was smuggled from Turkey. Therefore, Americans were claiming that without stopping the poppy production in Turkey, this problem would never end.

In order to support the US, Turkish government decreased the number of provinces that were permitted to produce poppy legally. The number of provinces that cultivated opium was 42 in 1960, 30 in 1962, 25 in 1964, 21 in 1967, 18 in 1961, 11 in 1969, 9 in 1970 and 7 in 1971. However, US officials had not been satisfied since they claimed that there had not been any reduction in the production of poppy although the number of provinces that cultivated opium had decreased from 42 to 7. American authorities did not hesitate to threaten Turkey with the economic embargo because of poppy production.⁷¹

According to the Turkish authorities, if Turkey prohibited poppy planting, this problem would not end. Because, as long as the drug demand continued to exist, it would be supplied in one way or another. Therefore, the drug addiction problem must be solved in the US, not in Turkey. In addition, there were also poppy producing states such as India, Pakistan, China, Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Thailand, and Laos. Marseille in France was the center of heroin smuggling but the US did not put pressure on France or the other states although Turkey did its best to help the US. Besides, plantation of poppy was the living source of Turkish farmers. In Afyon alone 100.000 Turkish families were engaged in farming opium.⁷² Ironically, at the same time the US was demanding from Turkey to decrease the punishment of the Americans who had violated the drug prohibitions in Turkey.⁷³

Despite the arguments above, in 1971 Prime Minister Nihat Erim, who was not an elected but appointed executive after the 1971 coup, eradicated opium cultivation ‘for humanitarian reasons’ and in exchange for this, the United States agreed to provide \$35

⁷⁰ Cüneyt Arcayürek, *Çankaya'ya Giden Yol* cited in Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.* , p. 226.

⁷¹ Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.* , p. 230.

⁷² Spain, “The United States, Turkey and the Poppy” cited in Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.* , p. 235.

⁷³ Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.* , p. 236.

million to compensate Turkish poppy growers' losses and to assist the Turkish government for other agricultural investments.⁷⁴ But, according to Turkish public opinion, prohibition symbolized Turkey's excessive dependence on the US. Ironically, after the prohibition of poppy in Turkey, there appeared opium scarcity for medical purposes in the world to a great extent and even Turkey was spending a lot of money to obtain opium. In addition, the US encouraged India to increase its poppy production to supply its demands. Eventually, Prime Minister Ecevit, who charged that Erim had acted against the best interests of Turkey by prohibiting opium cultivation, had been successful in the 1974 elections and lifted the ban on poppy growing. This action soured relations between the two countries. "On June 1974, the US State Department ordered the US ambassador to 'return for consultation' a traditional means of displaying official displeasure"⁷⁵ and "On 9 July 1974, Representative Lester Wolff introduced a bill to cut off aid to Turkey unless the opium ban was reinstituted".⁷⁶ Besides, some journalists in their articles gave advice to the US administration to bomb the poppy fields in Turkey.

Nevertheless, the Ecevit government took strict steps to hinder the illegal poppy traffic and the Turkish government was appreciated for its measures by the whole world. The UN made a formal declaration that welcomed the Turkish governments' endeavors. Moreover, American authorities also appreciated the efficient measures that Turkey took with the help of United States Drug Enforcement Administration (USDEA) and supplied financial aid to the Turkish administration.

As a consequence, in this problem, the US government ignored the supply and demand reality in opium, blamed Turkey as the culprit for the whole narcotics traffic and damaged relations. Because of America's threatening policies, Turkish leaders saw and

⁷⁴Dana Adams Schmidt, "Poppy Ban Cost to US Disclosed," cited in George Harris, *op.cit.*, p.197.

⁷⁵ *New York Times*, (7 May 1974) cited in Richard C. Company, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

⁷⁶ *New York Times*, (30 June 1974) cited in Richard C. Company, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

presented this problem to the Turkish people as a symbol of Turkish subservience to US interests, which put Turkey and the US at loggerheads.

1.3.7. Arms Embargo

As a retaliation to Turkey's intervention to avoid the total destruction and massacre of the Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus following the Greek-junta supported coup, the US Congress placed an embargo on transferring military equipment to Turkey, claiming that American-supplied military equipment had been used against US law during the Cyprus operation. Besides, some members of the US Congress claimed that Turkey lost its strategic and military value in the age of intelligence satellites and strategic missiles and Turkey was not a necessary ally as in the 1950s, because of "détente" with the Soviet Union and rapprochement with the Arab countries. In other words, Turkey had become expandable.⁷⁷ Though some realist policy makers opposed⁷⁸, the administration failed to convince the Congress, which was deeply affected by the Greek- American lobby, and advocated the 'rule of law', against about the dangers involved in the loss of Turkish friendship and in treating it as an underdog compared to Greece.⁷⁹ However, Turkish officials had strictly opposed the US for breaking the defense treaty and they accepted it as a hostile manner to Turkey's national security. As a response, the Turkish government declared in 1975 that all previous bilateral defense arrangements lost their legal validity and Turkish Armed Forces had taken the control of NATO/US bases until the embargo was lifted in 1978. After the embargo, the strategic importance of the US and NATO bases in Turkey had increased with North Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia with Soviet support, and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan⁸⁰ and despite the instability in the Gulf area (Iran-Iraq war and the Iranian revolution) during the

⁷⁷ Şükrü Elekdağ, "The Future of Turkish-USA Relations," *Foreign Policy* vol.11 (Ankara:1984),p. 12.

⁷⁸ When "The democrats carefully detailed the various legal armaments supporting their call for termination of arms to Turkey, Kissinger's reply to these arguments was simple: there are times when the national interest is more than law" in Paul Y.Watanabe, *Ethnic Groups, Congress and American Foreign Policy: The Politics of the Turkish Arms Embargo*, (London: Greenwood Press, 1984), p.117.

⁷⁹ Seyfi Taşhan, "Turkish-US Relations and Cyprus," *Turkish Foreign Policy* Vol: 4 (Ankara:1974), p.177.

1980s, Turkey resisted the use of the bases for rapid deployment operations, creating frustration for US policymakers.⁸¹ In addition, the arms embargo hindered the US from collecting intelligence, which was vital for the USA and weakened the Turkish NATO forces, which contained the Soviet army in the southern flank of NATO.⁸²

Therefore, the costs of this embargo against Turks outweighed the benefits and the US senate annulled the embargo in 26 July 1978, but Turkish- American relations had stagnated severely in this period. The arms embargo showed the importance of national defense industry, which had been mostly dependent on a single source, namely the US and stimulated Turkish leaders to diversify sources of supply for its armed forces to make them less dependent on American equipment. On the other hand, although Turkish defense industry was developed as a reaction to American arms embargo, three big public tenders had been won by American firms- airplane with Lockheed Martin , MLRS (Multiple Launch Rocket System) with Enca&Ln and armed vehicles with FMC - soon after the US cancelled the embargo⁸³ due to Turkey`s established military system.

In 1974, the US found Turkey`s intervention in Cyprus which Turkey undertook to protect the Turkish Cypriots in accordance with the 1960 Guarantee Treaty, which was signed by Greece, England and Turkey, unjustified and applied an arms embargo. But if American policies are examined today (by alleging that the lives of a few hundred students were endangered if it had not refrained from invading Grenada, under the pretext of introducing democracy, landed troops on the territory of Haiti, bombed Afghanistan and Sudan holding Bin laden responsible for the bomb attacks against embassies in Africa,

⁸⁰ Burcu Bostanoğlu, *Türkiye-ABD İlişkilerinin Politikası*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2000), p. 465.

⁸¹ Kemal Kirişçi, "Ambivalent Allies", in Barry Rubin and Thomas Keaney (eds), *US Allies in A Changing World*, (London: Frank Cass,2001), p. 119.

⁸² Richard C. Company, *op.cit.* , p. 77.

⁸³ See for more detailed information Deniz Som, *Gözleri Bağlı Şahin*, (İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi,1989), pp: 40-42.

bombed Libya for producing chemical weapons), the arms embargo that US enforced in the past seems incoherent and unjustified.⁸⁴

1.3.8. Gulf War

If the general situation in the region is examined before the Gulf Crisis, it is clearly seen that there was a *de facto* military alliance with Iraq and the USA. In the 1980s, the US supported Iraq without any condition or restriction against its foe Iran. Iraqi Armed Forces were armed by America with the latest technological weapons. As a result the US created a monster in the Middle East. After Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1991, the balances changed. Saddam Hussein dominated huge oil reserves in the region. Oil prices increased twofold. This urged the US to enforce strict measures as embargo and military intervention. The US, during the Operation Desert Storm, tested its latest technological weapons, damaged the military power of Iraq, improved its leadership image in the world and almost expunged the Vietnam syndrome from the minds of the American people. Turkey, as a loyal ally, permitted the US to use the İncirlik base and supported UN sanctions by closing the Kerkuk-Yumurtalık oil pipeline. Although, Turkey supported the US willingly, it has suffered much because of this war. First, the US declared a safe zone on the north of the 36th parallel and there emerged a lack of authority. Therefore, with encouragement of the Americans, Kurdish people revolted and the Iraqi administration suppressed this rebellion in 1991, which caused the accumulation of Kurdish people on Turkey's southern borders. Turkey had several vital reasons for opposing the Kurdish immigration. This refugee onslaught was an economic burden on Turkey that lost million dollars in the crisis by closing the pipeline. Besides, most of the refugees were PKK (Kurdistan Worker Party) members or sympathizers. But, Turkey in order to be politically correct accepted the refugees. Second, PKK was empowered because of the vacuum of authority in Northern Iraq. While Turkey was advocating Iraq's territorial

⁸⁴ Main Issues, a booklet published by Turkish General Staff cited in Cengiz Çandar, "Some Turkish Perspectives on the US," in Morton Abrowitz (ed), *Turkey's Transformation and American Policy*, (New York:

integrity, the US preferred a united Kurdish front in Northern Iraq to pressure Saddam.⁸⁵ The third problem was the (RDF) Rapid Deployment Force, which was established by the US to secure the safe area in Northern Iraq. But according to serious claims, RDF supplied advanced weapons to PKK, treated the wounded terrorists, hanged the photograph of the PKK leader in its headquarters, made secret flights and conducted intelligence activities without informing the Turkish authorities.⁸⁶ When Turkey attempted to terminate RDF, the US Congress sent a message to Turkey in 1992, “If you do not prolong the duty time of RDF, we can fill this vacuum by giving weapons to Kurds”.⁸⁷

If Turkish states are analyzed, it is seen that internal threats had been more effective than external threats in the collapse of Turkish states. One of the major reasons for the collapse of the Ottoman Empire was the nationalist ideas which had been materialized with the Greek independence. Like in the past, the threat that Turkey faces now is the separatist ideas which are incited by the Western powers under the guise of freedom, and due to its experiences in the past, Turkey is very sensitive to separatist ideas in Southeast Anatolia. Turkey enthusiastically advocates the territorial integrity of Iraq and sees any change in Northern Iraq contradictory to its vital interests. The Turkish government fears that Iraq will disintegrate, and that will lead to the creation of an independent Kurdish entity in Northern Iraq, which will augment their problem with the Kurdish population in Turkey. Thus, Turkey showed its determination by deploying military troops in Northern Iraq.

Turkish security oriented policymakers equated American policy on the federated Kurdish state in Northern Iraq with policies of victorious powers that aimed to divide the

The Century Foundation Press, 2000), p. 136.

⁸⁵ The US policy can be seen clearly in the statement of a retired Turkish Colonel; “The United States, under the pretext of protecting human rights, is assisting the formation of a Kurdish state in northern Iraq which will eventually demand land from Turkey” in Mehmet Kocaoğlu, *Uluslararası İlişkiler Işığında Ortadoğu*, (Ankara:Genelkurmay Basımevi,1995), p.323.

⁸⁶ Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.*, pp: 297-300.

⁸⁷ Turan Yavuz, ABD’nin Kürt Kartı cited in Nasuh Uslu,*op.cit.*, p. 330.

remaining Ottoman Empire into small states and occupation zones by the unratified and virtual Sévres Treaty in 1920, and viewed the US through the lens of the ‘Sévres Phobia’, that is, as an enemy state rather than an old strategic ally.⁸⁸

Despite fluctuations in Turkish-American relations, this alliance remained quite strong in the international arena for several reasons. First, the US has been the main supporter of Turkey in the economic and military domain. Second, this alliance was the concrete symbol of the Westernization policy of Turkey. Third, Turkey felt more secure under the NATO umbrella. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, for the first time in centuries, Turkey and Russia no longer share a border but Turkish and Russian interests overlap in areas such as the Caucasus and Central Asia. Though Russia is accepted as a *risk* rather than a *threat* like in the cold war in Turkish military planning, NATO continues to be the cornerstone of Turkey's defense and security policy against Russia, which possesses a huge army compared to Turkey and which, is a nuclear-power with a credible nuclear deterrent. Fourth, the US as the lone hyper-power needs a credible and trustworthy ally in the region as Turkey unlike Iran, Iraq, Syria, the Russian Federation... to carry out its geopolitical responsibilities and never wishes Turkey to be a ‘rogue state’. As Britain is the most reliable ally in Europe, Turkey is the most reliable ally of US in the vast Islamic world.⁸⁹ Turkey is a strong, stable and trustworthy partner that sits at the juncture of the unstable regions; Balkans, the Caucasus and the Middle East. In the Cold War, the US wanted Turkey as part of its containment policy, as a secure area for bases and installations to support its activities in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, to maintain stability on NATO's southern front and to maintain US economic interests. In the Cold War, Turkey had found itself in the middle of the superpower contest mostly because of its geographic location and had been an important

⁸⁸ Kemal Kirişci, *op.cit.*, p. 127.

⁸⁹ Steve Rosen, “Turkey's Emerging Role In The New War Against Terrorism,” available at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/af/secure.htm>

strategic ally for the US as a stabilization factor in the region⁹⁰. But, “many people speculated that with the end of the Cold War, the strategic importance of the Turkish-American partnership has diminished, but they had ignored that even the political environment changes geography remains the same and overlooked Turkey’s ability to influence events in the Middle East and Eurasia”.⁹¹ Moreover, as long as the Middle East region continues to be a ‘boiling cauldron’, the US will need bases in Turkey for a Middle East contingency like the Gulf War. Similar to the Great Power diplomacy toward the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century when Great Powers had aimed to prevent a drastic change in the Middle Eastern political order, Turkey played a significant role for Western interests in the Gulf War, Turkey’s vigorous support of the coalition has increased its geo-strategic importance which had begun to fade with the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the Gulf War, Turkey by its policies –allowing the use of the İncirlik airbase by US warplanes and supporting the economic embargo- had proved that it is and it will be a worthy strategic partner of the US. Today Turkey continues to be an indispensable element in NATO since according to NATO evaluations, 13 of the 16 potential crisis scenarios are anticipated in the vicinity of Turkey.⁹² Besides, Turkey has the largest armed forces among the European allies and comes second after the USA in NATO. In addition, after the September 11 attacks, Turkey as a secular Muslim country, which fought against terrorism seriously in the last decade, consolidated its strategic importance and struggle against terrorism brought two allies to a common point. “Especially after September 11 attacks it is more clearly seen that Turkey can offer the US support in a range of areas where Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States are either unable or reluctant to assist”.⁹³ In addition, Turkey has purchased billions of dollars worth of U.S.

⁹⁰ US Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Turkey's Problems and Prospects. Implications for US Interests in Richard C. Company, *op.cit.*, p.12.

⁹¹ Ian.O.Lesser, In Search of a Post-Cold War Role at www.tusiad.org/yayin/private/autumn_97/html/lesser.html.

⁹² ‘Turkey's Security Perspectives and Its Relations with NATO’ at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/af/secure.htm>.

⁹³ Steven A. Cook, “US-Turkey relations and The War On Terrorism,” available at http://www.brookings.edu/views/articles/fellows/2001_cook.htm. This fact was also emphasized by President

military equipment over the years and continues to be one of the ten biggest emerging markets for U.S. military exports.⁹⁴ The two countries share common objectives and there are numerous areas where the interests of the US and Turkey converge as encouraging the development of democratic pro-Western regimes and free-market economy in the Caucasus and Central Asia, establishing non-Russian/non-Islamic lines of communication for the newly independent states of Eurasia, curbing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, preventing the accumulation of weapons in the hands of the irresponsible states and illicit trafficking of narcotic drugs, expanding NATO's membership, opposing terrorism, securing oil reserves in the Caspian and Gulf, opening of new oil pipeline routes in the Caucasus, preventing the rebuilding of the Russian Empire, supporting Israel and the Middle East Peace Process. And as America's war on terrorism expands, Turkey will play a critical role in obtaining intelligence facilities and over-flight rights throughout the region.⁹⁵ The factors stated above, brought these two NATO allies even closer during the past decade and this alliance continues to be the cornerstone of Turkish foreign policy. If both sides try to understand their difficulties and challenges as Chief of Staff General Edward C. Meyer did⁹⁶, this alliance will strengthen day by day.

In the post-Cold War era, Turkey is trying to diversify its relations with the USA in the technological, educational, political, economic and commercial domains. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the South Caucasus presented several opportunities in the political, economic and military domains to the US as the unique superpower of the world,

Clinton: "A democratic, secular, stable and western-oriented Turkey has supported US efforts to enhance stability in Bosnia, the NIS and the Middle East, as well as to contain Iran and Iraq. Its continued ties to the West and its support for our overall strategic objectives in one of the world's most sensitive regions is critical" in Uğur Akıncı, "White House: Turkey should remain secular, pro-West," *Turkish Daily News*, 22 May 1997.

⁹⁴ Christopher H. Smith's statement in the panel of Turkey-United States Relations: Potential and Peril at http://www.house.gov/csce/Turkey_USRelations.html

⁹⁵ Donald M. MacWillie, "The Increasing importance of Turkey for US Security," available at https://carlisle-www.army.mil/srp/ex_paper/MacWillie%5FD%5FM%5F02%2Epdf

⁹⁶ In 1989 US General Edward C. Meyer said: "To understand Turkey one must keep in mind that it lives in a bad neighborhood. No other NATO ally faces as many threats, problems and challenges right across its doorstep" in Ömer Karasapan, op.cit., p. 6.

and to Turkey as a regional power with its ethnic ties with the newly independent states (NIS) of the South Caucasus. It is seen that, while Turkey's interests intersect with Russia in the Caucasus, they are harmonious with the US to a great degree. In the second chapter, the general political, economic and military situation in the South Caucasus will be examined to better understand the convergences and divergences in the alliance in that region.

CHAPTER 2

2. THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AFTER 1989

The South Caucasus region, which includes Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, borders Turkey, Iran, the Black and Caspian Seas, and Russia's northern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains. Due to its geographic location, the South Caucasus states served as a north-south and east-west trade and transport "land bridge" linking Europe to the Middle East and Asia.⁹⁷ In this chapter, the general political, economic and military situation in the South Caucasian states that faced enormous difficulties in enhancing their national security, implementing the process of state building and improving their economic situation after the dissolution of Soviet Union will be explained. While examining political issues, factors that affect political stability such as ethnic conflicts, the influence of Russia in the internal affairs of these states to establish its respective dominance in the region, as well as democratization and state-building efforts of these states will be illustrated. Besides, economic issues, which are vital for the independence of these states as oil and gas reserves and export routes, will be discussed. In addition, the challenges to the NIS in establishing their own military forces will be touched upon. These states' attempts in building strong national armies and efforts in diminishing the effect of Russian military structure in their military units will be examined.

After the break-up of the Soviet Union, all the NIS have experienced a difficult state-building and independence process. Compared with the other states, the Caucasian states' path to independence was more tenacious than the others because of being surrounded by three major powers; Russia, Turkey and Iran and the internal specific characteristics of these states. Therefore, independence for these states did not initially provide political stability nor

⁹⁷ Jim Nichol and Julie Kim "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests," at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

a strong state to handle the problems. Below, the events that occurred in the South Caucasian states; Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia after the Cold War, will be presented in a chronological order from the political, economic and military viewpoints as mentioned above.

2.1. Georgia⁹⁸



Georgia is bounded in the west by the Black Sea and south by Turkey, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Its area is 69,700 sq. km and its population was 5,316,000 in 1997. Its population is the most heterogeneous in the region, containing Azerbaijani, Armenians, Russians, Abkhaz, Ossets the last both of whom have separatist ideas. According to the 1989 census, Georgians 70.1%, Armenians 8.1%, 6.3% Russians, 5.7% Azerbaijanis, 3% Ossetians, 1.9% Greeks, 1.8% Abkhazians and Ukrainians accounted for %1 of the population.⁹⁹ Georgia is a fertile country but it is dependent on imports of crucial staples such as grain, meat, and sugar from the other former Soviet Republics and most of its trade passes through rail and road links that lie across Abkhazia and through Azerbaijan. Georgia is also dependent on energy supplies from Azerbaijan, Russia and Turkmenistan. Its economic weaknesses and complex

⁹⁸ The map of Georgia is available at http://www.geographyiq.com/countries/gg/Georgia_map_flag_geography.htm

domestic setting had always been utilized by Russia to establish its hegemony over Georgia. However, despite the complexity of the geopolitical environment and the lack of domestic political and financial resources, Georgia endeavors to be a genuine independent and a strong state mostly with the aid of international community.¹⁰⁰

2.1.1. Internal conflicts and their effects on Georgia's political stability

In October 1990, a national movement came to power in Georgia with the nationalist Georgian leader Zviad Gamsakhurdia after the SU disintegrated, Georgia was the first Caucasian state that declared full independence on 9 April 1991. Then, Gamsakhurdia accepted the 1918-constitution, which did not recognize the existence of autonomous republics in Georgia. That decision of Gamsakhurdia had been the main reason of the conflicts that arose later in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Besides, the Georgian government declared Georgia as an 'occupied country' and the Soviet military as 'occupiers'. Therefore, the Georgian parliament requested the withdrawal of Soviet troops and in January 1991, it decided to set up its own military force, the National Guard. In November 1991 the Georgian administration began nationalizing the Soviet military equipment in the country.¹⁰¹

Gamsakhurdia appointed Tengiz Kitovani as chief of the National Guard. However, the disagreements between Gamsakhurdia and Tengiz Kitovani, such as the status of the National Guard in the government, destroyed the friendship between two leaders. As a result, Gamsakhurdia ordered the disbanding of the guard and its tighter subordination to the Ministry of International Affairs, but Kitovani did not obey the orders. Besides, Gamsakhurdia's refusal to join the CIS and his readiness to lend aid to the Chechen

⁹⁹ Barry Turner (ed), *The Statesman's Yearbook 2003*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.684.

¹⁰⁰ Over the past ten years Georgia has received more than \$1.5 billion from international donors. The United States has provided more than \$800 million, making Georgia among the largest per capita global recipients of US foreign aid. Other major donors include Germany, Great Britain, Netherlands, Turkey, France and Italy. In addition very large sums have been loaned by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the European Union, Archil Gegeshidze, "A Strategic Vision for Georgia," at www.internationalreports.net/cis/georgia/2002/1/astrategic.html

nationalist movements aggravated Georgian-Russian relations¹⁰² and Kitovani, with Russian support¹⁰³ and Gamsakhurdia's political opponents, overthrew Gamsakhurdia in December 1991.¹⁰⁴

In January 1992, the Georgian Military Council which came to power after the coup, decided to improve relations with Russia and withdrew the law labeling Soviet forces as 'occupiers'. As a *quid pro quo*, by the end of May, Pavel Grachev, the Russian Minister of Defense recommended to the parliament that some military equipment should be handed over to Georgia.¹⁰⁵ At that time Georgii¹⁰⁶ Eduard Shevardnadze, Gorbachev's former foreign minister, was elected president of Georgia. Georgians hoped that Shevardnadze with his personal prestige and experience would handle the problems that undermined the political and economic stability such as economic decline, ethnic problems, rising anti-Georgian separatism, political fragmentation and make Georgia a viable nation state. However, after he came to the power, conflict in South Ossetia broke out.¹⁰⁷ At that time Russia's objective was to retain a stable Georgia within a Russian sphere of vital interest as a bulwark against instability in the North Caucasus and in the Transcaucasus. Therefore, Russia tried to exploit that conflict. Shevardnadze, due to the political instability and military weaknesses of

¹⁰¹ *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, 16 November 1991, cited in Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 176.

¹⁰² Jonathan Aves, "Security and Military Issues in the Transcaucasus," in (ed) Bruce Parrott, *State Building and Military Power in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), p. 226.

¹⁰³ Russia clearly supported the opposition and provided it with ammunition and 65 million rubles. See Rafik Osman-Ogly Kurbanov and Erjan Rafik-Ogly Kurbanov, "Religion and Politics in the Caucasus," in (ed) Michael Bourdeaux, *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), p. 238.

¹⁰⁴ Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 179.

¹⁰⁵ *BBC SWB*, 1 June 1992, cited in Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 176.

¹⁰⁶ As a result of baptism, the Catholicos of Georgia, Ilia II who supported the opposition against Gamsakhurdia's forces, gave the name Georgii to Eduard Shevardnadze. See Rafik Osman-Ogly Kurbanov and Erjan Rafik-Ogly Kurbanov, "Religion and Politics in the Caucasus," in (ed) Michael Bourdeaux, *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), p. 239.

¹⁰⁷ When Georgian nationalism had extended all over Georgia, as a response, South Ossetia declared sovereignty in September 1990. Then, the Georgian government required by abolishing the autonomy of South

Georgia, was compelled to make serious concessions towards Russia concerning the stationing of Russian troops in Georgia. Unlike Gamsakhurdia, Shevardnadze understood that Georgia had to take into account the interests of Russia to neutralize its negative impacts and therefore signed the Dagomys agreement on 24 June 1992 which led to the settlement of Russian peacekeeping forces in South Ossetia.¹⁰⁸ This agreement also warranted that Georgia would continue to take the share of equipment from the Soviet Armed Forces in accordance with Tashkent CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) Summit decisions which were agreed upon in July 1992. However, people of the other races in the Caucasus saw the relationship between Russia and Georgia as a Christian-inspired alliance and as an impediment to ethnoterritorial unification and political self-determination.¹⁰⁹

However, in the autumn of 1992 relations between Georgia and Russia deteriorated with the Abkhazia conflict in Georgia. In the past, Abkhazia was independent, dependent on tsarist Russia, part of an independent North Caucasus Confederation, a republic of the Soviet Union, and an autonomous republic of Georgia.¹¹⁰ Encouraged by Mikhail Gorbachev's *Perestroika*, in March 1989 thirty thousand Abkhazians had signed a petition demanding the restoration of a sovereign Abkhazia. But Georgia had reacted negatively and established a branch of Tbilisi University at Skhumi to consolidate Georgian power and influence.¹¹¹ Disputes between Abkhazians and the Georgian government continued until Shevardnadze came to power in Georgia. Shevardnadze achieved international recognition of Georgia, which implied the inclusion of Abkhazia in Georgia. Nevertheless, in June 1992, the

Ossetia and skirmishes began between Georgia and South Ossetia. See Anna Matveeva, *The North Caucasus: Russia's Fragile Borderland*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1999), p.39.

¹⁰⁸ Bruno Coppieters, "Form and Content in Soviet and Post-Soviet Nationality and Regional Policies," in (eds) Michael Waller, Bruno Coppieters and Alexei Malashenko, *Conflicting Loyalties and the State in Post-Soviet Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1998), p.12.

¹⁰⁹ Henry R. Huttenbach, "Chaos in Post-Soviet Caucasia, Crossroads of Empires: In Search of a US Foreign Policy," in (ed) John W. Blaney, *The Successor States to the USSR*, (Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1995), p.227.

¹¹⁰ Gueorgui Otyrba, "War in Abkhazia: The Regional Significance of the Georgian-Abkhazian Conflict," in (ed) Roman Szporluk, *National Identity and Ethnicity in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York: M.E.Sharpe, 1994), p.282.

Abkhazian president sent a draft treaty to the Georgian State Council that there must be a confederative or federative relation between Georgia and Abkhazia and the territorial integrity of Georgia must be preserved. But the Georgian parliament did not reply to this draft treaty and the problem stagnated for a while. On 12 August 1992, the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet again sent an appeal to Shevardnadze to negotiate on the status of Abkhazia but two days later, the Georgian State Council made a decision to send units of National Guard to the Abkhazian capital, Sukhumi. According to the Georgian government, these troops were going to stop the sabotage activities especially on the railway line and search for the Georgian officials who were kidnapped by supporters of the former Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and it was Georgia's sovereign right to settle its troops within its territory. As for Abkhazian officials, sabotage activities also occurred in other parts of Georgia and hostages were not in Abkhazia. Therefore, they claimed that these reasons were pretexts to impose military control over Georgia. Besides, Abkhazian officials put forward that military units could not be brought into the Autonomous Abkhazian Republic without the consent of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet. Although, Shevardnadze sent Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani to find the kidnappers, Tengiz Kitovani defied orders – as Shevardnadze claimed – and marched into Sukhumi.¹¹² Finally, Georgian troops with the support of tanks¹¹³ and helicopters in a short time without meeting any important resistance, took control of Sukhumi and declared that Abkhazian Supreme Soviet was dissolved. Four days later, the Georgian Army with fresh reinforcements, took the strategically important city of Gagra, close to the Russian border.¹¹⁴ Although, Tengiz Kitovani was able to conquer the whole of Abkhazian territory, he permitted the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet retain control over Gudauta between

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 286.

¹¹² Catherine Dale, "The Case of Abkhazia," in (eds) Lena Johnson and Clive Archer, *Peacekeeping and the Role of Russia in Eurasia*, (Colorado: Westview Press, 1995), p. 123.

¹¹³ Just before the war broke out in Abkhazia, Russian federation transferred tanks and heavy arms to the Georgian National Guard in accordance with the Tashkent agreement. See Pavel Baev, *Russia's Policies in the Caucasus*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997), p. 25.

Sukhumi and Gagra which proved later a serious military mistake.¹¹⁵ On 3 September 1992, a cease-fire was signed between the Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Eduard Shevardnadze and the Abkhazian President Vladislav Ardzinba. These leaders agreed on the territorial integrity of Georgia, withdrawal of all illegal armed forces in Abkhazia and the reduction of Georgian armed forces. However, after that, Abkhazian leaders asserted that Georgians did not withdraw troops as agreed and began to violate the cease-fire. At the beginning of October 1992, war again broke out in Abkhazia and Georgian forces began to suffer defeat. At that time Defense Minister, Pavel Grachev, sent Russian troops to Gudauta -as he said- to evacuate some 12.000 tourists and other citizens but that operation effectively cut off Kitovani's vanguard in Gagra and gave Abkhazian militias an opportunity to capture Gagra.¹¹⁶ Then, on 3 October 1992, Georgia lost the Gagra province against Abkhazian fighters. Georgian officials blamed Russia for its assistance to the Abkhaz forces and the Georgian parliament passed a law that nationalized all Soviet military equipment on its territory. However, Abkhazia continued to gain victories in the battlefield against Georgians with the help of the local Russian commanders in Abkhazia and with the help of volunteers from the North Caucasus.¹¹⁷ After defeats, Georgians understood that they had to accumulate more forces to defeat the Abkhaz. Although Georgia massed a large army, there was no coordination among them. For example, in Sukhumi there were several military contingents "Kitovani's guard, Ioseliani's Mkhedrioni, Karkarashvili's special combat unit, Akhalaia's

¹¹⁴ Gueorgui Otyrba, *op.cit.*, pp:287-289.

¹¹⁵ Pavel Baev, *Russia's Policies in the Caucasus*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997), p. 44.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. p. 45.

¹¹⁷ Confederation of Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus (CMPC) had been an important factor in the victory of the Abkhaz. CMPC is not a confederation of states or governments. It represents the North Caucasian peoples who are individually not able to protect themselves. For this reason, Abkhazia case was an important test for the North Caucasian people. According to CMPC, future attacks on the North Caucasian people will be discouraged, if the aggressors as Georgia took severe lessons and serious casualties from the Abkhaz war. See Gueorgui Otyrba, "War in Abkhazia: The Regional Significance of the Georgian-Abkhazian Conflict," in (ed) Roman Szporluk, *National Identity and Ethnicity in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York: M.E.Sharpe, 1994), p. 293.

military police, a battalion of Afghani soldiers and people's volunteer corps".¹¹⁸ On the other hand, Abkhazians organized their armed forces and this enabled them to gain victory. Besides, though Grachev denied accusations of Russian involvement in the conflict, claiming that these were Georgian planes painted with Russian markings, the downing of a Russian SU-27 airplane flown by Russian Major Shipko on 19 March 1993, confirmed active Russian military assistance.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, at that time, Grachev urged Georgian forces to withdraw from Sukhumi and new Russian troops arrived in Abkhazia on June 2, 1993 to consolidate Russia's presence along the Black Sea shore and to mediate a cease-fire between Georgia and Abkhazia. Besides, there had been several aerial attacks on Georgian targets although Abkhazia had no air forces. At that time, the UN also got involved in the conflict, with the aim of finding a peaceful settlement. In July 1993, UN approved Resolution 849 which provided for the deployment of UN military observers and in August 1993 a small UN observer mission (UNOMIG) was established in Georgia. While diplomatic efforts were increasing to end the conflict, Abkhazians were building up their forces.¹²⁰ By June 25, tension again increased in the region and bitter fighting started. At that time, by the end of September 1993, the supporters of Gamsakhurdia also launched attacks on western Georgia to destabilize the government of Shevardnadze.¹²¹ On 27 September, Abkhazian forces captured Sukhumi and Georgian forces retrieved from Abkhazia. Although Georgia did not have an interest in political, economic and military integration with Russia, Eduard Shevardnadze needed Russia for stability required to rebuild the country. Then, Shevardnadze who was under severe pressure because of the economic decline, the situation in Abkhazia, the hostile

¹¹⁸ Gueorgui Otyrba, *op.cit.*, p. 303.

¹¹⁹ Catherine Dale, "The Case of Abkhazia," in (eds) Lena Johnson and Clive Archer, *Peacekeeping and the Role of Russia in Eurasia*, (Colorado: Westview Press, 1995), p. 126.

¹²⁰ Pavel Baev, *Russia's Policies in the Caucasus*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997), p. 46.

¹²¹ Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 180. See also Henry R. Huttenbach, "Chaos in Post-Soviet Caucasus, Crossroads of Empires: In Search of a US Foreign Policy," in (ed) John W. Blaney, *The Successor States to the USSR*, (Washington D.C: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1995), p. 227.

manners of Gamsakhurdia's supporters and the growing unrest in the ethnic clans, decided to cooperate with Russia to avoid the complete collapse of Georgia and his governance. As a result, on 22 October 1993, he signed the CIS agreement and one day later, on 23 October agreed to a Russian peacekeeping operation with a CIS mandate under UN observation.¹²² In February 1994, Boris Yeltsin traveled to Tbilisi and held a meeting about military cooperation between two states with Shevardnadze.¹²³ After that visit, Russia began to assist Georgia in the establishment of a new unified army and in April 1994, Lieutenant-General Vardiko Nadibaidze (an ethnically Georgian general in the Russian army who could barely speak Georgian), was appointed minister of defense in Georgia.¹²⁴ Besides, Russia began to put pressure on Abkhazia to accept the return of Georgian refugees, to agree to a federation with Georgia and Russia,¹²⁵ and also put an embargo on Abkhazia. Because of this embargo, Abkhazia could only establish communication abroad by the capital Skhumi through Turkey, but this path was later blockaded by the Russian ships.¹²⁶ In May 1994, Russia sent its troops to observe the cease-fire between Abkhazia and Georgia. Although Georgia was hoping to make a federative arrangement with Abkhazia with the support of Russia and international organizations, on 26 November 1994 the Abkhaz parliament adopted an Abkhaz constitution and elected Vladislav Ardzinba as president.¹²⁷ In December 1994, Russia made an agreement with Tbilisi on the maintenance of four military bases in Georgia for 25 years and on Russian patrols on the Georgian-Turkish border.¹²⁸ Besides, in the same year an

¹²² Pavel Baev, *op.cit.*, p. 47. Catherine Dale, *op.cit.*, p. 128.

¹²³ Dov Lynch, *Russian Peacekeeping Strategies in the CIS: The Cases of Moldova, Georgia and Tajikistan* (New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000), p. 131.

¹²⁴ *Georgian Chronicle*, October 1993, cited in Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 184.

¹²⁵ *Reuters*, 23 August 1995, cited in Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 184.

¹²⁶ *Orta Asya ve Kafkasya'daki Durum ve Avrupa Güvenliği Konulu Batı Avrupa Birliği Asamblesi Raporu*, (43. Oturum/Doküman 1586/ 19 Kasım 1997), p. 43.

¹²⁷ Catherine Dale, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

¹²⁸ Roy Allison, "Introduction," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 18.

OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) mission was established in Georgia to facilitate negotiations between Georgia and South Ossetia, under Russian auspices.¹²⁹ In addition, when the war broke out in Chechnya, Shevardnadze supported the integrity of the Russian state. By this way, Shevardnadze aimed to receive the support of Russia in the Abkhazia conflict. Besides, he was suspecting assistance from the Chechen militias to Abkhazian guerrillas. In addition, Chechen leaders accused Georgia of permitting the use military bases in Georgia to launch attacks on Chechen targets.¹³⁰ While this war put Georgia and Chechnya at loggerheads, it brought Georgia and Russia closer. However, after the Russian-Chechen peace treaty, which was signed in May 1997, Georgian-Chechen relations began to improve. Aslan Maskhadov, the Chechen president, to consolidate Chechnya's position in its struggle against Russia for complete independence, tried to develop contacts with Georgia. Shevardnadze hoping to prevent the Chechen fighters from getting involved in the Abkhazia conflict, tried to ameliorate relations with Chechnya. In June 1997, Shevardnadze took a guarantee from Maskhadov of Chechen military neutrality and political support in the Abkhazia conflict.¹³¹ The political solution in Abkhazia seems difficult since Abkhazian authorities reject the arrival of the Georgians in Abkhazia. Abkhazian officials are aware that if they give permission to the return of Georgians with full political rights as Georgian citizens, the Abkhaz will once again be a minority in their own land and their gains of war will be lost to sheer demographics.¹³² After the cease-fire between Georgia and Abkhazia, there did not occur a big dispute except the six days¹³³ war and silence dominates

¹²⁹ Nevertheless, the final political status of South Ossetia remains unresolved.

¹³⁰ Roy Allison, "The Chechnya Conflict: Military and Security Policy Implications," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 265.

¹³¹ Ibid. p. 265, V.A. Tişkov, E.İ. Filippova, *Eski Sovyet Ülkelerinde Etnik İlişkiler ve Sorunlar*, (Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2001), p. 80.

¹³² Available at Jared Feinberg, "Armed forces in Georgia," <http://www.cdi.org/issues/Europe/gastudy.pdf>

¹³³ On 18 May 1998, Georgian guerrillas attacked an Abkhaz guard post, killing 17 men. For the next six days, a small war was fought around the Georgian-populated Gali district in Abkhazia. The fighting took place primarily between Abkhaz forces and two Georgian guerrilla groups, the White Legion and the Forest Brothers. Then both sides returned to their former position. The result was that 30,000 to 40,000 civilians from the Gali region were

relations between two nations up to present. However, the repatriation of Georgian refugees remain a major obstacle in Georgian-Abkhaz relations.

Unlike Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the other autonomous republic, Ajaria, does not have severe problems with Georgia. The majority of the population of Ajaria is Muslim, unlike the rest of Georgia. However, Ajarian people are ethnically Georgian and thus the leader of Ajaria, Aslan Abashidze became a mediator between Georgian factions.¹³⁴ The province cooperates with Tbilisi in a number of areas, especially on economic matters. Ajaria's Black Sea port of Batumi is significant for oil exportation. Today, despite some problems, Ajaria as one of the more economically prosperous provinces of Georgia, and remains politically loyal to Tbilisi.¹³⁵

While Georgia focused on its internal affairs, its neighbors; Armenia and Azerbaijan were at war in the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave. Georgia preferred to pursue a non-involvement policy in that case, but the Armenians in Georgia had been a problem for the Georgian government. Since the independence of Georgia, the Akhalkalaki district, where the Armenians constitute 91.3 percent of the population, resisted the authority of Tbilisi. Akhalkalaki Armenians refused to serve in the Georgian army in 1992-1995 and even some took part in the Nagorno-Karabakh war. Besides, Akhalkalaki Armenians transferred arms- belonging to the Russian army-, fuel and lubricants to the Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians. Encouraged by the victories of their fellowmen and the instability in Georgia, Akhalkalaki Armenians sent a request to the republic of Georgia demanding 'the constitutional right of political self-government within the framework of a united Federal Republic of Georgia'. But Georgian authorities who had serious problems with autonomous regions, refused to discuss a

"displaced", as in 1993. The Abkhazians set fire to around a thousand houses, blocking any hope of a swift return. See Vicken Cheterian, "Ethnic Conflict in Georgia," at <http://mondediplo.com/1998/12/10georgia>

¹³⁴ Jonathan Aves, "Security and Military Issues in the Transcaucasus," in (ed) Bruce Parrott, *State Building and Military Power in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E.Sharpe, 1995), p. 214.

¹³⁵ Robert M. Cutler, "Ajaria, the Russian Military in Georgia, and Stability in the South Caucasus," at <http://www.robertcutler.org/consult/topical/ge0001aj.htm>.

federal state for Akhalkalaki. Furthermore, Armenia did not support Akhalkalaki Armenians, since it did not want to deteriorate its relations with Georgia, which enables communication with its protector, Russia. To show its resoluteness, it banned the daily Armenian newspaper *Lragir* for three months for publishing an article which advocated the annexation of Armenian populated regions of southern Georgia.¹³⁶ On the other hand, to avoid potential problems with the ethnic Armenians, Tbilisi refrains from imposing any burdens on the population and permits Armenians to serve in the local Akhaltiskhe Brigade or in the Javakh unit of the Georgian border department.¹³⁷ Though there is not a serious problem in the enclave, Russia which has a base at Akhalkalaki can provoke the Armenians if Georgia decides on the withdrawal of the Russian forces from Akhalkalaki.

Today, Georgia includes the Autonomous Republics of Abkhazia and Ajaria and the Autonomous Region of South Ossetia. However, the constitution of Georgia which was adopted in August 1995, does not address the status of Abkhazia, Ossetia or Ajaria.¹³⁸

2.1.2. The military in Georgia

Despite the internal conflicts and Russian pressure since 1991, Georgia has succeeded to build a national army involving ground forces, air forces and navy. After, Georgia gained its independence, it inherited few military assets in military equipment and experienced military personnel. At the end of the Soviet Union in 1991, only 300 Georgian officers were in the Soviet armed forces and 80 per cent of them had served in the rear. Moreover, not one Georgian had graduated from a Soviet military college since 1985.¹³⁹ Besides, when the Georgian officials intended to build an army, internal conflicts arose and hindered the establishment of the Georgian national army under control of the government. As mentioned

¹³⁶ Alexander Kukhianidze, "The Armenian and Azeri Communities in Georgia: On Georgia's Nationalities and Foreign Policies," in (eds) Bruno Coppieters, Alexei Zverev and Dmitri Trenin, *Commonwealth and Independence in Post-Soviet Eurasia*, (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1998), p.123.

¹³⁷ Barry Turner (ed), *The Statesman's Yearbook 2003*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.247.

¹³⁸ Available at www.anca.org/anca/transcaucasus.asp?trid=11

above, the leaders of Georgia attempted to build up a national army from militias, who were more loyal to their commanders than to the government in Georgia. Because of internal conflicts and the lack of a powerful authority, these militias played an important role in Georgia. Between 1991 and 1993, there were no forces actually controlled by the Georgian government. The militias overthrew Gamsakhurdia and under Shvednadze's governance, they destroyed the rebels who supported Gamsakhurdia. As a result, in the absence of a strong, unified army, their importance increased after the independence of Georgia. But their strong links to organized crime and profit from gun running and drug smuggling, caused an unstable situation and low-level ethnic conflicts in Georgia.¹⁴⁰ Though these forces and other quasi-official militias fought against the Abkhaz, they remained independent (loyal to their commanders but out of government control) and participated in an assassination attempt by one group, the Mkhedrioni, on President Shevardnadze in August 1995. Today, the most important militia group, National Guard, is absorbed into the Ministry of Defense. The other militia group, Mkhedrioni is disbanded. At the moment, there are two guerrilla groups named the White Legion and the Forest Brothers, which are the sole organs of security for Georgians returning to Abkhazia.¹⁴¹

Initially, Shevardnadze succeeded to protect Georgia's sovereignty with Russian political and military aid. But he received this support as a *quid pro quo* for joining the CIS and permitting the development of Russian forces. This reliance on Russia was formalized when Georgia signed two treaties with Russia on military cooperation: the "Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighborly Relations, and Cooperation" and the "Treaty on Russian Military Bases on the Territory of the Republic of Georgia". The latter document granted

¹³⁹ Jared Feinberg, "The Georgian Military: Nowhere to Go but Up," at <http://www.cdi.org/weekly/1998/issue26/#4>

¹⁴⁰ John W. R. Lepingwell, "New States and Old Soldiers: Civil Military Relations in the Former Soviet Union," in (ed) John W. Blaney, *The Successor States to the USSR*, (Washington D.C: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1995), p.68

¹⁴¹ Available at Jared Feinberg, "Armed forces in Georgia," <http://www.cdi.org/issues/Europe/gastudy.pdf>

Russia a 25 year lease of four military bases on Georgian soil. The Russians also took responsibility for protecting all of Georgia's borders, both land and maritime. In return, Russia was to provide training and equipment to Georgia in order to rebuild the Georgian armed forces.¹⁴² In March 1995, Russia promised to assist in building up the Georgian army in accordance with a military agreement.¹⁴³ Between 1994 and 1996, the Russian Army and the Georgian army conducted joint exercises and Russia promised to implement a joint air defense system, make joint training, exchange information and agreed to pay 60 per cent of all costs associated with protecting the Georgian border.¹⁴⁴ While Georgian army troops numbered between 3,000 and 12,000 in 1992, by 1996, due to the cooperation between Georgia and Russia, the Georgian armed forces were estimated to total about 25,200 including a 5,000 strong air force.¹⁴⁵ However, the presence of Russian armed forces in Georgia provided Moscow with great leverage over Georgian political and economic decisions. Besides, Russia failed to solve the Abkhaz conflict, strengthen the army as the Georgian officials wanted and restore the Georgian territorial integrity although Georgia had given military bases to Russia on its own territory. As a result, the Georgian parliament did not ratify the agreements on Russian forward basing, nor the agreements on joint border protection. Then, Georgia turned its face to the West in the military domain because of Russia's failure to provide adequate supplies and training to the Georgian armed forces, and the augmentation of the Russian influence on Georgian political and economic decisions. Therefore, NATO has become a strategic partner with Georgia. In 1996, Georgian servicemen took part in NATO's Partnership for Peace (PFP) peacekeeping maneuvers in the United States. Military co-operation with the West, especially with the U.S. and Germany,

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Jonathan Aves, *Georgia from Chaos to Stability*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1996), p. 21.

¹⁴⁴ Dov Lynch, *Russian Peacekeeping Strategies in the CIS: The Cases of Moldova, Georgia and Tajikistan*, (New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000), p.140.

substantially widened on the basis of the PFP program.¹⁴⁶ In 1997, Georgia established with Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldavia, a regional organization named GUAM. The main objectives of this arrangement are to reinforce the states' sovereignty, to coordinate their national politics and to weaken Russian Federation's effect on the region. Actually, it was the first political-economic organization established within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which was created in 1991 as an attempt by RF to reintegrate the post-Soviet space and to maintain a common security and economic space, without RF. Common security worries, common financial interests related with energy and economic cooperation are the other factors that caused GUAM to be set up. Also, in 1997 there had been low-intensity harassment actions against Russian forces and the number of casualties in the Russian troops increased as a result of minefield injuries.¹⁴⁷ In 1997-8 Georgia made several agreements with the Turkish General Staff on equipping and training, and in April 1998 conducted a joint peacekeeping exercise within the framework of the Partnership for Peace.¹⁴⁸ Georgia also withdrew from the CIS Collective Security Treaty in April 1999.¹⁴⁹ In accordance with an agreement reached at the 1999 OSCE summit in Istanbul, Russia left the Vaziani military base nearby Tbilisi.¹⁵⁰ On the eve of the scheduled Russian withdrawal from Vaziani and Gudauta, Georgia for the first time in its history hosted military maneuvers "Cooperative Partner-2001" under NATO's Partnership for Peace with the involvement of over 4,000 ground and naval troops from 10 countries - USA, Turkey, France, Greece, Italy (NATO member-states) plus Georgia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Romania, and Ukraine in western Georgia on June 11-22.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵ *Jane's Sentinel: Russia and the CIS* (1996) cited in Dov Lynch, *Russian Peacekeeping Strategies in the CIS: The Cases of Moldova, Georgia and Tajikistan*, (New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000), p.130.

¹⁴⁶ David Darchiashvili, "The First Decade of Army Building of Georgia," *The Army and Society in Georgia*, February-March 1998 at <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/Collections/Slavic/army.html>

¹⁴⁷ Dov Lynch, *Russian Peacekeeping Strategies in the CIS: The Cases of Moldova, Georgia and Tajikistan*, (New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000), p.146.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p.144.

¹⁴⁹ Available at <http://www.guam.org/media/GUAM.html>

¹⁵⁰ Ivlian Haindrava, "Georgia to NATO," at www.idoe.org/nij230.htm

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

However, Russian officials insist that the withdrawal from military bases in Batumi and Akhalkalaki and the development of alternative locations for the bases inside Russia will take 14 years. As for today, the timetable of Russian military withdrawal from Georgia still remains the subject of discussions. Georgia is developing close trade and military relations with Turkey. In the military realm, Turkey has agreed to provide Georgia's armed forces with financial and technological assistance. A March 1999 agreement provides for training of Georgian troops in Turkey and for Ankara's assistance in modernizing training facilities in Georgia. The accord envisages further Turkish assistance in creating training centers in Kodori and Gori and a modern shooting range outside of Tbilisi. Consultations between Georgian and Turkish officers will also proceed to develop future assistance programs.¹⁵²

Compared with Azerbaijan and Armenia, Georgia has a small army. On March 2, 1999 the Georgian parliament reduced the armed forces from 47,500 to 38,414¹⁵³ and in 2002 this number decreased to 16,790.¹⁵⁴ Georgia acts more professional than the other states and is on the right way to build a Western type army. But while on the one hand Georgia tried to escape Russian control, it tried to utilize Russian influence and power on the other. Therefore, the double face of the Georgian military policy revealed itself in the pro-Russian orientation of the Ministry of Defense (MoD) on the one hand, and the pro-Western orientation of the Border Guards on the other.¹⁵⁵ Besides, compared to Azerbaijan and Armenia, Georgia has a strong defense industry basis and it can manufacture and sell aircraft and spare-parts. But the social structure of the army is lacking in the number of educated

¹⁵² *Jamestown Monitor*, 5 March 1999 cited in at Jared Feinberg, "Armed forces in Georgia," <http://www.cdi.org/issues/Europe/gastudy.pdf>

¹⁵³ Murat Tosun, *Military Power in the Caucasus*, (İstanbul:Yeditepe University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.15.

¹⁵⁴ *The Military Balance*, 2001-2002, p. 91.

¹⁵⁵ David Darchiashvili, "Trends of Strategic Thinking in Georgia," in (eds) Gary K. Bertsch, Cassidy Craft, Scott A. Jones and Micheal Beck, *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, (New York, London: Routledge,2000), p. 73.

soldiers are not high enough. There are even many soldiers who can not speak the Georgian language.¹⁵⁶

2.1.3. Georgian economy

After independence Georgia's economy, because of internal conflicts and external pressures, suffered more than the other states: the average annual decline of its GDP for 1990-94 was more than 30 percent and by 1995 the economy had shriveled to about one-tenth of its size in 1989.¹⁵⁷ Because of the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, industrial production in 1992 fell 67 percent from the 1990 level and inflation rose to 50 percent a month.¹⁵⁸ Georgia introduced its own currency-the coupon- in April 1993, but its value equaled near worthlessness since inflation rate reached over 15,000 percent in 1994.¹⁵⁹ Also, the tourism sector in Georgia, which once had attracted millions of holiday makers, created thousands of jobs, and provided significant income in the private sector, deteriorated because of violence and political instability in the country. After Shevardnadze came to power, Georgia maintained close relations with Russia on which it depends for energy supplies and trade in industrial goods and, the economy of Georgia got better in time. In August 1992, the Georgian government decided to implement a privatization program. In 1993, Georgian government began with the privatization of small, medium, and large enterprises which enabled the development of the Georgian economy.¹⁶⁰ Georgia had been more successful than Armenia or Azerbaijan in its privatization policy and half a million Georgians are reported to be shareholders in privatized enterprises.¹⁶¹ In addition, relations between Turkey and Georgia

¹⁵⁶ Murat Tosun, *op.cit.*, p.172.

¹⁵⁷ Pavel Baev, *Russia's Policies in the Caucasus*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997), p. 30.

¹⁵⁸ Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, *Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 191.

¹⁵⁹ Gertrude Schroder, "Economic Transformation in the Post-Soviet Republics: An Overview," in Bartlomiej Kaminski, *Economic Transition in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), p. 29.

¹⁶⁰ Avtandil Silagadze and Teimuraz Beridze, "Note on Privatization in Georgia," in (ed) Bartlomiej Kaminski, *Economic Transition in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), p. 354.

¹⁶¹ Edmund Herzig, *The New Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia*, (London, New York: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1999), p. 129.

continued to expand. During 1991, more than a million Georgians traveled to Turkey for shopping and a Georgian consulate general was opened in Trabzon.¹⁶² Afterwards, Georgia emerged from two years of civil conflict with a collapsed economy, widespread crime and a weak government in 1994, the economic policies that Georgia implemented began to give fruit. In late 1994, the Georgian government began to implement a comprehensive reform program with the assistance of the IMF and World Bank and there was a visible improvement in the Georgian economy.¹⁶³ In January 1994, Georgia received a \$50 million loan, promises of electricity, and other assistance from Turkey¹⁶⁴ and in September 1995 received \$388 million in US aid.¹⁶⁵ Georgia introduced –the lari- as its own currency (worth 1 million coupons) in September 1995. Today, Turkey and Georgia engage also in several joint civil-engineering projects such as the Kars-Tbilisi railroad, hydro-power projects, modernization of Batumi's airport, and, most important, the Baku-Ceyhan-Tbilisi Oil pipeline.¹⁶⁶ In 1996, Georgia represented only 0.5 percent of Russian trade within the CIS, while Georgian trade with Turkey increased dramatically.¹⁶⁷ In 1996 and 1997 growth had exceeded %10¹⁶⁸ and Georgia had one of the largest GDP growth rates in the world. In addition to strong internal development, the large oil discoveries in the Caspian area increased the geopolitical importance of Georgia and helped Georgia to gradually establish itself as a major transit route for the vast oil and gas resources which will serve as the main conduit between Caspian oil fields and the international market. Besides, a major boost for the economy is expected in

¹⁶² Paul B. Henze, "Turkey's Caucasian Initiatives," *Orbis* 45:1 (2001), p. 86.

¹⁶³ Gertrude Schroder, "Economic Transformation in the Post-Soviet Republics: An Overview," in Bartłomiej Kaminski, *Economic Transition in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), p. 29.

¹⁶⁴ Kemal H. Karpat, "The Role of Turkey and Iran in Incorporating the Former Soviet Republics into the World System," in (ed) Karen Dawisha, *The International Dimension of Post-Communist Transitions in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (London, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 181.

¹⁶⁵ Gertrude Schroder, "The Economic Transformation Process in the Post-Soviet States: The Role of Outside Actors," in (ed) Karen Dawisha, *The International Dimension of Post-Communist Transitions in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (London, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 265.

¹⁶⁶ Jolyon Naegele, "Turkey: Foreign Relations Good with Two of Eight Neighbours," at <http://www.rferl.org/nca/features/1998/08/F.RU.980813130211.html>

¹⁶⁷ Dov Lynch, *Russian Peacekeeping Strategies in the CIS: The Cases of Moldova, Georgia and Tajikistan*, (New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000), p. 149.

2003, when the construction phase of the \$2.9 billion Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline and \$2.5 billion Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum natural gas pipeline will start.¹⁶⁹

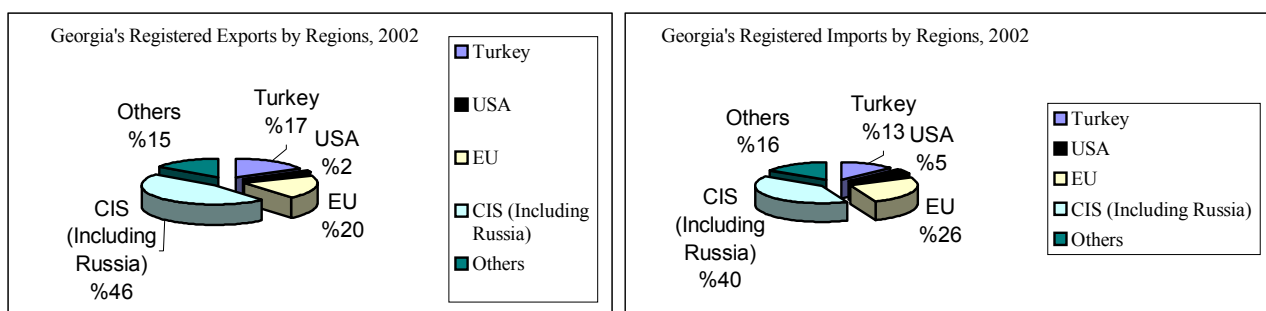
Since independence, Georgia is struggling for transition from the socialist economic system to a market economy and it is determined to further contribute to the policy of the liberalization of global trade and considers its participation in the multilateral trading system as an important step towards integration into the world economy as seen on the tables.

In 2001 the Georgia's first ten largest trade partners according to the trade turnover were the following:

Table: 1¹⁷⁰

Main partne	Thousands USD	%
Turkey	173727.2	17.3%
Russia	164748.2	16.4%
Azerbaijan	83772.8	8.3%
Germany	76982.8	7.7%
Ukraine	61185.8	6.1%
UK	48089.8	4.8%
Turkmenia	46505.7	4.6%
USA	37310.0	3.7%
Italy	34115.3	3.4%
Switzerland	29563.5	2.9%

Table:2¹⁷¹



¹⁶⁸ Barry Turner (ed), *The Statesman's Yearbook 2003*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 685.

¹⁶⁹ Mamuka Tsereteli, "Georgian Economy: An Important Building Block for Security," at www.agbdc.com/InternationalReports_net%20%20Georgia%202002.htm

¹⁷⁰ Available at web.sanet.ge/gic/economy.htm

¹⁷¹ Georgian Economic Trends, *Quarterly Review* available at www.geplac.org/publicat/economic/contents.html

2.1.4. Georgia's foreign relations

After Georgia declared independence in 1991, Georgian people, media and policy makers hoped to see a politically, economically and militarily strong state, a model for Azerbaijan and Armenia and a mediator in the disputes of the Caucasian states. But in fact, ethnic conflicts and Russian pressure prevented Georgia to become an effective state in the region. However, indeed, Georgia increased its political stature in the region via the Armenian-Azeri conflict. If this conflict had not occurred, Azerbaijan would have developed its communication links with Turkey through Armenia, and Armenia would have reached the Black Sea and Russia through Russia. Besides, the Turkish and Azeri embargo imposed on Armenia increased the significance of the transport routes through Georgia to Russia and the Black Sea. In addition, by this conflict two alliances-Turkey, Azerbaijan and Russia, Armenia- appeared in the Caucasus which are connected by the territory of Georgia. Therefore by this conflict, Georgia became a key player in the region.¹⁷² Although Georgia tried to remove itself from the influence of the Russian Federation after its independence, it reluctantly found itself as a strategic ally of Russia. Since the independence of Georgia, Russian-Georgian relations have been characterized by tension, threats, recriminations, and mutual suspicion. Because of the Russian active but negative interferences in the internal conflicts of Georgia in the past, today Georgian officials suspect Russia of undermining Georgian sovereignty, destroying domestic political stability, and preventing the economic upswing that is expected to result from the export via Georgia of Azerbaijan's Caspian oil.¹⁷³ At the moment, the Russian-Georgian relationship is extremely tense and complex, since Russia is concerned that a NATO presence would decrease its effect in the region, cause the withdrawal of its forces from Georgia, while Georgia refuses to allow Russia to use Georgian

¹⁷² Alexander Kukhianidze, "The Armenian and Azeri Communities in Georgia: On Georgia's Nationalities and Foreign Policies," in (eds) Bruno Coppieters, Alexei Zverev and Dmitri Trenin, *Commonwealth and Independence in Post-Soviet Eurasia*, (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1998), p.113.

¹⁷³ Liz Fuller, "See change in Georgian-Russian relations?" at <http://www.atimes.com/c-asia/AA12Ag02.html>

territory to attack Chechnya from the south. Since President Vladimir Putin came to office, Russian pressure has increased principally using economic levers, such as gas supplies. In 2000 Georgia emerged from a dark winter, plagued by a gas cut-off by Russia and a drought, which reduced hydropower.¹⁷⁴ Besides, Russia's support of the Abkhazian people continues and the presence of Russian military disturbs Georgian officials. According to Georgia's UN envoy Ambassador Revaz Adamia, Russia dropped visa requirements for the Abkhazia region's residents, freely distributes Russian passports in the area and Russian entrepreneurs buy up the region's land, businesses and natural resources.¹⁷⁵ Throughout 2002, Russia accused Georgia of harboring terrorists for crimes answerable in Russia's war with Chechnya, and Georgia claimed that Russia violated its sovereignty under the guise of antiterrorist operations. Aware of Russian power, Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze has taken tentative steps to lower tensions with his country's largest neighbor, Russia, but the problems, as touched upon above, still complicate efforts to build bilateral trust.¹⁷⁶

Although Shevardnadze is aware of the importance of Russia, he puts great importance on relations with neighboring states and today, Georgia has forged close diplomatic and economic relations with Azerbaijan, Iran and Turkey as a balance to Russia since "proximity to a militarized state with undeveloped democracy and a highly unpredictable development course is an essential factor of the geopolitical environment of Georgia's security".¹⁷⁷ Despite Georgia's obvious cultural and religious affinities with Armenia, relations between Georgia and Muslim Azerbaijan generally have been closer than those with Christian Armenia for several reasons. First, Azerbaijan is an indispensable state for the health of the Georgian economy. Second, Georgians feel sympathy towards Azerbaijan's position in the conflict

¹⁷⁴ Available at <http://www.usatrade.gov/Website/CCG.nsf/CCGurl/CCG-GEORGIA2002-CH-3:-005F3D57>

¹⁷⁵ "Georgia UN Envoy says Moscow annexing Abkhazia," *Reuters*, 02/02/ 2003 available at <http://www.eurasianet.org/>

¹⁷⁶ Sergei Blagov, "Military Issues Block Russia-Georgia Détente," 06/01/ 2003 available at <http://www.eurasianet.org/>

between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the ethnic Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh because of similarities to Georgia's internal problems with Abkhazia and South Ossetia. On the other hand, Turkey is the economic, military and diplomatic partner of Georgia in the region as mentioned above. Georgia and Iran have no dispute of any kind, between them. If the US policy of containment of Tehran is changed, Georgian-Iran relations would become better.

Although Georgia supports the country's goal of greater integration with Western political, economic and security institutions, and came a long way in its process of state-building, some problems as “separatism, external interference in domestic affairs, the relative strength of ethnic self-identification (lack of nationalist feeling), corruption”, continue to impede Georgia, which endeavors to be a real state. Today, Georgia as a member of the UN, the OSCE, and the CIS is a unitary state on paper including South Ossetia, Ajaria and Abkhazia but it does not have control over about %15 of its territory.

In the next section, the other South Caucasian state, Azerbaijan, which had gained its independence like Georgia after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, will be examined from the political, economic and military viewpoints.

2.2. Azerbaijan¹⁷⁸



¹⁷⁷ David Darchiashvili, “Trends of Strategic Thinking in Georgia,” in (eds) Gary K. Bertsch, Cassady Craft, Scott A. Jones and Micheal Beck, *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and*

Azerbaijan is the largest of the three Transcaucasian republics in terms of both territory and population. Its area is 86,600 sq. Km and its population was 7,593,000 according to the 1989 census. The population breaks down into 82,7 % Azerbaijanis, 5.6 % Armenians, 5.6 % Russians and 2.4 % Lezgins(1989 census).¹⁷⁹ There are more ethnic Azerbaijanis (approximately 20.000 million) living in Iran rather than in Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan has extensive reserves of oil and other minerals. It is a fertile country, producing both staples and industrial crops such as cotton. It was one of the few non-Russian republics that paid more into the union budget than it received back in subsidies. It includes one autonomous region, Nagorno Karabakh(annexed by Armenia); and one autonomous republic, Nakhichevan, which is separated from Azerbaijan proper by the Zangezur region of Armenia; as well as several small islands in the Caspian Sea.

2.2.1. Azerbaijan's foreign relations and the political situation in Azerbaijan since 1990.

In January 1990, Ayaz Mutalibov, former Communist Party Secretary, won the presidential election which was conducted in an anti-democratic manner, crowding out any other candidate such as the Popular Front candidates. Mutalibov's government that pursued a pro-Moscow policy, in order to assure Azerbaijani public support, resumed an attack on Nagorno-Karabakh and Ayaz Mutalibov, tried to obtain the support of Russia in its struggle with Armenians in the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Nagorno-Karabakh is an Armenian-populated autonomous enclave in the middle of Azerbaijan. On 20 February 1988, the Soviet Oblast of the NKAO (Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast) asked the USSR, Azerbaijan and Armenia to approve the separation of Karabakh from Azerbaijan and its annexation to Armenia with a petition which was signed by 80,000 people that demanded joining of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia. But Azerbaijan

Central Asia, (New York, London: Routledge,2000), p. 71.

¹⁷⁸ The map of Azerbaijan is available at http://www.azer.com/aiweb/graphics/maps/neighbors_map.html

¹⁷⁹ Barry Turner (ed), *The Statesman's Yearbook 2003*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 167.

refused this demand.¹⁸⁰ Azerbaijani officials did not manage to solve the problem and violent riots begun in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh. At that time, unlike Armenia, Azerbaijan did not assert its independence and supported the idea of a renewed Soviet Union. As a result, Soviet forces supported the Azerbaijani forces to remove the Armenian population from villages in the Shaumian district.¹⁸¹ At that time as the acts of violence increased in Baku, tension also grew in Yerevan and the Armenian government expelled 165.000 Azerbaijanis from Armenia, killing 216 of them-including 57 women, 5 infants and 18 children of different ages-.¹⁸² After this event, in Baku there began acts of violence against Armenians and in January 1990, Soviet troops, allegedly responding to reports of a pogrom directed against the Armenian inhabitants of Baku, intervened in Baku by killing many civilians and declared a state of martial law.¹⁸³ Later, a sort of compromise was reached between Mutalibov's regime and the Soviet Union. Mutalibov took a guarantee from the SU for the survival of his regime as long as Soviet rule existed in Azerbaijan.¹⁸⁴ But Mutalibov's strategy had not been effective since his supporters in the Soviet Union were overthrown with a coup in August 1991. After the Moscow coup, on 30 August 1991 Ayaz Muttalibov proclaimed the independence of Azerbaijan, and Turkey was the first state to recognize Azerbaijan's independence. Ten days after, on 10 September 1991, the NKR Supreme Soviet declared independence and in the beginning of 1992, Russian forces departed from Nagorno-Karabakh and the conflict developed into an all-out war.¹⁸⁵ Mutalibov, trusting Soviet support, had not established a national army in Azerbaijan and could not have resisted

¹⁸⁰ Alexei Zverev, "Ethnic Conflicts in the Caucasus 1988-1994," in (ed) Bruno Coppieters, *Contested Borders in the Caucasus*, (Brussels: VUB Press, 1996), p. 17.

¹⁸¹ *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, Report on the USSR, 24 may 1991, cited in Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 177.

¹⁸² Available at www.azeritukleri.com/enqacq.htm

¹⁸³ "Azerbaijan- The Status of Armenians, Russians, Jews and Other Minorities," available at <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/ins/azerba93.pdf>

¹⁸⁴ Alexei Zverev, "Ethnic Conflicts in the Caucasus 1988-1994," in (ed) Bruno Coppieters, *Contested Borders in the Caucasus*, (Brussels: VUB Press, 1996), p. 27.

Armenian guerrillas in Nagorno-Karabakh. In fact, Mutalibov was thinking that an army could become a source of political opposition to him. While Mutalibov thought that he would gain a quick victory, this war caused a flow of Azeri refugees from Karabakh and deterioration of the Azerbaijani economy. After a massacre of Azerbaijani civilians by the Armenian army backed by the Russian army in the village of Khojaly, he was forced to resign in March 1992.

After Mutalibov, in May Yakub Mamedov, was chosen President by the parliament unconstitutionally. But in June 1992, the leader of the APF (Azerbaijani Popular Front), Abulfaz Elchibey who promised decisive victory in Nagorno-Karabakh, became president by winning the elections.

Elchibey who was known for his closeness to Turkey, gave great importance on the development of Turkish-Azerbaijani relations and Turkey which has common linguistic, ethnic and cultural roots with Azerbaijan, tried to do its best to aid Azerbaijan. Turkey was the first country to recognize Azerbaijan's independence in November 1991, the first to sign a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and the first to open its embassy. Elchibey accepted Turkey as a model for Azerbaijan and from the beginning, in his policies, Elchibey adhered to the motto of the Azerbaijani Nationalistic Party Musavat; "Turkization, Modernization, Islamization" and tried to build an independent and democratic society with a market economy and parliamentary political system.¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, Elchibey, who was jailed for organizing anniversary celebrations of the founding of an independent republic in northern Iran in 1918 where the Azerbaijanis are most populated, called on Tehran to grant the region

¹⁸⁵ Levent Demirci, *Turkey's Political Objectives in the Caucasus*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.15.

¹⁸⁶ Leila Alieva, "The Institutions, Orientations, and Conduct of Foreign Policy in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan," in (eds) Adeed Dawisha and Karen Dawisha, *The Making of Foreign Policy in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E.Sharpe, 1995), p. 289.

cultural autonomy and thus relations between Azerbaijan and Iran remained tense.¹⁸⁷ Although Elchibey initially assumed an anti-Russian attitude in his policies, later he signed bilateral agreements with Russia on trade and economic policy.¹⁸⁸ Besides, the Russian government did not oppose Elchibey government's hiring of Russian mercenaries and the seizure of several weapons, which led to the Azerbaijani military victories in Nagorno-Karabakh.¹⁸⁹ Unlike Mutalibov, Elchibey tried to build a national army, which he saw as a necessary and indispensable component for the real independence of Azerbaijan. Elchibey could not have constituted an army, because the army was still composed of various militias loyal to their local commanders rather than being unified army. In November 1992, Elchibey appointed Colonel Suret Husseinov who did not have a professional military background, but was famous for supplying equipment at his own expense by his wool-processing factory to the militias. Besides, the Russian Federation transferred heavy arms to the 709th Brigade in Azerbaijan which was the private army of Suret Husseinov.¹⁹⁰

After the election, Elchibey mounted a large scale attack on Nagorno-Karabakh. Although Azerbaijan gained military successes against Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave initially, these victories began to turn to defeats with the loss of Lachin, a strategic city that broke the siege of Nagorno-Karabakh and attached the enclave to Armenia by a safe land corridor.¹⁹¹ Elchibey to compensate for defeats, wanted to increase the draft but he pressured the non-Azerbaijanis to enlist in the army. However, the minorities in Azerbaijan

¹⁸⁷ Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, *Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp: 224-5.

¹⁸⁸ The variety in Azerbaijan's policy is explained by Tamerlane Karayev, a leading APF official, "History, politics, and economics have made us [Russia and Azerbaijan] partners for centuries" in *Bakinskiy rabochiy*, 17 June 1992 cited in Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, *Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 191.

¹⁸⁹ *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 2 September 1992, cited in Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 181.

¹⁹⁰ Pavel Baev, *Russia's Policies in the Caucasus*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997), p. 25.

¹⁹¹ Henry R. Huttenbach, "Chaos in Post-Soviet Caucasia, Crossroads of Empires: In Search of a US Foreign Policy," in (ed) John W. Blaney, *The Successor States to the USSR*, (Washington D.C: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1995), p.230.

especially the Lezgins¹⁹² opposed Elchibey's Azeri centric policy and refused to serve in a war that they felt was strictly ethnic. After then, Lezgins wanted to integrate with Daghestan. Besides, at that time the Talysh in the south declared their intention to set up a separate state of Mughan-Talysh and applied for membership in the CIS. While these events were undermining political stability in Azerbaijan, Moscow wanted to strengthen its position in Azerbaijan by deploying troops to carry out peacekeeping functions. Besides, the Russian 104th Parachute regiment based in Ganje sent an ultimatum to Elchibey in January 1993 demanding to remain in the republic as a 'peacekeeping force'.¹⁹³ But the Elchibey government denied Russian proposals. By the end of 1993, the Russian Ministry of Defense agreed to withdraw all CIS joint armed forces because of the constant harassment of the Soviet 7th Army based in Azerbaijan by Azerbaijani fighters.¹⁹⁴ Then, the APF government demanded military assistance from Turkey and Turkey sent retired army officers to train the Azerbaijani fighters. Azerbaijan's territorial losses continued with the loss of Kelbajar and Fizuli. While, Azerbaijan had lost 10 percent of its territories before Elchibey, during the Elchibey governance, the losses reached 25 percent of Azerbaijani territory.

At that time the leader of Nakhichevan, Haydar Aliyev (previously the KGB chief of Azerbaijan and a member of Mikhail Gorbachev's Politburo) was pursuing policies at odds with Baku such as allowing cargo shipments from Iran across Nakhichevan to Armenia. Elchibey tried to impose his own control in Nakhichevan but Aliyev's popularity and power prevented it.¹⁹⁵ After the loss of the Kelbajar district, Elchibey wanted to take away

¹⁹² After the break up of the USSR, Azerbaijan-Dagestan border became international but some 250.000 Lezgins stayed in southern Dagestan and 177.000 Lezgins remained in northern Azerbaijan. Since the independence of Azerbaijan, Lezgins wanted autonomy and this issue continues to be a problem for Azerbaijan.

¹⁹³ *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 26 February 1993, cited in Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 181.

¹⁹⁴ *Moskovskie novosti*, No.42, 18-25 June 1995, cited in Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 181.

¹⁹⁵ Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, *Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 225.

Husseinov from the army but Husseinov refused and took refuge in Ganja. Elchibey launched an attack on Husseinov but was defeated by Husseinov's militias.¹⁹⁶ At that time, because of Elchibey's refusal of the Russian plans, the Russian military commander handed over large quantities of weapons to Suret Husseinov to make a coup against Elchibey. After his victory against Elchibey, with the support of Russia, Husseinov marched on Baku with Haydar Aliyev and overthrew Elchibey from the administration on June 18, 1993.

After Elchibey escaped to Nakhichevan, all his powers were given to Haydar Aliyev, the parliamentary chairman. Aliyev initially held meetings with the Western oil firms and the Western oil consortium of British Petroleum, Amoco, and Pennzoil, which promised to give \$70 million on June 22, 1993. After this, the parliament demanded Elchibey's resignation on June 23, though the European Community, Turkey, and the United States declared their support to Elchibey.¹⁹⁷ After Aliyev came to power, like the other leaders of Azerbaijan, he focused on the Nagorno-Karabakh affair, but he could not prevent territorial losses. Azerbaijani forces which were demoralized, fell into confusion and could not resist advancing Armenians effectively. In fact, although some retired Turkish officers trained Azerbaijani fighters, there was not a coherent strategy in the Azerbaijani forces and military units were poorly coordinated since they were loyal to their local commanders. Ironically, the large armory that was left from hastily departing Russian troops, was not matched by the supply of trained personnel.¹⁹⁸

The Nagorno-Karabakh war did not only effect Azerbaijan and Armenia but also the regional powers, Turkey, Iran, Russia, the unique superpower US and the European states and several peace initiatives were made to stop that war since its outset. Initially, CSCE

¹⁹⁶ Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 182.

¹⁹⁷ Henry R. Huttenbach, "Chaos in Post-Soviet Caucasia, Crossroads of Empires: In Search of a US Foreign Policy," in (ed) John W. Blaney, *The Successor States to the USSR*, (Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1995), p. 232.

(Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, OSCE as of 1 January 1995) with the so called ‘Minsk Group’ (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Sweden, Turkey, the USA) got involved in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict to find a peaceful settlement but could not be effective initially. At that moment Russia was partial to Armenia but later Russia assumed a more active stance by appointing Vladimir Kazimirov as special envoy with responsibilities for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in July 1993. When he began an active shuttle diplomacy between Baku, Yerevan and Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh forces launched attacks on Azerbaijanis, capturing Agdam (late July), Fizuli and Dzhebrail(early October), and Horadiz (late October). Then UNSC approved three resolutions (853 of 29 July, 874 of 14 October, and 884 of 12 November)¹⁹⁹ recommending the withdrawal of Armenian forces from all occupied territories and Russia supported these resolutions to prove its impartiality.²⁰⁰ In early 1994, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev also participated in Kazimorov’s shuttle diplomacy and due to his efforts, on 12 May 1994 a cease-fire agreement was concluded. Grachev in this cease-fire regime, tried to deploy Russian peacekeeping troops, but President Aliyev wanted a multinational peace-force under the control of CSCE.²⁰¹ Then, several CSCE states declared their readiness to provide peacekeeping troops and in December 1994 CSCE took the political decision to provide a peacekeeping contingent. Besides, Russia also accepted that decision.²⁰² Today, the status of Nagorno-Karabakh continues to be a problem.

Since the independence of Azerbaijan, despite some small problems Turkish-Azerbaijani relations have been warm for several reasons. First, the people of both states

¹⁹⁸ John W. R. Lepingwell, “New States and Old Soldiers: Civil Military Relations in the Former Soviet Union,” in (ed) John W. Blaney, *The Successor States to the USSR*, (Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1995), p.69.

¹⁹⁹ For more detailed information of the UNSC resolutions, see <http://www.president.az/Azerbaijan/nk/un.htm>.

²⁰⁰ Pavel Baev, *Russia’s Policies in the Caucasus*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997), pp. 40-41.

²⁰¹ Elizabeth Fuller, “The Karabakh Mediation Process: Grachev versus the CSCE” cited in Pavel Baev, *Russia’s Policies in the Caucasus*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997), p. 41.

have common ethnic origins, language and religion (though adhering to different sects) and both sides look at each other with sympathy. Second, good relations with Turkey is important for Azerbaijan which wants to broaden its policy options against Iran and Russia. Third, Turkey as a major western ally and a NATO member, is able to aid Azerbaijan in opening to the West. On the other hand, although Azerbaijan remained very concerned about continuing Russian-Armenian military co-operation, gave importance to the relations with Russia under Haydar Aliyev's governance but at the same time, Aliyev stressed that he viewed Azerbaijan as an independent state that should never again be "someone's vassal or colony."²⁰³ Ties with Russia improved in 2001 with Russian President Vladimir Putin's visit to Baku. He became the first Russian president to visit Azerbaijan in the post-Soviet period and that visit symbolized the changing Russian policy towards Azerbaijan. Having condemned previous "imperial ambitions", he stressed the importance of establishing good neighborly relations.²⁰⁴ During Putin's visit to Baku, Russia and Azerbaijan agreed to the common use of the surface of the Caspian Sea while dividing the seabed for use between them in line with a bilateral agreement signed between Russia and Kazakhstan. Russia promised Azerbaijan to play a more constructive role in the Nagorno-Karabakh peace process and not to introduce a visa regime for Azerbaijanis. Azerbaijan, in turn, promised to lease, over a long period, a radar station to the Russians located in Qabala and promised increased business opportunities for Russian companies in Azerbaijan.²⁰⁵ While relations between Russia and Azerbaijan began to improve, Azerbaijan's relations with Iran deteriorated due to the controversy on the use of the Caspian Sea Basin. Iran has proposed either common control by the littoral states or the division of the seabed into five equal sectors. But Azerbaijan does not agree to that solution.

²⁰² Dimitry Furman and Carl Johan Asenius, "The Case of Nagorno-Karabakh," in (eds) Lena Johnson and Clive Archer, *Peacekeeping and the Role of Russia in Eurasia*, (Colorado: Westview Press, 1995), p. 150.

²⁰³ Available at <http://www.lupinfo.com/country-guide-study/azerbaijan/azerbaijan66.html>

²⁰⁴ Available at <http://www.eurasianet.org/resource/azerbaijan/hypermail/200201/0019.shtml>

While Iran comes close to Russia which aims to prevent the US from dominating the distribution of oil and gas, Azerbaijan allies itself to America and its oil companies.²⁰⁶ The differences between Iran and Azerbaijan was revealed in July 2001 when Iranian ships and military aircraft chased two Azerbaijani oil-exploration ships out of disputed waters in the Caspian, intensifying the hostilities between the two countries over oil rights.²⁰⁷ However, Turkey reacted immediately and gave Iran an ultimatum to leave Azerbaijan in peace, or failing that Tehran would have to deal with Ankara. The elite "Turkish Stars" squadron appeared in the skies above Azerbaijan on 24 August, pointing to the strategic union between two peoples and states. Tehran described the action as a Turkish show of force and Haydar Aliyev postponed his visit to Tehran. As a result, the very cold relations between Baku and Tehran became even more tense and today continue to remain rigid.²⁰⁸

2.2.2. Oil and oil export options²⁰⁹

In the initial days of its independence, Azerbaijan under the leadership of president Abulfaz Elchibey, clearly preferred Turkey to Russia. This had been obvious when Elchibey did not invite Russian firms to the oil consortium. But after Elchibey was overthrown with a coup by Colonel Suret Husseinov, Turkey found itself in a different oil bargain with Haydar Aliyev. Aliyev learned from his predecessors (Musalibov: with a strong pro-Russian orientation, Elchibey: with a strong pro-Turkish orientation) a lot and adamantly rejected a strong ideological element in Azerbaijan's policy.²¹⁰ Unlike Elchibey, Aliyev tried to restore relations with Russia and on 17 September 1993, signed an agreement with the president of the Russian oil company Lukoil, Vagit Alekperov, on the principle of cooperation with the

²⁰⁵ Jayhun Mollazade, "A Window on Russian policy Towards the South Caucasus 1991-2002 Through an analysis of Russian Azerbaijani Relations," at <http://www.usazerbajiancouncil.org/caspiancrossroads/archieve/2000/54.html>.

²⁰⁶ "Even More Perilous Isolation," *Economist*, available online at database <http://www.ebscohost.com>.

²⁰⁷ Available at <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0107305.html>

²⁰⁸ Available at <http://www.eurasianet.org/resource/azerbaijan/hypermail/200201/0019.shtml>

²⁰⁹ See appendix: 4 for the oil and gas reserves and possible oil export routes from Azerbaijan.

²¹⁰ Jonathan Aves, "Security and Military Issues in the Transcaucasus," in (ed) Bruce Parrott, *State Building and Military Power in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E.Sharpe, 1995), p. 227.

Azerbaijan State Oil Company (SOCAR). Later, in accordance with the agreement which was signed on 26 September between Russia and Azerbaijan, Lukoil's share in oil development projects in Azerbaijan was guaranteed to be no less than 10 per cent. On 20 September 1994, Aliyev signed an agreement which was named 'the oil deal of the century' with a consortium of eleven foreign companies (including Lukoil) and this led to an improvement in Azerbaijan in every domain.²¹¹ Besides, after Aliyev came to power, the alternative oil pipeline (Baku- Novorossisk) had come on the agenda. For Turkey an alternative pipeline was not a serious challenge. Because, this pipeline passed through Chechen territory, on which there was a conflict at that time. But Turkey's prediction about this pipeline proved false in time. Russia exerted control on Chechnya by using military force. In addition, (AIOC) ,Azerbaijan International Operating Company, a consortium of 10 major international oil companies, prepared a report showing the cost of Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) twice its former cost. Turkey was in a hopeless situation. The most important reason for the failure was the political instability in Turkey. Because as the bargains on the pipelines were going on seriously, Turkey had changed seven foreign ministers.²¹²

However, at that time the USA intervened in the oil and oil pipelines bargains in favour of Turkey. The USA wanted to break the hegemony of Russia on the pipelines and isolate fundamentalist Iran by supporting the multipipeline project. Americans wanted the delivery of the huge reserves of oil and gas by the "safe hands" of their loyal NATO ally, Turkey.²¹³ Aliyev also placed great importance on the relations with Turkey, and in 1995 increased the share of Turkish Petroleum Corporation (TPAO) in AIOC from 1.75 per cent to

²¹¹ Pavel Baev, *Russia's Policies in the Caucasus*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs,1997), p. 32.

²¹² Lale Saniibrahimoğlu, *Kurt Kapanında Kısır Siyaset*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi,1997), pp: 49-72.

²¹³ Joseph Fitchett, "War Alters Caspian Equation," *Herald Tribune*, October 31,2001, Chris Morris and Ian Traynor, "Caspian Oil Plan Stirs Political Cauldron" at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archieve/Article/0,4273,3930880,00.html>, "Q & A With Steven R. Mann :American Diplomat Sees Encouraging Signs On Baku-Ceyhan Pipeline" at <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/qanda/articles/eav110801.shtml>

6.75 per cent.²¹⁴ In addition, in 29 October , 1998 the presidents of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Turkey and Uzbekistan signed the Ankara Declaration which confirmed their determination to implement the Baku- Ceyhan Oil Pipeline.²¹⁵ Also under an inter-governmental protocol signed in November 18, 1999 in Istanbul; Turkey, Azerbaijan and Georgia agreed to build the one million barrel a-day Baku-Ceyhan Pipeline”.²¹⁶

Russia lacks a common ideology or myth and even economic power to consolidate its hegemony over Azerbaijan, thus , these existing pipelines through its territory are effective weapons against Azerbaijan and Russia sees these energy export routes as a means for re-establishing the former power of the Soviet Union.²¹⁷ Therefore, the Russian government looked with no sympathy to any energy exports from the Caspian region that were not under its control. As an alternative to this project, Russia put pressure on Azerbaijan to carry the Azerbaijan oil to the Novorossisk harbor, which was in its region. But while, the Novorossisk terminal is closed for 87-100 days annually due to climate conditions, then Ceyhan terminal can be used everyday of the year and serve growing markets in southern and western Europe. It does not need further investment to activate and it has 300 thousand DWT tanker capacities. Besides, TPAO estimates that the cost of shipping 45m ton of crude oil from Ceyhan to Genoa at 38 cents per barrel would amount to \$124.8, while shipping the same amount from Novorossisk will add \$115 m additional cost on that price.²¹⁸ In addition, Russian pipelines are very old and the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Oil pipeline will be constructed taking into consideration new technological developments.²¹⁹ Besides, the Turkish government arranged

²¹⁴ John Roberts, *Caspian Pipelines*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 17.

²¹⁵ Mustafa Aydın, *New Geopolitics of Central Asia and the Caucasus: Causes of Instability and Predicament*, (Ankara: SAM Papers,2000), p. 67. See appendix 5 for the export routes in the Caspian region.

²¹⁶ IMI on Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Crude Oil Pipeline Project; US Embassy Ankara at <http://www.bisnis.doc.gov/bisnis/country/000605gapln.htm>

²¹⁷ A.Necdet Pamir, “Turkey: The Key to Caspian Oil and Gas”, *IASPS Research Papers in Strategy*, Vol:13, (Washington: 2001), p:13. Seyfi, Taşhan, “A Review of Turkish Foreign Policy in the Beginning of 1998”, *Turkish Foreign Policy* Vol: 22 (Ankara:1998), pp:29-31.

²¹⁸ John Roberts, *Caspian Pipelines*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 41.

²¹⁹ *Cumhuriyet*, 2 February 1995 cited in Çağla Gül Yassa, *Bakü-Ceyhan Petrol Boru Hattının Jeopolitik Önemi & Etkileri Ve Yapımını Etkileyen Unsurlar*, (İstanbul :Marmara University, (Master's) Thesis, 1999), p. 62.

tariff reduction and guaranteed to cover construction costs above 1.4 billion dollars when the major oil companies opposed the BTC because of its high cost compared to other possible routes and in October 2000, Kazakhstan stated that it would support BTC by supplying 15 millions of crude oil in reply to the objections about the inadequacy of reserves.²²⁰ Today the present low-level Caspian Production ‘early oil’ is being carried by the existing pipelines via the Bosphorus. However, in the future the Straits will not be capable of handling the heavy flow of tanker traffic due to geophysical restrictions. Taken all the international safety mechanisms and modern precautions in order to avoid collision, the danger in the Straits will continue to remain because of the capacity of the Turkish Straits is dictated by nature. The speed of the traffic, the speed of the currents and the speed of the wind can not be changed by any precaution. While safety measures can be increased, no measures can increase the capacity of the Straits.²²¹ For example, it took three years and amounted to \$ 18 billion to clean up the petroleum spillage from the Exxon Walders tanker, which sank off the shores of Alaska in 1989.²²² After the accident, Exxon had to pay over \$5 billion in accident claims and compensation.²²³ Probably, if that accident happened in the Bosphorus, which narrows to less than one mile and around which 12 million people live, it would cost more. Before the enactment of the 1994 Turkish Straits Maritime Regulations and the amended 1998 Regulations went into effect, the number of maritime accidents had risen to the alarming number of 49 in 1991. Since 1994, the number of collisions and accidents has been drastically reduced in the Straits but the danger continues to remain.

²²⁰ Ali Karaosmanoğlu, “Turkey’s Objectives in the Caspian Region,” in (ed) Gennady Chufrin, *The Security of the Caspian Sea Region*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp: 154-5.

²²¹ The speech of Prof. Dr. Reşat ÖZKAN (Former Undersecretary of State for Maritime Affairs in the Panel Paper: The Baku-Ceyhan Pipeline available at www.csis.org/turkey/event00413P2.html.

²²² Güngör Mengi, “Dar Kaçış,” *Sabah*, 30.12. 1999.

²²³ The speech of Valekh Aleskerov, Director of Foreign Investment, (SOCAR) in the Panel Paper: The Baku-Ceyhan Pipeline available at www.csis.org/turkey/event00413P2.html. The accident’s cost is stated 7 billion \$ in Nurettin Şirin, Suat Kara, Muhittin Tamer Demir, *Kafkasya ve Ortadoğu Petrollerinin Akdenize Ulaştırılması ve NATO Güvenliğine Etkileri*, (İzmir: Güneydoğu Avrupa Müttefik Kara Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı, 1997),p.36.

Table 3: Accidents in the Turkish Straits²²⁴

Straits of İstanbul			Straits of Çanakkale		
Year	Total number of accidents	Total number of passing vessels	Year	Total number of accidents	Total number of passing vessels
1990	43				
1991	49				
1992	39				
1993	25		1993	12	35.460
1994	12				
1995	4	46.954			
1996	7	49.952	1996	10	36.198
1997	10	50.942	1997	3	36.543
1998	11	49.304	1998	6	38.777
1999	11	47.906	1999	7	40.582
2000	9	48.079	2000	8	41561
2001	20	42.637	2001	9	39.249

Thus, the BTC project is the most suitable project which will avoid all transport by sea through the Black Sea and the Turkish Straits. When the assistant Foreign Minister of Russia said to Aliyev: “The capacity of Baku- Novorossisk oil pipeline will be 30 – 40 million tons in the future and there will be no need for BCP, Aliyev told him that: We have our own plans. BCP will be implemented absolutely. This pipeline will not only transport Azerbaijani oil but also Kazakh and Turkmen oil too”.²²⁵ As a result, Haydar Aliyev’s successful oil politics brought Azerbaijan into world politics. Russia which was an enthusiastic supporter of Armenia became aware of the importance of Azerbaijan and began to maintain close relations with Azerbaijan in order to protect its economic interest and distanced itself from Armenia to some extent.²²⁶

In cold weather, if one stays away from fire, one will freeze. If one approaches it closely, one can burn. Today Russia is like a fire for Azerbaijan. To consolidate its

²²⁴ Available at <http://www.byegm.gov.tr/YAYINLARIMIZ/newspot/2002/july-aug/n8.htm>

²²⁵ Alaeddin Yalçinkaya, *Türk Cumhuriyetleri ve Petrol Boru Hatları*, (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1998), p. 265.

independence, Azerbaijan tries to strengthen its relations with the other regional states. It wants to diversify its sources rather than being dependent on a single state. On the other hand, while Azerbaijan has rich gas reserves, it cannot extract it and use it for its own purposes. When Azerbaijan wanted to purchase gas from Russia, Russia clearly stated that, this would be conditional upon the flow of oil from Baku- Novorossisk rather than Baku-Supsa. While Azerbaijan is in favour of BCP, its dependence on Russia limits Azerbaijan's political manoeuvre capability. With the implementation of this project, natural gas transportation from Azerbaijan to Turkey will also be made at lower prices. There is a huge gas reserve in the Shah Deniz field of Azerbaijan and Turkey is the most available and closest market for Azeri gas (see table 1). Shah Deniz gas is very important for the Baku-Ceyhan Oil Pipeline because it will also contribute to the construction of BCP. If BCP and Azeri gas line are laid parallel, the capital and operational expenses will be greatly reduced. In addition, the Baku-Ceyhan Oil Pipeline will prevent Azerbaijan from being dependent on Russia and when Azerbaijan gains its economic independence, the trade relations between Azerbaijan and Turkey will not be limited to oil, will also leap to other domains.²²⁷

Table 4: Turkey's gas demand forecast (million m³) by BOTAS and Turkish Energy Ministry²²⁸

YEARS	2000	2010	2015	2020
RESIDENTIAL	2928	8389	9396	9806
INDUSTRY	2415	10971	12238	15147
FERTILIZER	839	929	929	929
POWER	9418	34903	44903	56903
TOTAL	15600	55192	67466	82785

²²⁶ Kemal H. Karpat, "The Role of Turkey and Iran in Incorporating the Former Soviet Republics into the World System," in (ed) Karen Dawisha, *The International Dimension of Post-Communist Transitions in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (London, New York: M.E.Sharpe, 1997), p. 180.

²²⁷ Notes from interview with A. Necdet Pamir (Foreign Policy and Energy Adviser to the ARI Movement, an independent political initiative in Turkey).

Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Oil Pipeline Project, which aims to transport crude oil to Ceyhan via Georgia, will consolidate Azerbaijan's economic independence. On the other hand, this project is not simply an economic project, but also it is a concrete symbol of the cultural, historical and ethnic ties between the brother states, Azerbaijan and Turkey.

2.2.3. Azerbaijan economy

After its independence, Azerbaijan tried to improve its economic relations with central Asia, Turkey and Iran especially during Elchibey's governance. The APF government signed a number of bilateral economic and trade accords with the Iranian government despite political problems.²²⁹ In November 1992, Baku participated in the 'Turkic Common Market' consisting of Turkey, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan.²³⁰ Although Azerbaijan did not face troubles in the economic domain as Georgia and Armenia did, it met with difficulties because of the Nagorno-Karabakh war. In 1992, GNP fell by some 20 percent but 60 percent of CIS oil and gas field equipment, including the newest CIS technology which is manufactured in Baku, kept alive the economy of Azerbaijan.²³¹ Although Azerbaijan introduced its own currency -manat- in August 1992, it was not able to stabilize its value and inflation remained about 1,100 percent in 1993 and nearly 1,800 percent in 1994.²³² Although Azerbaijan joined the IMF and the World Bank in 1994, its economy did not improve like Armenia. In addition while in September 1995, Armenia received \$505 million aid from the US, Azerbaijan received only \$72 million US aid because of its use of force and its blockade

²²⁸ A.Necdet Pamir, "Turkey: The Key to Caspian Oil and Gas", *IASPS Research Papers in Strategy*, Vol:13, (Washington: 2001), p:19.

²²⁹ *Assa-Irada*, Baku, 4 January 1993 cited in Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, *Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 192.

²³⁰ *Izvestiya*, evening edition, 4 November 1992 cited in Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, *Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 192.

²³¹ Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, *Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 191.

²³² Gertrude Schroder, "Economic Transformation in the Post-Soviet Republics: An Overview," in (ed) Bartlomiej Kaminski, *Economic Transition in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), p. 28.

against Armenia.²³³ And the US government did not give MFN (Most Favored Nation) status to Azerbaijan and Azerbaijan's exports faced US general non-MFN tariffs between 1992 and 2001.²³⁴ However after the cease-fire in the Nagorno-Karabakh, the economy of Azerbaijan began to develop and Azerbaijan economy has been one of the fastest growing economies in the world. The real GDP growth was 10 % in 1998, 7.4 in 1999 and 11.1 in 2000.²³⁵ This was largely due to the foreign investment in the country in anticipation of the forthcoming oil boom. Azerbaijan's manat strengthened by the country's oil potential and it appreciated more than the Armenian dram and the Georgian lari and by over 500 percent in real terms.²³⁶ With 142 million USD exports and 69 million USD imports, Turkey is the second commercial partner of Azerbaijan, after the RF. But, Azerbaijan's imports and exports from Turkey have diminished %40 since 1998, but it is an indisputable fact that, Azerbaijan constitutes an economic and commercial gateway for Turkey to Central Asia. Besides, Azerbaijan tries to improve its economic relations with Georgia to develop its oil exports and this rapprochement is supported by Turkey and the West eagerly. Today, the oil industry currently accounts for 70% to 80% of total foreign investment in Azerbaijan, and foreign direct investment increased from \$15 million in 1993 to \$827 million in 1999, about 20% of Azerbaijan's GDP.²³⁷ Azerbaijan also ranked eighth in the foreign direct investment performance in the world between 1998-2000.²³⁸

2.2.4. Military developments in Azerbaijan since 1989

²³³ Ibid. p. 265.

²³⁴ The average tariff rate imposed on imports from a non-MFN country is around 30 per cent, compared with an average MFN rate of 5 per cent. Therefore MFN status is crucial to accessing US markets. See Bartłomiej Kaminski, "Factor Affecting Trade Reorientation of the Newly Independent States," in (ed) Bartłomiej Kaminski, *Economic Transition in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), p. 404.

²³⁵ Barry Turner (ed), *The Statesman's Yearbook 2003*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.248.

²³⁶ *UN/ECE, Economic Survey of Europe* cited in Edmund Herzig, *The New Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia*, (London, New York: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1999), p. 127.

²³⁷ Available at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/azerbjan.html>

²³⁸ Foreign direct investment data of selected years (1985~2001) from the World Investment Report of United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 2002 at http://www.ipanet.net/infores/tinforesult.cfm?In_country=16

Compared with the other Caucasian states, Azerbaijan with its much larger population and stronger economic base, was not able to achieve military success, since the political instability and changes in the political leadership affected the military negatively in Azerbaijan. As mentioned above, Mutalibov did not establish a national army since he feared a probable coup against him. After Mutalibov, although the APF government decided to establish a national army, the process had been too slow. Five months after its creation, at the end of January 1992, the Azerbaijani armed forces had only 150 men.²³⁹ Although Elchibey achieved to gather militias under one command, the discord between the government and army in the first half of 1992 had caused Azerbaijan to lose the key town of Shusha (against practically no resistance) and faced the establishment of the vital Lachin corridor²⁴⁰ by Armenians.²⁴¹ Elchibey ignored the Russian military presence and its regional dominance in the region, and without the asset of effective or loyal armies and interior forces, he tried to solve internal and external problems with military means and finally, his strategy also collapsed. However, Elchibey achieved the withdrawal of the Russian military from Azerbaijan which allowed the subsequent government in Baku to pursue military and security policies more freely.²⁴² After Elchibey, Aliyev also gave priority to the development of the armed forces and established firm control over the army. Although the Azerbaijani army launched massive offensive attacks on Nagorno-Karabakh, it was not successful, since the Armenians had achieved an almost impregnable defensive position. The ruined morale of the soldiers and the ineffectiveness of the foreign mercenaries also had been effective in the defeats of the Azerbaijani army. Like Georgia's policy towards Abkhazia, Baku wanted to maintain strong control over Nagorno-Karabakh by military means and assumed that it would

²³⁹ Jonathan Aves, "Security and Military Issues in the Transcaucasus," in (ed) Bruce Parrott, *State Building and Military Power in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E.Sharpe, 1995), p. 218.

²⁴⁰ Lachin, or Berdzor in Armenian maps, is located in the narrow strip of territory between Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia. As a consequence of the war this strip of territory is under the control of Armenian troops.

²⁴¹ Ibid. p. 218.

win quick victory, but did not take into account Armenia's firm alliance with Russia and the political instability inside Azerbaijan. As a result, after the war, Azerbaijan lost control over up to a quarter of its territory. Following the serious defeats in the Nagorno-Karabakh war, Azerbaijan decided to reorganize its troops and changed ex-Soviet divisional models and warfare tactics, replaced Russian and Ukrainian advisers with Turkish officers and established the organizational structure of the army as Corps/Brigade/Battalion chain of command which increased the mobilization capacity of the Azerbaijani army after the Turkish military experts participation.²⁴³ As Georgia, Azerbaijan faced difficulty in finding enough officers to command and train troops since a very small number of ethnic Azerbaijani officers had served in the top ranks of the Soviet army despite the presence of the Higher All Arms Command School and the Caspian High Naval School in Azerbaijan. Therefore, in order to increase the size and quality of the officer corps, Azerbaijan signed several military training agreements with the Turkish government and several retired Turkish generals arrived in Azerbaijan to assist in combat training.²⁴⁴ Although there is a strong air force compared with Georgia or Armenia, its combat readiness is not sufficient, due to lack of spare parts, maintenance services, technicians and expert personnel and also Armenian Air Defense Forces are well equipped and trained to counter the Azerbaijani Air Forces now.²⁴⁵ Today Azerbaijan is the only country of the three in the South Caucasus that is free of Russian bases. Although Azerbaijan allows Russia to use the Gabala early warning system, Aliyev looks suspiciously to the joint CIS air defense system since in case of war, Azerbaijan does not want to be targeted because of the Russian radar installation. In 1997 Azerbaijan established with Georgia, Ukraine and Moldavia the GUAM regional organization and in the March 1999

²⁴² Edmund Herzig, *The New Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia*, (London, New York: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1999), p. 54.

²⁴³ Murat Tosun, *op.cit.*, p.153.

²⁴⁴ Gorman, Patrick "The Emerging Army in Azerbaijan," *Central Asia Monitor*, No.1, 1993 available at <http://www-scf.usc.edu/~baguirov/azeri/azarmy.htm>

²⁴⁵ Murat Tosun, *op.cit.*, p.155.

Azerbaijan did not extend its participation in the CIS Collective Security Treaty for another five years. Besides, Russia's plans to install 3000 peacekeepers to observe the cease-fire in Nagorno-Karabakh frustrated Azerbaijani officials who insisted on a multilateral operation with Russian troops comprising no more than 25 per cent.²⁴⁶ Azerbaijan enthusiastically follows the enlargement process of NATO and it made clear its desire for membership in NATO. On May 4, 1994 the Azerbaijani Republic officially joined the Partnership for Peace program. After joining the Partnership for Peace program, Azerbaijan joined various activities conducted by NATO such as military exercises and training programs.²⁴⁷ Azerbaijani military forces actively take part in the peacekeeping operations conducted by the North Atlantic Alliance as in KFOR (The Kosovo Force) since 1999.

In 2002 the number of active personnel in the Azerbaijani army was 72,100 (62,000:Army, 2,200: Navy, 7,900: Air Force and Air defense).²⁴⁸ Lack of a strong defense industry -even in the Soviet period- is the weakest point of the Azerbaijani army. Azerbaijan expects to increase its defense expenditures and strengthen its defense industry in the future with the flow of oil out of the country. Although the command structure and overall discipline in the army has improved since years of fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh, effective reforms must be implemented to prevent death of soldiers due to poor conditions, ill-treatment and corruption.²⁴⁹

In the last section of this chapter, the political, economic and military situation in the other South Caucasian state Armenia since 1989 will be explained.

²⁴⁶ Pavel Baev, *Russia's Policies in the Caucasus*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997), p. 28.

²⁴⁷ Jannatkhan Eyvazov, "NATO and Military-Political Aspects of Azerbaijan's Security," at <http://bridge.aznet.org/bridge/nato.htm>.

²⁴⁸ *The Military Balance*, 2001-2002, p. 82.

²⁴⁹ Former Defense Ministry Aide Major Alekper Mamedov, claimed that over two thousand soldiers died in the second half of the Nineties from malnutrition, tuberculosis, diphtheria and other diseases associated with appalling conditions; and another three thousand or so perished as a result of severe injuries from accidents and "ill-treatment. According to him order will come to the Azerbaijani army when it is staffed by graduates of officer schools in Azerbaijan and Turkey." Kjamal Ali, " Azeri Army Death-wish: No-one in Azerbaijan is Prepared to Take Responsibility for the Increasingly Parlous State of the Armed Forces," at <http://perso.club-internet.fr/kozlowsk/azerb.html>

2.3. Armenia²⁵⁰



Armenia is the smallest of the three Transcaucasian republics in terms of both territory and population. Armenia covers an area of 29,743 sq.km and its population was 3,304,776 of whom Armenians accounted for 93.3 %, Azerbaijanis 2.6 %, Kurds 1.7 % and Russians 1.6 % according to the 1989 census, Armenians now account for 96 % of the population.²⁵¹ Thus Armenia is the most ethnically homogenous of the Transcaucasian republics. It has few natural resources and much of its territory is unsuitable for cultivation. Armenia differentiated itself from Georgia and Azerbaijan in its close relationship with Russia and its interest in the development of the CIS because of its handicapped geographical position. In contrast to Azerbaijan and Georgia, Armenia sees Russia as an ally rather than a major threat. On the

²⁵⁰ The maps of Armenia are available at http://www.eurasianet.org/resource/armenia/index.shtml#http://www.tiscali.co.uk/reference/encyclopaedia/countryfacts/armenia_map.html

²⁵¹ Barry Turner (ed), *The Statesman's Yearbook 2003*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.167. On February 15, 2002, the National Statistics Service of Armenia reported that the number of people in Armenia decreased to 3,020,768 since 950,000 Armenians have emigrated since the Soviet collapse in 1991.

other hand, Armenia as a landlocked state, does not have warm relations with its neighbors; Turkey, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

2.3.1. Armenia's foreign and domestic policy

In the wake of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Armenian National Movement (ANM) came to power in the election, which was held in June 1990. Although ANM pronounced its intention for an independent Armenia, it avoided to provoke Russia and aimed to follow the procedures laid down by the Soviet law in its path to independence. Hence, Armenia was the last state of the Caucasian states that declared independence after a referendum, in November 1991.

In the initial days of its independence, compared with Azerbaijan, Armenia pursued more anti-Soviet politics than that of Azerbaijan. Thus, in the beginning Armenia did not receive military support from Russia in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and was sent an ultimatum from Russia to disband its militias within fifteen days.²⁵² Levon Ter- Petrosian, leader of the ANM, skillfully persuaded 10,000 militias to hand over their weapons and achieved to gather them under government control. However, he could not control all the militias and Armenia's relations with Moscow deteriorated to such a great extent that one Soviet general threatened to "wipe Armenia off the face of the earth" after Armenian guerrillas kidnapped a group of Soviet army officers.²⁵³ Later, Levon Ter- Petrossian who was arrested in 1988 as the leader of the Karabakh Committee -in summer 1990 was elected Chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and later became the president of Armenia-, saw that Russia was an indispensable and unique partner which could protect Armenia's interests in that volatile and hostile environment and opted for a pro-Russian position. Therefore,

²⁵² *Independent*, 10 August 1990 cited in Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 178.

²⁵³ *The Times*, 3 May 1991 cited in Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 178.

Armenia was more enthusiastic to move closer to Moscow and of the three Caucasian states, Armenia was the only one that signed the CIS pact on collective security at the Tashkent summit in May 1992. In addition, Armenia allowed Russian troops to remain on its territory as a deterrent power against any attack against Armenia. Armenian-Russian relations improved with the visit of a Russian government delegation including Grachev to Yerevan just after Turkey warned Armenia because of the extension of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, in accordance with the Kars Treaty of 1921 as a security guarantor for the Azerbaijani enclave of Nakhichevan. After that visit an Armenian foreign ministry spokesman declared that Russian forces would not leave Armenia. Besides, Russia began to send military experts and donate equipment to the Armenian army.²⁵⁴ “Under the leadership of Levon Ter-Petrosian, Armenia claimed to be part of the ‘nucleus’ of the CIS”.²⁵⁵ He supported enthusiastically CIS security structures and CIS economic integration projects, in order to get closer to Russia.

Although Russia backed up Armenia in the military domain, Levon Ter-Petrosian strained to establish a national army. At the end of November 1992 Ter-Petrosian took severe measures to enforce draft which led to the formation of an army involving 60,000 men. However, Ter-Petrosian was not so successful in organizing the militias in Nagorno-Karabakh. The Armenian detachments in Nagorno-Karabakh were under the control of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF, Dashnaks), which controlled the government of the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (NKR). However, Ter-Petrosian succeeded to appoint Sergei Sarkisian, an enthusiastic supporter of himself, to become the minister of defense in the NKR.

Nagorno-Karabakh received assistance from Armenian sources for its war with Azerbaijan, but the Armenian government seemed to feign a noninvolvement policy. In fact,

²⁵⁴ Jonathan Aves, “The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex,” in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), pp: 182-183.

financial and material help was sent by the Armenian diaspora in France and the United States to Nagorno- Karabakh. Furthermore, Armenian people and ex-Armenian officers were permitted to join the Nagorno-Karabakh Self-Defense Force (SDF).²⁵⁶ Armenia's military and nonmilitary assistance intensified with the opening of the Lachin corridor to Nagorno-Karabakh. After the dissolution of the SU, the most successful example of state-building process was seen in the NKR. The NKR government effectively mobilized limited resources at its disposal. Unlike the other Caucasian states, conscription is effective and the NKR army of fifteen thousand men are very well disciplined. Besides, the soldiers of NKR have high morale which is a most important factor.²⁵⁷

Although Nagorno-Karabakh's Armenians won victories in the battlefield against Azerbaijanis, that did not prevent the controversial disputes and differences among the Armenians and the Armenian parliament. Though Armenia has a very homogeneous population, its population is divided into two main groups; those whose priorities are national economic reconstruction and those favoring national reconstruction via the liberation of historical lands²⁵⁸ and unification with Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh.²⁵⁹ Most of the members of the latter group are outside Armenia and they are the supporters of the Dashnaks' Armenian Revolution Federation, which was founded in Tbilisi in 1890 and implemented terrorist activities and set up defense self-defense units and revolutionary

²⁵⁵ *Foreign Broadcast Information Service-SOV-93-093* cited in Mark Weber, *CIS Integration Trends: Russia and the Former Soviet South*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997), p.21.

²⁵⁶ Henry R. Huttenbach, "Chaos in Post-Soviet Caucasia, Crossroads of Empires: In Search of a US Foreign Policy," in (ed) John W. Blaney, *The Successor States to the USSR*, (Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1995), p.235.

²⁵⁷ Jonathan Aves, "Security and Military Issues in the Transcaucasus," in (ed) Bruce Parrott, *State Building and Military Power in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E.Sharpe, 1995), p. 223.

²⁵⁸ Armenian national ideology - 'Haydat' ideology- that Armenian Revolutionary Federation enthusiastically advocates, necessities the return of the lost territories- Van in Turkey, Nakhichevan in Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh, Akhalkalaki in Georgia- to Armenia. See Haleddin Ibrahimli, *Değişen Avrasya'da Kafkasya*, (Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2001), pp: 44-46.

²⁵⁹ Henry R. Huttenbach, "Chaos in Post-Soviet Caucasia, Crossroads of Empires: In Search of a US Foreign Policy," in (ed) John W. Blaney, *The Successor States to the USSR*, (Washington D.C: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1995), p.234.

cells.²⁶⁰ This group sees land and people as an indispensable factor for the existence of a strong Armenia and believes that the opportunity that they caught with the capture of Nagorno-Karabakh must be turned into a concrete gain with the annexation of that enclave. After independence, Ter Petrossian, in order to consolidate national solidarity, appointed three officials from the diaspora²⁶¹ to high-level positions (senior adviser to president, minister of energy, foreign minister) in the government. But in the course of time, the disputes came to surface between ARF and Ter Petrossian. For example, the republic advocated to establish relations with Turkey without any conditions. Besides, under Ter Petrossian's governance, Armenia joined the Black Sea Cooperation Organization, and Ter Petrossian even attended to the funeral of Turgut Özal, but the ARF put Turkish recognition of the 1915 Genocide as a precondition to relations. In addition, while the ARF opposed any solution short of complete independence of the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave, the republic looked at the Karabakh conflict more moderately. On economic issues, Dashnaks did not favor the mass privatization of the economy that Ter Petrossian advocated as a solution for the worsening economy, but they defended that industries and the country's infrastructure should remain under state control.²⁶² But Ter Petrossian seeing the appalling economic situation of the country because of the embargoes mounted by Azerbaijan that has cut off vital oil and gas supplies, and a probable attack of Azerbaijan with the support of Turkey which has a strong and experienced army, wanted a peaceful solution in the Nagorno-Karabakh affair. According to him, a wrong step in the Nagorno-Karabakh affair could anger Turkey, that had close ties with Azerbaijan and USA, and SU, that came close to Azerbaijan because of rich oil reserves in Azerbaijan and as a result Armenia could lose more than it won. But many

²⁶⁰ Razmik Panossian, "The Armenians: Conflicting Identities and the Politics of division," in (eds) Charles King and Neil J. Melvin, *Nations Abroad*, (Colorado: Westview Press, 1999), p. 80.

²⁶¹ Since the 1920s the meaning of "diaspora" has been related not to Armenian communities in the other republics, but Armenians living outside the Soviet federation – in the middle East, Europe, and the Americas – and this vision did not change after independence.

parliamentarians called for a recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh's independence, which could ruin all chances for peace according to Petrossian and provoke supporters of Azerbaijan. In 1994 in a meeting in İstanbul, Raffi Hovannisian, the foreign minister made a speech full of insults to Turkey and Ter Petrossian ousted his foreign minister and tried to forge a new policy in accordance with the political and economic realities of the region rather than the bellicose dreams of the diaspora. After then, he refused to grant dual citizenship to diaspora Armenians and in order to prevent a conflict in Armenia and to consolidate his governance, Ter Petrossian banned the ARF on 28 December 1994.²⁶³ While Ter Petrossian had claimed that economic prosperity for Armenia was impossible in the absence of a Karabakh settlement, the Armenian prime minister, (former president of Karabakh) Robert Kocharian rejected that policy and asserted "No decision adopted in Armenia will be implemented without Karabakh's consent, irrespective of who is in power in Yerevan".²⁶⁴ Finally, Ter Petrossian was forced to resign in February 1998, claiming that his policies which endorse OSCE peace proposals in the Nagorno-Karabakh, had not been supported by others in his government. Former Prime Minister Robert Kocharyan won the March 1998 presidential elections.²⁶⁵ After he came to power, he immediately lifted the ban imposed in 1994 by Petrossian on the opposition Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Dashnak Party.

Unlike Azerbaijan and Georgia, no changes in the essence of Armenian foreign policy took place. Armenia's historical distrust of Turkey which has the ability to amass overwhelming military forces near Yerevan, continues and with Kocharian's presidency, Ter-Petrossian's aim of normalizing Armenia's relations with Turkey was replaced with a radical policy towards Turkey. Besides the problem of the so-called 1915 genocide, Nagorno-

²⁶² Razmik Panossian, "The Armenians: Conflicting Identities and the Politics of Division," in (eds) Charles King and Neil J. Melvin, *Nations Abroad*, (Colorado: Westview Press, 1999), p. 91.

²⁶³ Ibid. p. 92. See also Kemal H. Karpat, "The Role of Turkey and Iran in Incorporating the Former Soviet Republics into the World System," in (ed) Karen Dawisha, *The International Dimension of Post-Communist Transitions in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (London, New York: M.E.Sharpe, 1997), p. 195.

²⁶⁴ Available at www.russia.jamestown.org/pubs/view/mon_003_201_000.htm

Karabakh is also an obstacle in Turkish-Armenian relations. Armenia intensifies its propaganda of the so called 1915 Armenian-genocide allegations to exclude Turkey from the international arena and make Turkey impartial in the events of Caucasus. As Azerbaijan's strongest ally, Turkey claims that normalization of relations with Yerevan can happen only if Armenian forces withdraw from occupied Azerbaijani territory. Armenia's disappointment with the prospects of improved relations with Turkey and with the lack of Western support, led to a growing alliance between Russia and Armenia, and this alliance was formalized by the signing of the agreement named "Treaty on Friendship Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Armenia" in 1997. After this agreement five thousand Russian soldiers were stationed in Armenia.²⁶⁶ Unlike Georgia and Azerbaijan, Armenia has no borders with Russia and no sizeable Russian minority. These factors prevented probable major disputes between Russia and Armenia. Besides, Armenia's domestic political stability hindered Russian intervention into Armenia to a great extent and the shared interests between Armenia and Russia such as the prevention of Turkish influence in the Caucasus, brought the two allies to a common point.²⁶⁷ However, like his predecessor, Ter-Petrosian, Kocharian also tried to reduce Armenia's dependency on Russia. Kocharian attended the celebration for the 50th anniversary of the establishment of NATO and tried to improve relations with the US despite the extreme sensitivity of its allies Russia and Iran. Nevertheless, Armenia's uncompromising stance in the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute made it even more dependent on Russia and Russian military stations on its territory.²⁶⁸ To prove the close strategic relationship between Russia and Armenia, Kocharian visited Moscow on 16

²⁶⁵ Jim Nichol and Julie Kim, "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests," at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

²⁶⁶ Shireen T. Hunter, "The Evolution of the Foreign Policy of the Transcaucasian States," in (eds) Gary K. Bertsch, Cassady Craft, Scott A. Jones and Michael Beck, *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, (New York, London: Routledge, 2000), p. 34.

²⁶⁷ Mark Weber, *CIS Integration Trends: Russia and the Former Soviet South*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997), pp: 20-21.

²⁶⁸ Kamer Kasim, "Armenia's Foreign Policy: Basic Parameters of the Ter-Petrosian and Kocharian Era", *Turkish Daily News*, 5 July 2002.

January 2003 and signed military, technical, economic and cultural agreements. Besides, Kocharian declared that Russia's strategic presence in Armenia is a "strong stabilizing factor." On the other hand, Armenia's relations with Azerbaijan will remain tense until a solution to the Karabakh problem is found. Today relations with Georgia do not present any problems but the Armenian community in southern Georgia is a potential source of conflict. Besides, while Georgia expanded and intensified its ties with the West, Turkey and Azerbaijan, Armenia only came close to Russia.²⁶⁹

2.3.2. Armenian economy

After 1990, more than a quarter of a million refugees including Armenians who suffered from the anti-Armenian riots in Baku and Sumgait, imposed a big economic burden on Armenia, which was economically too weak to absorb the refugees from Azerbaijan. Because of the outbreak of the Nagorno-Karabakh war, Armenia saw a sharp decline of GDP more than 50 percent that brought it nearly to the edge of economic collapse.²⁷⁰ Besides, "national income declined 42 percent to equal the level attained in 1975 and industrial and agricultural production fell to levels attained in 1971".²⁷¹ In addition, Azerbaijan closed the gas pipeline which supplied 80 percent of Armenia's gas, imposed an effective rail blockade and Azerbaijanis living in Georgia attacked Georgia's rail and fuel pipelines which extend to Armenia. Because of its agricultural insufficiency and being dependent on imports for 96 percent of its energy needs, President Levon Ter-Petrossian focused on privatization and searched help from outside. In that energy crisis time in 1992-3, Armenia looked first to its traditional protector and unique friend in the Caucasus, Russia. Russia initially provided fuel

²⁶⁹ Shireen T. Hunter, "The Evolution of the Foreign Policy of the Transcaucasian States," in (eds) Gary K. Bertsch, Cassady Craft, Scott A. Jones and Michael Beck, *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, (New York, London: Routledge, 2000), p. 36. Sergei Blagov, "Kocharian's Moscow Visit Underscores Strengthening Armenian-Russian Security Cooperation," *Eurasia Insight*, 21/01/2003 available at www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav012103_pr.shtml

²⁷⁰ Pavel Baev, *Russia's Policies in the Caucasus*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997), p. 31.

²⁷¹ Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, *Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 190.

but later this assistance was hindered by terrorist actions in the territory of Georgia.²⁷² Petrossian convinced Turkey to supply electricity to Armenia but intense domestic and Azerbaijani public opinion hindered this assistance. Turkey also allowed humanitarian shipments of food and fuel to transit its territory to Armenia but annulled this relief operation after the Armenian attacks on western Azerbaijan in April 1993.²⁷³ In addition, Turkey refused air transportation except for humanitarian aid. As a result, during the winter of 1992-93, Armenia as a landlocked state trembled in the dark with only a trickle of natural gas and oil from abroad.²⁷⁴ In April 1992, US granted MFN status to Armenia which helped Armenian economy to recover to some extent.²⁷⁵ In 1993 Armenia joined the IMF and the World Bank and received substantial assistance in macroeconomic stabilization and liberalization in the development of free market economies²⁷⁶. In November 1993, Armenia left the ruble zone, introduced its own currency-the dram- and with the measures taken by the government Armenian economy got almost better by 1995. Armenia was among the first post-Soviet states to record positive growth.²⁷⁷ In addition, as of 30 September 1995, Armenia received \$505 million from the US, which helped Armenia to continue with its economic development.²⁷⁸ Although Armenia's economic relations with Russia declined in various domains as did the other Caucasian states, Russia continued to buy several electronic components for military aircraft from Armenia. Russia by its ruble credits and assistance

²⁷² Ibid. p. 227.

²⁷³ Ibid. p. 190.

²⁷⁴ Richard G. Hovannisian, "Historical Memory and Foreign Relations: the Armenian Perspective," in (ed) S. Frederick Starr, *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), p. 250.

²⁷⁵ Bartłomiej Kaminski, "Factor Affecting Trade Reorientation of the Newly Independent States," in (ed) Bartłomiej Kaminski, *Economic Transition in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), p. 404.

²⁷⁶ Karen Dawisha and Micheal Turner, "The Interaction Between Internal and External Agency in Post-Communist Transitions," in (ed) Karen Dawisha, *The International Dimension of Post-Communist Transitions in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (London, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 407.

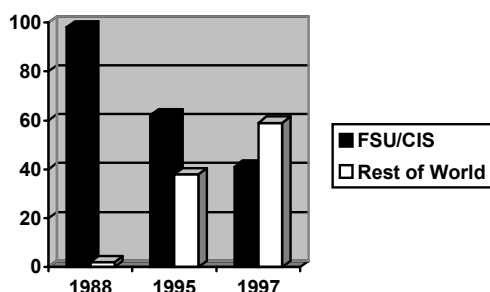
²⁷⁷ Edmund Herzig, *The New Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia*, (London, New York: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1999), p. 124.

²⁷⁸ Gertrude Schroder, "The Economic Transformation Process in the Post-Soviet States: The Role of Outside Actors," in (ed) Karen Dawisha, *The International Dimension of Post-Communist Transitions in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (London, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 265.

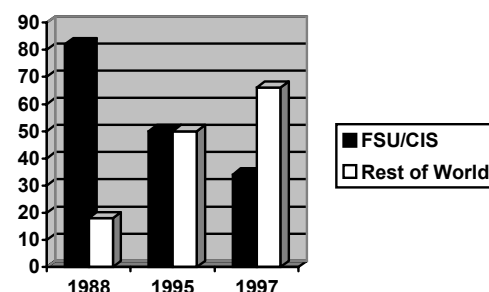
remains the preeminent force in the Armenian economy. Armenia, aware of its geographic situation and limited resources, adopted policies at transforming the economy to a market basis and integrating into the world system. Armenia's accession to the Council of Europe in 2001 and the World Trade Organization in 2002 represented significant steps toward its integration into the global and European economic systems. As a result Armenia, whose trade dependency was mostly on former Soviet partners, diversified its trade markets as seen on table 5.

Table 5:²⁷⁹

Armenia-direction of exports



Armenia - direction of imports



Since 1999, real GDP has grown at an average rate of 8 percent per year and Armenia reduced inflation from 4,964 percent in 1994 to 3.1 percent in 2001.²⁸⁰ The official unemployment rate declined from 11.7 percent at end-2000 to 9.5 percent by mid-2002.²⁸¹ Despite a number of structural changes and recent strong economic growth, Armenia is failing to attract significant foreign direct investment because of insufficient legal framework, corruption and the lack of a political settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Since Armenia can not attract significant foreign direct investment, it remains dependent on

²⁷⁹ Armenia's biggest trading partners are Russia, Belgium, the United States and Iran. *UN/ECE, Economic Survey of Europe* cited in Edmund Herzig, *The New Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia*, (London, New York: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1999), p. 142.

²⁸⁰ Available at <http://cf.heritage.org/index/country.cfm?ID=5.0>

²⁸¹ Public Information Notice of International Monetary Fund, "IMF Concludes 2002 Article IV Consultation with the Republic of Armenia," at <http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/pn/2002/pn02118.htm>.

assistance from international financial institutions. In December 2002, Armenia obtained a \$20 million loan from the World Bank, and arrived at an agreement with the bank under which an additional \$40 million in funds will be released in 2003.²⁸²

2.3.3. Military power in Armenia

While Mutalibov relied on Soviet troops for the security of Azerbaijan, Armenia's development of military forces began even before independence. Like the other Caucasian states, paramilitary groups became the foundation for a national armed force. In the beginning, these militias were militarily too weak, therefore they attacked Russian bases to get weapons and from January 1990 to June 1992, they seized large quantities of weapons by raiding the Russian military depots and posts (356 raids in entire Transcaucasia, of which 164 were in the territory of Azerbaijan and 130 in that of Armenia).²⁸³ But unlike Georgia and Azerbaijan, Ter-Petrossian achieved to gather the militia under the control of the government. Besides, Armenia kept the 7th Russian army stationed on its territory under Russian jurisdiction, thus guaranteeing its own security. While Armenia, aware of its geographical situation and limited resources, exploited Russia for its security interests; Russia, which did not want to lose its influence in the Caucasus exploited Armenia for its geo-strategic interests.²⁸⁴ Russia provides Armenia with defense assistance and has 4,000 troops stationed in Armenia in three bases.²⁸⁵ Since the establishment of the Armenian Armed Forces, Armenia got arms supplies from Russia without any agreement as donation, and this reality was also admitted by the Defense Minister of Armenia, Serge Sarkisian, in March 1997 "over the past two years we have doubled our defense capacity at no cost to the budget".²⁸⁶ On

²⁸² Mark Berniker, "Lack Of Strong Legal Framework, Corruption Hinder Foreign Investment In Armenia," 16/01/2003 at <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/business/articles/eav011603.shtml>

²⁸³ *WelMy* (Moscow), June 1992 cited in Alexei Zverev, "Ethnic Conflicts in the Caucasus 1988-1994," in (ed) Bruno Coppieters, *Contested Borders in the Caucasus*, (Brussels: VUB Press, 1996), p. 35.

²⁸⁴ One of the slogans written at the entry of Russian 102nd military base is "We have been in Caucasus and continue to be!"

²⁸⁵ *The Military Balance*, 2001-2002, p. 91.

²⁸⁶ Available at www.rferl.org/Caucasus-report/1998/10/35-301098.html. See also Appendix 6 for the illegal arms transfer in figures.

March 1995, Ter-Petrosian and Boris Yeltsin signed a treaty which would allow Russia to maintain a military base near Gyumri- close to the border with Turkey-²⁸⁷, a command group and a motorized rifle regiment in Yerevan for the next 25 years.²⁸⁸ Besides, the Armenian government requested from Russia to reinforce the 7th army with some air force units and one year later, one squadron of MiG 23 fighters arrived to be based near Yerevan.²⁸⁹ In addition, Russian forces carried out joint military exercises with Armenia which were aimed at repulsing an ‘invading force’ during 1994-1996 and according to several serious reports, Russia made large quantities of arms transfer to Armenia.²⁹⁰ Moreover, in 1999 Russia deployed S-300 air defense missiles to Armenia and now, Russian S-300 divisions guard CIS borders in Transcaucasia in alliance with the Armenian Air Defense Forces.²⁹¹ Despite its military alliance with Russia, Armenia did not distance itself from the West and signed the Partnership for Peace Framework Document (PfP) on 10 May 1994. Armenia also concluded military agreements with Greece that had problems with Turkey. Contrary to Azerbaijan and Georgia, there is not a serious internal threat to the Armenian Armed Forces and threat perception and its military doctrine just depend on the Turkish threat either from the West or East. The Armenian armed forces which fought a successful war against Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh, is now “better armed, better funded and better organized” than in 1993-1995. The Armenian Army has 16,790 active personnel including 8,620 army, 1,040 navy and 1,330 of air force personnel.²⁹² The present structure of its armed forces has common similarities with ex-Soviet systems or the new Russian model. However, Russian military

²⁸⁷ *COVCAS Bulletin*, 29 March 1995 cited in Jonathan Aves, “The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex,” in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 178.

²⁸⁸ *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 18 March 1995 cited in Roy Allison, “The Network of new security policy relations in Eurasia,” in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 19.

²⁸⁹ Pavel Baev, *Russia’s Policies in the Caucasus*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997), p. 25.

²⁹⁰ *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 27 June 1997 cited in Roy Allison, “The Network of New Security Policy Relations in Eurasia,” in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 19.

²⁹¹ Available at <http://www.wps.ru:8101/chitalka/military/en/20010907.shtml>

traditions cause serious problems within the armed forces. Beating and the rigidity of army life causes several unprecedented undisciplined behavior and there is also unhappiness among the people whose sons are killed or died due to the bad conditions in the army, but despite these problems, training is given high priority. Armenian armed forces make joint exercises with Russian troops and implement small-scale exercises to be ready for combat. Since it is the supporter of Karabakh army, it always keeps the military forces on semi alert.²⁹³

Like Georgia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, Armenia also has a nuclear research center. Besides, Armenia has two types, 440 VVER V230 nuclear power reactors and they represent a proliferation threat by virtue of its spent fuel.²⁹⁴ When Armenia's geographic situation is examined, it is seen that it has serious problems with its neighbor Azerbaijan such as in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and has a long and deep adversity to its much more powerful neighbor Turkey. In addition, Armenia has not a non-proliferation export control policy as an Armenian official pointed in late 1996, "We do not have the leisure to ponder the best way to develop an export control system. We are fighting wars and trying to stabilize an inherently unstable region".²⁹⁵ Thus, Armenia fits the motivational profile of a potential proliferator.

In the first chapter, Turkish-American alliance is examined in a chronological manner and in the second chapter, the political, economic and military situation in the South Caucasus is analyzed. These chapters are written to give a background to the reader. The third chapter will be an intersection of these two chapters. After examining the bases of Turkish-American alliance and the general situation in the South Caucasus, the similarities and differences of

²⁹² *The Military Balance*, 2001-2002, p. 91.

²⁹³ Murat Tosun, *Military Power in the Caucasus*, (İstanbul: Yeditepe University, (Master's) Thesis, 2002), p.173. See also for the violence in the Armenian Army, Armenia : Torture and ill-treatment :Comments on the Second Periodic Report to the United Nations Committee Against Torture at web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/Index/EUR540022000?OpenDocument&of=COUNTRIES%5CARMENIA

²⁹⁴ Scott A. Jones, "Introduction," in (eds) Gary K. Bertsch, Cassady Craft, Scott A. Jones and Michael Beck, *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, (New York, London: Routledge,2000), p. 12.

²⁹⁵ Cassady Craft, "Reconciling disparate Views on Caucasus Security," in (eds) Gary K. Bertsch, Cassady Craft, Scott A. Jones and Michael Beck, *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, (New York, London: Routledge,2000), p. 34.

the global interests of US and regional interests of Turkey in the South Caucasus will be presented in the third chapter.

CHAPTER 3

3. SIMILARITIES AND DIVERSITIES IN THE TURKISH-AMERICAN ALLIANCE POLITICS IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS REGION

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the South Caucasus presented several opportunities and challenges in the political, economic and military domains to the US as the unique super power of the world and to Turkey as a strong regional power. Therefore, both states whose interests converged as encouraging the development of democratic pro-Western regimes and free-market economy, preventing terrorism, expanding NATO's membership, securing oil reserves in the Caspian, opening of new oil pipeline routes in the Caucasus, preventing rebuilding of the Russian Empire, establishing non-Russian/non-Islamic lines of communication for the newly independent states (NIS) of the South Caucasus. Therefore, they decided to pursue active politics in the South Caucasus as a duty for the sake of their own global and regional interests. However, there were also differences in the allies' politics such as in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

During the Cold War, Turkey as a NATO member and as a candidate to the European Community, (European Union since 1992) focused on evolving its relationship with western countries for its economic and military needs, and ignored the rest. Hence, Turkey's dependence on the West on economic, political and military domains, restrained its foreign policy options. Besides, due to the bipolar structure of the world, Turkish leaders attributed a defensive and cautious approach in the formulation of Turkish foreign policy and avoided taking risks. However, in the aftermath of the demise of the Warsaw Pact and then of the Soviet Union, the new geopolitical configuration of the world relieved Turkish foreign policy of certain constraints. Thus, Turkey caught an opportunity to extend its relations towards the post-Soviet world and due to its multi-regional identity and its ethnic, cultural and religious ties with the Caucasus and Central Asia, Turkey aimed to pursue an active policy as stated by

the former Foreign Minister of Turkey, İsmail Cem “Contemporary Turkey aspires to be the leading economic and political actor in Eurasia. We envisage an international mission which is no longer peripheral and confined to the outskirts of Europe. Our mission envisions a pivotal role in the emerging Eurasian reality ”.²⁹⁶ In the aftermath of the demise of the Soviet Union, the US supported the territorial integrity and independence of the South Caucasian states and US policymakers presented Turkey as a model for the NIS to strengthen democracy and free-market economy in these states. Turkey and the US attach great importance to the South Caucasus because of its rich oil reserves and geographic location, which is Russia’s gateway to the Middle East and Mediterranean via the Black Sea. Although these states dispatched diplomats to the South Caucasian States; signed cultural, trade and security protocols; beamed radio and television broadcasts (TRT-INT); provided loans; trained students, increased commercial relations, and proffered export credits, allies could not have pursued an active policy in the beginning of 1990s. Before the collapse of the Russian Empire, the former Soviet Republics were managed from Moscow and therefore, though Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia gained their independence after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, they could not have coped with the challenges of the new geopolitical and economic environment due to the lack of their own military power, strong economy. Thereupon, these states’ first years of independence were fraught with economic, political, and social difficulties. Although, the USA, Turkey and Iran tried to set up relations with the NIS, Russia, which viewed the South Caucasus as a bulwark against Iran and Turkey, and an important element of the Russian sphere of influence, was the main political actor in the region and tried to take advantage of instability in the region. Russia, by using its military power, obtained permanent bases in Armenia and Georgia, and instigated coups in Azerbaijan in 1993 and 1994. Therefore, the allies initially pursued a policy which aimed at

²⁹⁶ Preface written by İsmail Cem for the book *Turkey and The World* available at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupb/ba/baa98/july/02.htm>

stability in the South Caucasus region without challenging Russia's hegemony over the NIS. Also, Turkey's mixed and complex relations with Europe, Russia and the US in economic, political and military domains and its own limited capabilities prevented Turkey from taking unilateral steps in the South Caucasus at the expense of its interests and its relations with the other regions.

In the wake of the Soviet collapse in 1991, the United States strengthened its relations with the Soviet successor states by recognizing the states as independent and viable entities, supporting their transition to market economies and democratic societies, facilitating their integration into international institutions, and encouraging regional cooperative arrangements. President Bush proposed the Freedom Support Act in early 1992. Signed into law in 1992, P.L.(Public Law) 102-511 it authorized funds for the NIS for humanitarian needs, democratization, creation of market economies, trade and investment, and other purposes.²⁹⁷ However, compared to the other NIS, the US neglected the South Caucasian states in its foreign policy making in the early 1990s as Elizabeth Sherwood emphasized, "...preoccupation with the four "nuclear successor states" (Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus) prevented the Caucasus and Central Asian states from getting much serious attention until 1994".²⁹⁸ While the United States supported its ally Turkey, which has common interests like itself in the region as the independence and territorial integrity of the NIS; keeping Iran and Islamic fundamentalism in check; ensuring access to energy resources; and preventing a reemergence of Russian imperialism,²⁹⁹ in its role as a new regional leader in the Caucasus region, it still feared Russian radical response and thus at the same time preferred Russia to controlling events in the volatile region. Washington showed much respect to

²⁹⁷ Jim Nichol and Julie Kim, "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests," at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

²⁹⁸ Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall, "US Policy and the Caucasus," at <http://ist-socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/caucasus/newsletter/1998-05.pdf>

²⁹⁹ Ariel Cohen, "Ethnic Conflicts Threaten U.S. Interests in the Caucasus," at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1222.cfm>

Russia's military (nuclear and conventional) capabilities at the time and treated Russia almost as equal to the USSR in this sense.³⁰⁰ Thus, containment of political Islam, influence of the Armenian lobby and fear of negatively influencing Russian domestic politics dominated the essence of Washington's policies in the early 1990s.³⁰¹ For the first four years of the Clinton Administration, Russia was the center of US policy in the NIS and American policymakers attached importance on the democratization and economic development of Russia, because the US officials thought that transformation of Russia to a democratic state would be in favor of the United States and the Caucasian states. The priority for the USA in dealing with Russia and post-Soviet republics has been the issue of non-proliferation of the Soviet nuclear heritage that remained in some former Soviet republics such as Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus. Therefore, the Clinton Administration, which gave strategic priority to dismantle the Soviet military machine and nuclear arsenal and confine it within the Russian region in accordance with its Russia-first policy, gave Moscow a free hand in the South Caucasus³⁰² in order not to complicate the nuclear issues. As a result of this US policy, withdrawal of former Soviet troops from the Baltic States was secured in August 1994, and the removal of nuclear weapons from Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan was completed by 1996.³⁰³

In short, Washington was not keen on asserting its influence in the region, acknowledging it as Russia's sphere of influence³⁰⁴ and understood Russia's security concerns in the South Caucasus as in the statement of the US President Bill Clinton : “ You [Russians] will be more likely to be involved in some of these areas near you, just like the United States has been involved in the last several years in Panama and Grenada near our

³⁰⁰ Ilgar Aliyev, *The US Strategic Engagement In The South Caucasus: 1991 – 2002*, (Ankara:Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.47.

³⁰¹ Leila Aliyeva "The Foreign Policy of Azerbaijan," Central Asian and Caucasian Prospects, Briefing Paper no.9, October 1996 <http://www.riia.org/Research/rep/bp9.html>

³⁰² Fiona Hill, "A Not-So-Grand Strategy: United States Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia since 1991," *Politique étrangère*, February 2001, <http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/views/articles/fhill/2001politique.htm>

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Svante E. Cornell, " The Caucasian States and Eurasian Strategic Alignments," at www.geocities.com/svantec/geopl.html

area”.³⁰⁵ The Clinton Administration—intent on placating Moscow—wavered to take advantage of the strategic opportunities that the South Caucasus presented. During the first term of the Clinton Administration, the Department of State and the National Security Council neglected the Central Asian and Caucasian capitals, creating a policy vacuum in the region.³⁰⁶

In addition to the respect for the former Soviet Union’s status as a superpower, lack of information and plans concerning the Caspian region, and a lack of comprehension of American interest had been effective on this policy. Generally, Washington controlled its policy by supporting the Turkish model for the NIS, backing Turkey’s demand for influence there as well as independence of the NIS.³⁰⁷ Turkey, which had more success in economics; a better-equipped and more experienced armed forces; greater regional opportunity; and a greater sense of policy independence marked by the ending of risks forced by the Cold War was an ideal model for the South Caucasian states.³⁰⁸ Besides Turkey’s secularism, democracy, common culture, and the Turkish experimentation in economic change made it appealing for Western and the US support, to be emulated by the newly independent states.

However, the US which was careful not to provoke Russia in order to support Turkey until 1995, made the crucial decision to back pipelines running through Turkey, and not Russia contrary to its ‘Russia first policy’.³⁰⁹ The revolutionary event that changed the US politics, was the war in Chechnya, which showed to the US officials the real (conventional) military capabilities of Russia: it could create substantial amounts of trouble, but not meet a serious military challenge. To wit, much of the US respect for Russia was lost. Consequently,

³⁰⁵ Zbigniew Brzezinski, in “Premature Partnership,” *Foreign Affairs*, 73: 2, (March-April 1994), p. 70.

³⁰⁶ Ariel Cohen, “U.S. Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia: Building A New “Silk Road” to Economic Prosperity,” at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1132.cfm>

³⁰⁷ Levent Demirci, *Turkey's Political Objectives in the Caucasus*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.88.

³⁰⁸ Alan Makovsky, “The New Activism in Turkish Foreign Policy”, *SAIS Review*, 19:1 (Winter-Spring 1999) pp.94-95, at www.washingtoninstitute.org/media/amakovsky/alansais.htm

³⁰⁹ Stephen Blank, “American Grand Strategy and the Transcaspian Region”, *World Affairs*, 163:2, (Fall2000) p.68.

the US policy in the Caspian became increasingly assertive from the second half of 1996, and the US has declared that it considers the Caucasus and the Caspian region of 'vital US interests'.³¹⁰ The Caspian Basin's importance for the US was strongly emphasized for the first time in the speech of the National Security Advisor, Sandy Berger, in March 1997, when he "...singled out China, Turkey and the Caucasus as areas of special emphasis and stressed Washington's intent to step up its involvement in the Caucasus and Central Asia."³¹¹ Contrary to its 'Russia first policy', the United States accepted the South Caucasus as a zone of free competition and began to pursue active politics to prevent Russian imperialistic hegemony or Iranian conservative influence in the South Caucasus.³¹² On 21 July 1997, the political objectives of the US in the Caucasus and Central Asia became visible with the speech of Deputy Secretary of State, Strobe Talbott, at the Central Asia Institute. He outlined four dimensions of the US support to the countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia: 1) promotion of democracy; 2) creation of free market economies; 3) sponsorship of peace and cooperation within and among the countries of the region; and, 4) integration into the larger international community.³¹³

However, some observers pointed out that developments in this region were largely marginal to U.S. interests and looked with suspicion to the changing US policy. They suggested that the oil and other natural resources there were not vital to US trade and security and were, in any event, unlikely to be fully developed and available to Western markets for many years. They urged great caution in adopting policies that would heavily involve the United States in a region beset by ethnic and civil conflicts. They did not believe that there was a "power vacuum" in the region that the United States must fill. They claimed that, the

³¹⁰ Svante E. Cornell, "The Caucasian States and Eurasian Strategic Alignments," at www.geocities.com/svantec/geop1.html

³¹¹ James Macdougall, "The New Stage in US-Caspian Sea Basin Relations," at http://www.ca-c.org/dataeng/st_04_dougall.shtml.

³¹² Ilgar Aliyev, *The US Strategic Engagement In The South Caucasus: 1991 – 2002*, (Ankara:Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.87.

US aid for humanitarian and security purposes should continue, but other aid should be curtailed.³¹⁴

On the other hand, some observers believed that the US policy toward the South Caucasus should be far more active, given the new security situation. They called for greater U.S. aid and conflict resolution efforts to bolster weak states and counter regional instability caused by warfare, crime, smuggling, and terrorism. They saw Russian policies as attempts to pull the NIS back into the Russian orbit. Thus, they claimed that a fundamental U.S. policy goal should be to prevent the emergence of a new Russian empire in the Caucasus. Besides, they argued that improved U.S. relations with the NIS would serve to contain Russian and Iranian influence, and improved U.S. ties with Azerbaijan would benefit U.S. relations with other Islamic countries, particularly Turkey and the Central Asian states. Also if US strengthened its relations with Azerbaijan, Azerbaijani oil and natural gas deliveries would expand world supplies, making the United States and the West less vulnerable to supply cut offs in the Middle East.³¹⁵ Advocaters of an active US policy in the South Caucasus asserted that the US regional engagement should be targeted to further the goal of breaking Russia's monopoly, demonstrate U.S. power projection capability, help tie the region to the West through the PfP program, enhance local military capabilities for self-defense, prevent military reliance upon Moscow and cement a local presence to defend U.S. energy interests.³¹⁶ Furthermore, they argued that if Washington failed to give heed to this region, the South Caucasus would return to Russian or a new Iranian hegemony, and the US and its allies would not have access to vital and strategic energy resources.³¹⁷

³¹³ James MacDougall, "The New Stage in US-Caspian Sea Basin Relations," at http://www.ca-c.org/dataeng/st_04_dougall.shtml

³¹⁴ Jim and Julie Kim, "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests," at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ "Liars and Hypocrites" at www.socialistworker.org/2002-1/409/409_06_WhatTheyWontSay.shtml

³¹⁷ Stephen J. Blank, "U.S. Military Engagement with Transcaucasia And Central Asia," at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2000/milengag/milengag.pdf

Consequently, the priority in American policy changed from placating Russia to strengthening civil societies, markets and armed forces within the three Caucasian states, supporting the stability and independence of the states through multilateral and bilateral conflict resolution efforts, and developing an East–West coalition of Georgia and Azerbaijan supported by Turkey and Israel. Besides, US-Azerbaijan relations were deteriorated since 1992, due to an amendment (Section 907) that precluded assistance to the government of Azerbaijan. The amendment was pushed through Congress by the representatives and supporters of the US Armenian Diaspora in response to Azerbaijan's blockade of Armenia during their territorial conflict over the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh.³¹⁸ Neglected American-Azerbaijani relations developed only after the Azerbaijani President Haydar Aliyev's triumphal official visit to the United States in July 1997 and the US-Azerbaijani cooperation fortified with the contracts worth of \$10 billion. By this way, American energy companies were able to establish oil and gas pipelines in a western direction to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean instead of the north (to Russia) and south (to Iran). In addition, the amendment was lifted by 2001. Today, the Bush Administration supports US private investment in Azerbaijan's energy sector as a means of increasing the diversity of world energy suppliers, and encourages building multiple oil pipeline routes to world markets.³¹⁹

It was seen that if a power vacuum emerged in the region and if Washington failed to pursue active politics, its own interests as well as those of key U.S. allies, such as Turkey and Israel, would be imperiled and anti-Western elements in Russia and Iran would reap the

³¹⁸ Fiona Hill, "A Not-So-Grand Strategy: United States Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia since 199," at <http://208.243.20.130/dybdocroot/views/articles/fhill/2001politique.htm>

³¹⁹ The changing US policy was also revealed on the Caspian Region Energy Development Report of 1997. In this report the goals of American policy were described as to enhance the new states' independence, bring about peaceful settlements to the region's conflicts, particularly those in Georgia and Nagorno-Karabakh, and diversify global energy supplies through multiple East-West pipelines. According to the report, by achieving these objectives the US would increase its own and its allies' energy security, eliminate traditional energy monopolies, support Turkey and the new states of Central Asia and the Caucasus, and invigorate their ability to defend their borders against transnational threats like arms, drug smuggling, and ethnic conflict. Stephen J. Blank, "U.S. Military Engagement with Transcaucasia And Central Asia," at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2000/milengag/milengag.pdf

benefits.³²⁰ In accordance with this politics, there appeared genuine specialists on the region within the United States Government instead of the diplomats specializing on the former Soviet Union in general. Also, the United States has fostered these states' ties with the West, including membership in the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP), to end the dependence of these states on Russia for trade, security, and other relations. Besides, the US interest in GUUAM has grown considerably from the outset of GUUAM.³²¹ At a US-sponsored "GUUAM Workshop" in Stanford University in November 2000, the Azerbaijani ambassador to the USA, Hafiz Pashayev, declared that "GUUAM has not been directed against any state," but went on to declare that greater US support for GUUAM was necessary in order to reduce Russian power in the region.³²² Then, US encouragement played an important part in pulling the group back together again, as symbolized in the Stanford seminar, when the cooperation seemed to break up with Uzbekistan and Moldova drifting away towards Russia. Besides, in the final Defense and Security Assistance Act of 2000, the US Congress provided \$8.5 million for GUUAM countries and Armenia "to promote the independence and territorial sovereignty of such countries."³²³ However, the ineffectiveness of GUUAM in implementing its decisions since its creation in 1997 was underlined with the decision of Uzbekistan to suspend its membership in the organization in June 2002.³²⁴ Also the "Silk Road Strategy Act" in Consolidated

³²⁰ Ariel Cohen, "Ethnic Conflicts Threaten U.S. Interests in the Caucasus," at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1222.cfm>, Jim Nichol and Julie Kim, "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests," at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

³²¹ The main objectives of this arrangement are to reinforce the states' sovereignty, to coordinate their national politics and to weaken Russian Federation's effect on the region. Actually, it was the first political-economic organization established within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which was created in 1991 as an attempt by RF to reintegrate the post-Soviet space and to maintain a common security and economic space, without RF. Common security worries, common financial interests related with energy and economic cooperation are the other factors that caused GUUAM to be set up. GUAM is also the name of an island and strategic base in the Pacific controlled by the United States and pro-Western in attitude.

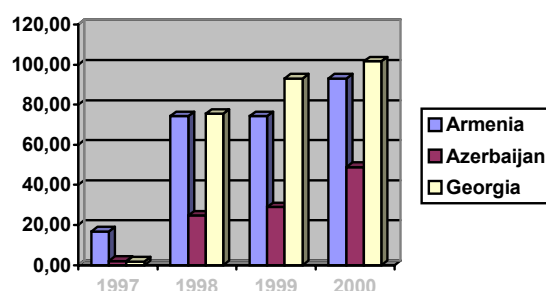
³²² Anatol Lieven, "GUUAM: What Is It, and What Is It For?" at www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav_121800.shtml

³²³ "The GUUAM Group: History and Principles," November 2000 www.guam.org/general/history.html

³²⁴ Available at <http://www.bits.de/NRANEU/RussiaCaucasus.html> Uzbek Foreign Minister Abdulaziz Kamilov declared that their main complaint had been the failure of GUUAM countries to remove legal obstacles for the

Appropriations for FY2000 (P.L.106-113), that calls for enhanced policy and aid to support conflict amelioration, humanitarian needs, economic development, border controls, transport and communications, democracy, and the creation of civil societies in the South Caucasus and Central Asia was signed into law.³²⁵ The significance that the US gave to the region is also revealed in its growing economic assistance to the South Caucasian states as seen below.

Table 6: Total US Economic assistance in \$US millions³²⁶



As a result, US policy in the Caucasus matured and it articulated that it had five main foreign policy interests in the Caspian region: (a) The independence and sovereignty of the NIS and their democratic and market development; (b) Promotion of regional conflict resolution; (c) The increase and diversification of world energy supplies; (d) Continued support for US companies and; (e) Continued pressure on the Iranian regime to change its unacceptable practices.³²⁷

Turkey has also similar interests in the region like its ally the US, but there also appeared disputes about Turkey's role in the region as United States' ally. Some cautioned

transportation of goods among them. See Antoine Blua, "Uzbekistan: Tashkent Withdraws From GUUAM, Remaining Members Forge Ahead," at www.rferl.org/nca/features/2002/06/18062002164458.asp

³²⁵ Jim Nichol and Julie Kim, "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests," at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

³²⁶ The amount of US economic aid to the South Caucasian states is available at U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants and Assistance from International Organizations Obligations and Loan Authorizations, http://www.dec.org/pdf_docs/PNALP455.pdf and The Greenbook-US Overseas Loans and Grants, <http://www.usaid.gov/pubs/>

³²⁷ Stuart Eizenstat, Under Secretary for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs, Testimony before the U.S. Senate, Foreign Relations International Economic Policy, Export and Trade Promotion Subcommittee,

that the United States and NATO were liable to be drawn by their ties with Turkey into regional imbroglios. Conversely, others claimed that Turkey was an important state which would protect vital American interests in the region and an ideal model for the South Caucasian states. Therefore, the “Turkish model” had been the main theme that brought allies together on a common point. The US desired that the Turkish republics, including Azerbaijan adopt and adhere to the “Turkish model”.

Turkey's relations with Central Asia and the Caucasus were almost absent despite common ethnic and cultural ties; moreover Moscow tried to diminish contact between Turkey and the Turkic peoples under its rule.³²⁸ However, after the Cold War, Turkey's geopolitical environment has changed and Turkey, that has common interests in the region with the USA, promoted membership of Turkic states in the leading international organizations such as OSCE, NACC, IMF, and the World Bank, hoping to integrate them into the world and consolidate their independence in this way. The Ministry of Culture of Turkey has established the Turkish World Research Agency under the auspices of the Folk Cultures Research and General Directorate of Development, and this was followed by new establishments, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA) and the Turkish Culture and Arts Joint Management (TÜRKSOY) to facilitate the multi-sided relations with the Turkic republics.³²⁹ On April 27, 1992, Turkey began broadcasts of its TRT INT – Avrasya TV channel via satellite to Central Asia and Azerbaijan, which has strengthened the existing cultural and social ties with these countries. Turkey also opened credits via Turkish Eximbank for the NIS. Besides, Turkey supported Georgia and Azerbaijan to strengthen their armed forces.

Washington, DC:October 23, 1997) available at
http://www.state.gov/www/policy_remarks/971023_eizen_caspian.html

³²⁸ Sabri Sayari, “Turkish Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era; The Challenges of Multi-Regionalism”, *Journal of International Affairs*, 54:1, (Fall2000) p.169 at <http://search.global.epnet.com>.

³²⁹ Available at http://www.kultur.gov.tr/portal/kultur_en.asp?belgeno=5764.

Though, Turkey was supported as a model for the NIS by the United States, there appeared challenges to Turkey's efforts to expand ties in Caucasus. First, Turkey's own domestic problems—the growth of Kurdish separatism and the challenge posed by the rise of Islamic forces in Turkish politics—diverted Turkish attention from the region. Second, Turkey was preoccupied by other, more pressing security concerns, including threats from Syria and Iraq; instability in the Balkans; and, the deterioration of relations with Greece over Cyprus and the Aegean. Third, Turkey lacked the economic means to provide the type of large-scale economic assistance and investment that the states in the region need and want. Fourth, Turkey's cultural arrogance and pretensions to become the leader of the Pan-Turkic movement in Caucasus and Central Asia offended the Turkic republics including Azerbaijan. These factors have dampened Turkey's initial high expectations in the region. However, today there is a more sober and realistic understanding of the difficulties involved and the length of time that the process may take.³³⁰ As a result, Turkey preferred to set up equal relations with Turkic states rather than to play the role of “big brother”.

If the South Caucasian states' attitudes towards the allies are examined, it is seen that since independence, Azerbaijan and Georgia saw American and Turkish support as a balance to Russia's hegemonic aspirations and tried to pursue a policy of geopolitical pluralism, fostering external security ties with the Western countries. But, Armenia, in order to gain and preserve military superiority over Azerbaijan, was interested in increasing Russian military presence on its soil contrary to Azerbaijan and Georgia.. These conflicting security interests eventually increased the possibility of emerging of informal alliances along North-South and

³³⁰ F. Stephen Larrabee, “Turkish Foreign and Security Policy: New Dimensions and New Challenges”, in (eds) Zalmay Khalilzad, Ian O. Lesser, F. Stephen Larrabee *The Future of Turkish-Western Relations: Toward A Strategic Plan* at www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1241/MR1241.chap3.pdf

East-West axis, which resulted in the excessive militarization and polarization of the region.³³¹

Figure:2 Informal Alliances of States in Caucasus-Caspian Region³³²

Principal State	Secondary States	States or Entities Close to Principal	Connection outside Region
Russia	Armenia & Iran	Nagorno Karabakh	Greece, Serbia, Cyprus, Syria, China, India.
United States of America	Turkey & Azerbaijan	Israel Georgia, Kazakhstan.	Western governments; NATO; Ukraine, Moldavia, Saudi Arabia & Jordan.

As put forward above, the United States and Turkey, which had similar objectives towards the South Caucasian states except some limitations, met with the resistance of Russia and Iran in their policies especially in the military and energy domains. Therefore, in this chapter, while examining the allies' politics toward the Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia, the role of the regional powers as Russia and Iran will also be taken into account. As mentioned above, the US began to strengthen its relations with Azerbaijan when it realized the significance of the Caspian Basin oil reserves. On the other hand, Turkey since the independence of Azerbaijan, became an enthusiastic supporter of Azerbaijan, but later it understood that its own resources alone would not be enough to support Azerbaijan. In the section below, the allies' variant attitudes to Azerbaijan between 1990 and 2003 will be analyzed.

3.1. Analysis of the allies' attitudes towards Azerbaijan

Though Turkey was the first state to recognize the independence of Azerbaijan, the US did not support the demands for Azerbaijan's independence from the beginning and even

³³¹ Mark Eaton, "Major Trends in Military Expenditure and Arms Acquisitions by the States of the Caspian Region," in Gennady Chufrin (ed) *The Security of the Caspian Sea Region*, (SIPRI: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 88-97.

backed the leader of the SU, Mikhail Gorbachev in repressing Popular Front activists on January 20, 1990.³³³ While the US administration was supporting the independence of the Baltic states, it preferred Azerbaijan to be under the control of the Russian Federation as Margareth Tutwiler, State Department spokeswoman said “the Administration saw a clear distinction between the Baltic republics, who were trying to win their independence through negotiations within the Soviet constitution, and the Azerbaijanis, who were basically rioting.”³³⁴ Though, Washington recognized Armenia’s independence unconditionally, it made the recognition conditional for Azerbaijan in that it should adhere to responsible policies in the spheres of security, democratization, and human rights. Azerbaijan made such assurances and indeed recognition was accelerated when Washington realized that its non-recognition policy toward Azerbaijan was only encouraging Armenia to continue pursuing its hard stance in the conflict.³³⁵ Then, the US recognized Azerbaijan in February 1992, six months after its independence and opened its embassy in Baku on 15 March 1992. .

In the beginning of the 1990’s, the US took sides *de facto* in the Armenian-Azerbaijani dispute instead of being neutral. For example, in the US Congressional investigations, the number of witnesses representing the Armenian side routinely outnumbered those from the Azerbaijani side. Moreover, delegations visiting Armenia in the

³³² Blandy, C. W., “The Caucasus-Caspian Region: Cardinal Changes To The Military Balance,” at www.pims.org/Projects/CSRC/ob64-compl-cwb.htm

³³³ After, the Armenian government expelled 165.000 Azerbaijanis from Armenia, killing 216 of them-including 57 women, 5 infants and 18 children of different ages, in Baku acts of violence began against Armenians and in January 1990, Soviet troops, allegedly responding to reports of a pogrom directed against the Armenian inhabitants of Baku, intervened in Baku by killing many civilians and declared a state of martial law.

³³⁴ Doyle McManus, “Washington Says It Does Not Back Azerbaijani Call For Independence, *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1990 cited in Manuel Mindreau, “U.S. Foreign Policy Toward The Conflict Between Armenia And Azerbaijan” at www.docentes.up.edu.pe/Mmindreau/docs/U.S.%20Foreign%20Policy%20-%20Armenia%20and%20Azerbaijan.PDF

³³⁵ Dilip Hiro, *Between Marx and Muhammad: the Changing Face of Central Asia*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 1995), p.95.

past did not always go to neighboring Azerbaijan. Such difficulties undermined the U.S. government as an "honest broker" from Baku's point of view.³³⁶

Contrary to Americans, there is a sympathy between Turks and Azerbaijanis. Turks consider Azerbaijanis as first cousins, and their languages are mutually comprehensible. Thus, naturally, Turkey was the first state to recognize Azerbaijan, which it saw as the closest state to its own ethnically, culturally and religiously (though adhering to different sects). Since the independence of Azerbaijan, Turkey endeavored to help Azerbaijan in its struggle to have a stable democracy and become an independent state outside the Russian sphere of influence. After a pro-Turkish politician, Abulfaz Elchibey, came to power in Azerbaijan in June 1992, Turkish-Azerbaijan relations extended to a great extent. For example, in an interview with Abulfaz Elchibey, he said, "In the past, there was only one independent Turkish state, it was the Anatolian Turks who were our symbol for independence... . We have fifty million Turkish brothers in Anatolia... ." ³³⁷ and President Turgut Özal told Elchibey: "This is your second country and Azerbaijan is our second motherland".³³⁸ Turkey concluded many economic and commercial agreements with Azerbaijan, beamed Turkish state television channels and radio broadcasts. Turkey has offered assistance in Azerbaijan's transition to the Latin alphabet by sending books and typewriters to Azerbaijan.

However, after Haydar Aliyev came to power in Azerbaijan, he reversed Elchibey's pro-Turkish decisions. He also decided to join the Commonwealth of Independent States, hoping that Russia would take a more balanced stand in the Azeri-Armenian conflict. Though Turkish-Azerbaijani relations stagnated for a while, it improved with Aliyev's visit to Turkey on 8 February 1994. During his visit, he came together with a strong delegation consisting of

³³⁶ Reported in the *Congressional CSCE Digest*. Washington D.C. Vol 14, No. 6. September 1991 quoted from Manuel Mindreau, "U.S. Foreign Policy Toward The Conflict Between Armenia And Azerbaijan" at www.docentes.up.edu.pe/Mmindreau/docs/U.S.%20Foreign%20Policy%20-%20Armenia%20and%20Azerbaijan.PDF

³³⁷ Yalçın Toker, *Büyük Uyanış*, (İstanbul: Toker Yayınları, 1992), p. 61.

80 person, to show the importance that he attached to closer relations with Turkey. President Süleyman Demirel and Haydar Aliyev used the stock phrase "one nation, two states" to describe the links joining them and Süleyman Demirel. once more stated that Turkey would carry on backing Azerbaijan's "just claims" in the international fora.³³⁹ In addition, Aliyev gained a major strategic commitment from Turkey by signing a declaration on Deepened Strategic Cooperation, which would establish the necessary mechanisms for developing this strategic cooperation along economic and social lines as well. This agreement demonstrated Turkey's deeper strategic commitment to Azerbaijan's national security. According to the declaration, two sides will help each other within the context of their strategic partnership and using methods foreseen by the United Nations, in the event that their sovereignty, territorial integrity, the inviolability of their borders are endangered"³⁴⁰

While Turkey and Azerbaijan were strengthening their relations in political, economic and military domains, the US policymakers who assumed democratic states more stable, more peaceful, and easier to do business with, began to pay more attention to democratic development in the region. But some observers opposed that policy, arguing that democracy was nearly impossible without stability.³⁴¹ In this regard Haydar Aliyev also criticized US policy:

I believe the greatest fortune for America has been that since the North-South [Civil] War [1861-1865], there have been no wars on America's land. In contrast, consider how many wars have been fought on European territory. Azerbaijan has become an independent state now, but Armenia is still occupying our territory [since 1992]. And even here in Azerbaijan, there is a struggle for power. There are armed groups and other criminals. In such a situation, it's impossible to bring democracy from America and impose it here.³⁴²

³³⁸ Daniel Pipes, "The Event of Our Era: Ex-Soviet Muslim Republics Change the Middle East," in (ed) Michael Mandelbaum, *Central Asia and the World: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan*, (New York : Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1994) p.55.

³³⁹ Freddy De Pauw, "Turkey's Policies in Transcaucasia," in (ed) Bruno Coppieters, *Contested Borders in the Caucasus*, (Brussels: VUB Press, 1996) pp.184-185

³⁴⁰ "Turkey and Azerbaijan Improve Strategic Cooperation," *Turkish Daily News*, May 6, 1997.

³⁴¹ Ian Bremmer, "Oil Politics: America and the Riches of the Caspian Basin," *World Policy Journal*, Spring 1998, p.33.

³⁴² Betty Blair, "Envisioning the Nation," Interview with Azerbaijan's President, Heydar Aliyev at http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/93_folder/93_articles/93_aliyev.html

Though the US, under the influence of the Armenian lobby, pursued a biased policy towards Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan since its independence tried to ameliorate its relations with the US. President Elchibey made it clear that Azerbaijan would give priority in its foreign policy to relations with the United States and NATO member countries and indicated that Azerbaijan was ready to become a US ally in the region by pursuing an officially active campaign against Iran. Besides, the US and Azerbaijani governments cooperated in the area of non-proliferation despite Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act. This cooperation turned out to be successful. Azerbaijani customs officials stopped a shipment of Russian nuclear-capable ballistic missile parts bound for Iran and seized 21 ton and, 700 kilograms of stainless steel plates to build ballistic missiles in the town of Astara on the Azerbaijani-Iranian border.³⁴³

However, despite Azerbaijan's cooperative politics, the US and the American people viewed Azerbaijan as a country that was openly violating the rights of Karabakh's Armenians. But, after the visit of Aliyev to Washington on July 30 1997, Azerbaijani-American relations transformed into a new positive stage. President Aliyev met with President Clinton and also with several members of Congress during his visit. Then, the US administration, which recognized the importance of the Caspian oil reserves, embarked on a newly focussed policy towards the Caucasus. Former U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger called on the Clinton Administration to, "encourage closer relations with Azerbaijan and persuade Congress to change its priorities on aid. Our long-term security interests are at stake."³⁴⁴ Like Weinberger, some policymakers and writers claimed that the section 907 act did not limit, either U.S. assistance to Azerbaijan or pursuit of U.S. influence in Azerbaijan. Besides, they argued that the Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act of 1992, which restricted American

³⁴³ "Russian missile parts stopped on Azerbaijani-Iranian border" at www.payk.net/maillingLists/iran-news/html/1998/msg00713.html

government assistance to Azerbaijan, prevented the United States from playing an impartial role in the mediation of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.³⁴⁵ Then, Senator Sam Brownback introduced the Silk Road Strategy Act of 1999, which made Azerbaijan eligible for US assistance, just like the other eight former Soviet republics in that region.³⁴⁶ Besides, Secretary of State Colin Powell urged Members of Congress to remove the restrictions put in place by Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act in order to "reward Azerbaijan for their cooperation in the war on terrorism" on October 2001.³⁴⁷ In January 2002, George W. Bush executed his right to waive section 907 and then, the US administration extended \$4.4 million in military assistance to Azerbaijan to improve Azerbaijan's coastal defenses, upgrade its airfields to NATO standards and train a peacekeeping unit.³⁴⁸

Although, the United States and Turkey had different attitudes towards Azerbaijan in the beginning of the 1990s, today they share similar objectives as to bolster the energy security of the region and both aim to develop closer relationships with Azerbaijan. When the transition of the allies' politics toward Azerbaijan is examined, it is seen that the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has been a test for the US which has been under the influence of the Armenian lobby and for Turkey which has common linguistic, ethnic and cultural roots with Azerbaijan. In the section below, the significance of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in allies' policy making towards Azerbaijan will be examined.

³⁴⁴James MacDougall, "The New Stage In US-Caspian Sea Basin Relations," at http://www.cac.org/dataeng/st_04_dougall.shtml

³⁴⁵Kenneth Shaitelman, "The Azerbaijan-Armenia Conflict: The War in Nagorno-Karabakh, Section 907, and Their Impact on Oil Pipeline Routes," at <http://www.wws.princeton.edu/~wws401c/1998/ken.html>

³⁴⁶"Silk Road Strategy Act of 1999," at <http://www.eurasianet.org/resource/regional/silkroad.html>. See also Güler Koknar, "US policy in the Caucasus: Lead, follow or get out of the way?," at www.ataa.org/ataa/events/pastevents/mission/us_policy_in_the_caucasus.html

³⁴⁷<http://www.armeniadiaspora.com/history/2001oct.html>.

³⁴⁸Aynura Akhmedova, "Azerbaijan, Georgia Move To Secure Oil Pipelines," at <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/business/articles/pp042102.shtml>. "Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act," at www.aaainc.org/press/Section907.pdf.

3.1.1. Nagorno-Karabakh ;the conflict that puts allies on the opposite sides

In 1988, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict broke up and within a few months, the conflict flared up into a full-size war. Armenian leadership in Yerevan, launched a military campaign to seize the control of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO), a mountainous area populated by Armenians but located within Azerbaijan's borders. As told in detail in the second chapter, well equipped Armenian forces fared well on the battlefield by occupying the entire territory of the NKAO, but also many of its neighborhood and surrounding areas. In the end of the war Azerbaijan lost nearly 20 percent of its territory.

The United States , which has been influenced by the powerful Armenian lobby in the congress in its formulation of foreign policy, accepted the Section 907, (took effect in January 1993) which denied all forms of governmental US aid to Azerbaijan unless Azerbaijan terminated the blockade of Armenia, ceased its use of force against Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, and sought a peaceful solution to the conflict. The Section represented the partisan US policy in the region and the clear support for Armenia for several reasons. First, the United States, which gave importance to human rights and became the major donor to refugee programs in the area, deprived approximately 1 million Azerbaijani refugees of humanitarian aid. Second, Azerbaijan, with 20,000 dead, about one million refugees and some 20% of its territory occupied, was absolutely exposed to military attack by Armenia, but the US showed Azerbaijan as being offensive side. Thus, Congress' allegation of offensive use of force was not also at odds with reality. Third, on the contrary to the claim of Azerbaijan's blockade of Armenia, 130 kilometers of the railway line, which came from Azerbaijan and went to Armenia passing through the Iranian border was under the occupation of Armenia.³⁴⁹

Of course, the strong Armenian lobby in the United States has been effective on US foreign policy. It must be noted that, the Armenian National Committee of America,

possesses significant political power in the US and controls the most important electorate states like New Jersey, New York, California, and Illinois, which comprise nearly half of the total electoral votes needed to be elected President of the United States.³⁵⁰ As a result, while Azerbaijan remained the only former Soviet republic to be deprived of US aid until 2001, Armenia has constantly been the highest per capita recipient.³⁵¹

In examining Turkey's policy towards the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, it should be first mentioned that Azerbaijan never officially asked for Turkish intervention in the conflict. According to Azerbaijan's ambassador in Ankara, Mehmet Novivzoğlu Aliyev, the main support Azerbaijan wanted from Turkey was to tell Azerbaijan's side of the story to the world by using its western alliance contacts.³⁵² Initially, Turkey pursued a policy of neutrality by presenting itself as an impartial mediator between the parties. Taking into account, Azerbaijan's deteriorating situation, Ankara tried to explain and promote the Azeri view of the conflict in the international fora. Besides, Turkish diplomats played an active role in the OSCE -Minsk Group- seeking to settle the Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh. On 8 March 1992, Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin, by calling the US Foreign Minister James Baker and on 13 March 1992, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel, by calling the American President George Herbert Walker Bush, wanted the US to intervene in the conflict towards a peaceful solution.³⁵³ On 10 March 1992, on the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), Hikmet Çetin proposed a meeting for the resolution of the conflict with the participation of the US, Russia, Turkey, Azerbaijan and Armenia but Armenia did not accept that proposal.³⁵⁴ As Turkey's diplomatic initiatives continued, huge anti-Armenian

³⁴⁹ Kamer Kasim, "The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict From Its Inception To The Peace Process," at http://www.eraren.org/eng/articles/nagorno_karabag_confroinpeapro.htm

³⁵⁰ F. Wallace Hays, "US Congress and the Caspian," at <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/usazerb/333.htm>

³⁵¹ Svante E. Cornell, "Turkey and the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh: a Delicate Balance," at www.pcr.uu.se/tfopol.pdf

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Available at www.byegm.gov.tr/Yayınlarımız/AyınTarihi/1992/mart1992.htm

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

demonstrations, which favored intervention on Azerbaijan's behalf, were held in various places of Turkey because of the continuance of the Armenian massacres of the Azerbaijanis. Besides, opposition parties also severely criticized the government for pursuing an inactive policy on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. On 13 March 1992, The Nationalist Movement Party of Alparslan Türkeş, criticized the government harshly for allowing 'Armenian genocide of Azerbaijanis' and of leaving Azerbaijan alone.³⁵⁵ On 16 May 1992, Former Prime Minister and leader of the Democratic Left Party, Bülent Ecevit, blamed the government of giving Armenia the green light to attack Azerbaijan and to encourage Armenia.³⁵⁶ Influenced by these pressures, Turkey refused to normalize relations with Armenia as long as Armenia continued to stay in Azerbaijan's occupied territories.. Turkey, which allowed humanitarian shipments of food and fuel to transit its territory to Armenia, annulled this relief operation after the Armenian attacks on western Azerbaijan³⁵⁷ and closed its border with Armenia to all passage in April 1993. In addition, Turkey refused air transportation except for humanitarian aid. Although Petrossian convinced Turkey to supply electricity to Armenia in November 1992, Turkey cancelled the deal which would have supplied 300 million-kilowatt hours of electricity in January 1993 due to the intensity of Azerbaijani and Turkish public opinion. Turkey warned Yerevan that Armenia's attacks on Azerbaijani forces "would inevitably affect Turkish politics, and could even destabilize the country." As Armenian aggression intensified, so did Turkish rhetoric, with Prime Minister Demirel going so far as to warn the Armenians, "If you are enemies of Azerbaijan, so you become enemies of Turkey."³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ Svante E.Cornell, "Undeclared War :The Nagorno Karabakh Conflict Reconsidered," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 20, no. 4,(Fall 1997),p.9.

³⁵⁶ Available at www.byegm.gov.tr/Yayinlarimiz/AyinTarihi/1992/mayis1992.htm

³⁵⁷ Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, *Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 190.

³⁵⁸ Daniel Pipes, "The Event of Our Era: Ex-Soviet Muslim Republics Change the Middle East," in (ed) Michael Mandelbaum, *Central Asia and the World: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan*, (New York : Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1994) p.52.

Although, Turkish foreign policy makers worried that Turkey's failure to support Azerbaijan would undermine the confidence of the Turkic republics in Turkey, and the decline of Turkey's status as a regional power might result in the growth of Russian and Iranian influence in the region,³⁵⁹ did little to help Azerbaijan in its war with Armenia and Turkey stayed out of the conflict. Turkey strenuously asserted that "Not a single Turkish soldier serves in the Azerbaijani Armed Forces" and admitted only to sending humanitarian aid and training Azeri officers.³⁶⁰ It is difficult to understand Turkey's policy in this conflict without taking into account Turkey's general foreign policy patterns and relations with the West and the USA. Despite, pressure from the opposition parties, media and public to get militarily involved in the conflict on the Azerbaijani side, several reasons had discouraged Turkey from applying military solutions. First, as Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel stated on 3 March 1992, Turkey refrained taking a wrong step (as military intervention) which would lead the whole world to support Armenia and move against Azerbaijan and Turkey.³⁶¹ In July 1974, Turkey, as a guarantor state in accordance with the Zurich and London agreements, to prevent the massacre of Turkish Cypriots, intervened in the Cyprus island, but after the peace operation Turkey could not receive any support from the world and no state recognized the TRNC (Turkish Republic of North Cyprus). Therefore, Turkish policymakers tried to solve the problem by political means. Second, since the independence of the Turkish Republic, Turkish policymakers, that adhered to the principle of "Peace at home, peace abroad" in their policymaking, refrained to solve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem by military means. Turkey tried to be an impartial mediator in the conflicts around its neighborhood and aimed to preserve this image in the eyes of the world. Thus, Turkey concentrated on diplomatic efforts and took an active role in the OSCE for the prevention of

³⁵⁹ Kamer Kasim, "The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict From Its Inception To The Peace Process," at http://www.eraren.org/eng/articles/nagorno_karabag_confroinpeapro.htm

the escalation of the conflict. Third, there was a high risk that if Turkey intervened in the conflict by military means, the conflict would have turned to a war between Turkey and Russia, Armenia, possibly involving Iran as well. That risk came to the surface when the Russian Commander of the CIS armed forces, Marshall Yevgeny Shaposhnikov, declared that Turkish military intervention could result in the outbreak of a third world war.³⁶² Besides, according to article four of the 1992 Tashkent Collective Security Treaty, which was signed by Russia, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan: "If one of the participating states is subjected to aggression by any state or group of states, this will be perceived as aggression against all participating states to the Treaty". Since Russia and Armenia were signatories to the treaty, Turkey's attack on Armenia would have been treated as an attack on Russia.³⁶³ Fourth, if Turkey supported Azerbaijan with military forces or equipment, the US, which was closer to Armenia than Azerbaijan, could have put an arms embargo regarding the human rights situation as Germany had.³⁶⁴ Fifth, Turkish military intervention in the Caucasus would not serve its interests on the 'western front', for Turkey was negotiating for a customs union with the European Community and striving to be a member of the EC in the future.³⁶⁵ Postponement of Turkey's full membership to the European Community in 1989 had also been effective because of these suspicions on the EC's part. Sixth, after the Cold War, Turkey and Russia maintained close relations in the political and especially in economic domains. Thus, Turkey did not want to jeopardize its political and

³⁶⁰ Daniel Pipes, "The Event of Our Era: Ex-Soviet Muslim Republics Change the Middle East," in (ed) Michael Mandelbaum, *Central Asia and the World: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan*, (New York : Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1994) p.53

³⁶¹ Available at www.byegm.gov.tr/Yayinlarimiz/AyinTarihi/1992/mart1992.htm.

³⁶² Gareth M. Winrow, "Turkey and the Newly Independent States of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus," at meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1997/issue2/jv1n2a5.html, quoting *Turkish Daily News*, 21 May 1992.

³⁶³ Kamer Kasim, "The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict From Its Inception To The Peace Process," at http://www.eraren.org/eng/articles/nagorno_karabag_confroinpeapro.htm

³⁶⁴ Rovshan Sadigbeyli, "Trans-Regional Linkages' in Turkey's Foreign Policy: The Case of the South Caucasus," at www.ir.metu.edu.tr/conference/papers/sadigbeyli.pdf

³⁶⁵ Svante E. Cornell, "Turkey and the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh: a Delicate Balance," at www.pcr.uu.se/tfopol.pdf

economic relations with Russia.³⁶⁶ Seventh, Ankara feared that any Turkish move to support Azerbaijan would be exaggerated by the powerful Armenian Diaspora in the West so that Turkey would be depicted as planning “new atrocities on Armenians”.³⁶⁷

Though, politics and public opinion in Turkey and the US were diametrically opposite, Turkish peace plan for settlement of the Karabakh dispute, which envisaged territorial swap between Azerbaijan and Armenia was supported by the US State Department in March 1992. According to the plan, Karabakh was to become part of Armenia whereas Armenia would give the Megri region to Azerbaijan, thus connecting Azerbaijan with Nakhcivan.³⁶⁸ This solution would have excluded both Russia and Iran from these regions' oil reserves, therefore, the US enthusiastically supported this plan..³⁶⁹ But, Armenia rejected that plan since Armenia's transportation networks would have been dependent on Turkey and Azerbaijan, and would also be deprived of a "window" to Iran and the Persian Gulf.³⁷⁰

While the US Congress has adopted a decidedly pro-Armenian position and hardly criticized human rights abuses against Armenians, the position of the State Department of the US towards Armenia became a bit more severe as the Armenian offensives continued and intensified. Washington rejected the Armenians' claim that Yerevan wasn't engaged in the fighting and officially Yerevan was named by the State Department as the warring party.³⁷¹

³⁶⁶ Svante E. Cornell, " Turkey's Role and Prospects in the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict and Its Regional Implications," at <http://www.trace.org/rep/marco/mp06.pdf>.

³⁶⁷ Svante E. Cornell, “Turkey and the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh: a Delicate Balance,” at www.pcr.uu.se/tfopol.pdf

³⁶⁸ Gareth Winrow, *Turkey and The Caucasus: Domestic Interests and Security Concerns*, (London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000), p.12.

³⁶⁹ Stephen Blank , “Russia, the OSCE, and Security in the Caucasus,” at [www.osce-arf.de/Pub/Russia.%20the%20OSCE.%20and%20Security%20in%20the%20Caucasus\(1\).PDF](http://www.osce-arf.de/Pub/Russia.%20the%20OSCE.%20and%20Security%20in%20the%20Caucasus(1).PDF)

³⁷⁰ Patricia Carley, “ Nagorno-Karabakh Searching for a Solution ,” at http://www.usip.org/pubs/peaceworks/pwks257chap5_25.html , Manuel Mindreau, “U.S. Foreign Policy Toward The Conflict Between Armenia And Azerbaijan” at www.docentes.up.edu.pe/Mmindreau/docs/U.S.%20Foreign%20Policy%20-%20Armenia%20and%20Azerbaijan.PDF

³⁷¹ Ilgar Aliyev, *The US Strategic Engagement in The South Caucasus: 1991 – 2002*, (Ankara:Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.31.

The State Department also condemned the July 1993 Karabakh Armenian seizure of Agdam, stating that "[it] cannot be justified on the grounds of legitimate self-defense".³⁷²

The US and Turkey continued their diplomatic initiatives in order to find a peaceful solution within the framework of the CSCE probably in the hope of preventing unilateral action by Russia, or Iranian involvement in the region. In 1996, the United States indicated that it was ready to take over the Minsk Group's co-chair position as a welcome (especially in Azerbaijan) balance against the other two co-chairs - Russia and France.³⁷³ After the US took over the Minsk Group's co-chair position, in 1996 in the Lisbon summit, Azerbaijan proposed to negotiate the Mountainous Karabakh settlement on the basis of three broad principles which included preservation of Azerbaijan's integrity, Mountainous Karabakh people's right to self-determination through the "highest degree" of autonomy within Azerbaijan as well as security guarantees for the parties to the conflict. In the end of the summit, under a US-sponsored compromise, the proposal was read as a "Chair-in-office" statement that affirmed all three of the principles entailed in the proposal, including the provision that Karabakh should have the "highest degree" of autonomy within Azerbaijan. The Chair also affirmed that the statement had been approved by all member-states except Armenia. The Lisbon summit showed that Washington's role in the conflict resolution sphere had grown and the geopolitical priorities of the White House in the region began to take shape³⁷⁴ as in the statement of the US Ambassador in Yerevan Peter Tomsen : "No country recognizes Karabakh's independence. This is US policy and it is the policy of the OSCE. In other words all of these countries recognize the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, and that Karabakh is within the borders of Azerbaijan."³⁷⁵

³⁷² Carol Migdalovitz, "Issue Brief for Congress" at <http://www.fas.org/asmp/resources/govern/crs-IB92109.pdf>

³⁷³ Ilgar Aliyev, op.cit., p.154.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.p.80.

³⁷⁵ "Quotable quotes" at www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/63_folder/63_articles/63_quotes.html

Although the US struggled to find a peaceful solution to the conflict, its policies did not bring any positive results. But, Washington at last understood the necessity to repeal Section 907 for the sake of its national interests in the region as in the statement of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, “ Section 907 damages US national interests by undermining the administration's neutrality in promoting a settlement in Mountainous Karabakh , its ability to encourage economic and broad legal reforms in Azerbaijan, and efforts to advance an East-West energy transport corridor.”³⁷⁶ But, though the repeal of Section 907 came on the agenda in 1988, it had to wait until 2002.

In sum, in the Nagorno-Karabakh case, Turkey lost prestige in Azerbaijani eyes. However, they understood that despite Turkey's shortcomings, it is the only country that Azerbaijan can rely on as an ally against the Armenians. Besides, for Azerbaijan, the Turkish military remains the best regional deterrent against Armenia. In this case, Turkey understood its capability and incapacities, and began to pursue more realistic policies taking into account the stance of the US, Europe and Russia rather than policies based on the rhetoric of "Turkic 21st century" or "the big Turkic world from the Adriatic to the Great Wall of China". On the other hand, US politics towards Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict radically changed in favor of Azerbaijan since 1996. Azerbaijan sees the US and Turkey as a balance to Russia and wants to find a solution to the NK conflict under the auspices of the OSCE with the support of the US and Turkey. The US and Turkey, which have common interests in the region as the diversification of energy supplies, want stability in the region since Armenian terrorism may hinder the implementation of the Baku-Ceyhan route. In the section below, the allies' energy politics in the region will be examined as supplementary to the 'section 2.2.2: Oil and oil export options', which was examined in chapter 2.

³⁷⁶ “House Votes To Maintain Section 907,” at <http://www.aaainc.org/press/archive98/9-18-98.htm>

3.1.2. Energy reserves and diversification of energy supplies

Two key members of NATO, the United States and Turkey, which share major economic and strategic interests in the region, want access to the oil resources of the Caspian Sea³⁷⁷ and safeguard their secure transportation to Western markets. For Turkey, the oil resources of the Caspian are pivotally important to the country's future energy needs as its energy demand stands to rise by 400 percent by 2010. Besides, Turkish oil companies have a major stake in the Caspian,³⁷⁸ and the Caspian axis has assumed even greater strategic importance for Turkey due to the loss of Iraqi oil. On the other hand, the US, which imports over 40 percent of the oil it needs, is aware that oil in Azerbaijan, is enough to keep American industry and cars running for more than 30 years.³⁷⁹ Besides, the focus of American interests in the Caspian is the 40 percent American-owned Azerbaijan International Operating Company (AIOC).³⁸⁰ In addition to its commercial opportunities for the US and Turkey, Caspian oil will diversify world oil supply and lessen the dependence on exports from the volatile Persian Gulf.

However, Caspian energy resources also play a major role in Russian calculations, since approximately 50 percent of Russia's foreign currency revenues are generated by oil and gas sales.³⁸¹ Russian officials are aware that if Azerbaijan can produce and ship oil without

³⁷⁷ Caspian oil reserves are an abundant resource, second in size only to those in the unstable Middle East. The Caspian Sea reserves have been estimated to hold 100 billion to 200 billion barrels of oil worth between \$2 trillion and \$4 trillion at current market prices and therefore, these proven and estimated oil resources are considerable and will play an increasingly important role in the world oil market of the 21st century. Ariel Cohen, "U.S. Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia: Building A New "Silk Road" to Economic Prosperity," at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1132.cfm>, James MacDougall, "The New Stage In US-Caspian Sea Basin Relations," at http://www.ca-c.org/dataeng/st_04_dougall.shtml

³⁷⁸ Turkish Petroleum has a significant share of the flagship Western consortium operating in the AIOC. State-owned Turkish Petroleum continues to expand its presence in the Caspian region in a bid to gain a greater share of the oil resources. Currently, Turkish Petroleum maintains a 6.75 percent stake in an \$8-billion Caspian oilfield development project led by British Petroleum (BP) and Statoil. It also holds a 9 percent share in the nearby Shah Deniz project, also led by BP and Statoil

³⁷⁹ Kenneth Shaitelman, "The Azerbaijan-Armenia Conflict: The War in Nagorno-Karabakh, Section 907, and Their Impact on Oil Pipeline Routes," at <http://www.wws.princeton.edu/~wws401c/1998/ken.html>

³⁸⁰ Glen E. Howard, "NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.171 at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

³⁸¹ "The Caucasus and Central Asia in U.S foreign policy," *Eurasia Insight*, June 12, 2001

Russia, it will win some of Russia's customers, depriving it of its major source of hard currency at a time when it can ill afford that.³⁸² Rather, oil explorations in the Caspian are considered to damage Russia's political interests in the region. Russia was against internationalization of the Caspian hydrocarbon exploration because it was to increase Western involvement in the Caspian basin and strengthen economic independence of the Caspian littoral NIS from Russia, thus depriving Russia of economic and political leverages in dealing with these states.³⁸³

As mentioned before, the Clinton Administration—intent on placating Moscow—hesitated to take advantage of the strategic opportunity to secure U.S. interests in the Caucasus.³⁸⁴ However, while the war in Chechnya altered US policy, the “Contract of the Century” changed the US energy policy in the region. “Contract of the Century,” which was signed in September 1994 between SOCAR, (State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic), and the Consortium of major international companies, the Azerbaijan International Operating Company (AIOC). The aim of the contract was to exploit the oil fields offshore in the Azerbaijanian waters of the Caspian Sea. In this contract which amounted to \$7,5 billion\ American private companies including AMACO, UNOCOL and Pennzoil, had 44% of the agreement's shares and began playing a leading role in oil exploration under the agreement.³⁸⁵ Several factors forced the US to pursue more active energy politics in the region:

³⁸² Stephen Blank, “Russia, the OSCE, and Security in the Caucasus,” at [www.osce-arf.de/Pub/Russia,%20the%20OSCE,%20and%20Security%20in%20the%20Caucasus\(1\).PDF](http://www.osce-arf.de/Pub/Russia,%20the%20OSCE,%20and%20Security%20in%20the%20Caucasus(1).PDF)

³⁸³ Rovshan Sadigbeyli, *Stability in the South Caucasus: The Role of Russia and Turkey*, (Ankara:Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.52.

³⁸⁴ Ariel Cohen, “U.S. Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia: Building A New “Silk Road” to Economic Prosperity,” at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1132.cfm>

³⁸⁵ Scot A.Jones, “Parochial and Opportunist: US Interests in the Caucasus,” at www.uga.edu/cits/programs/southern_tier_us-caucasus.htm

- U.S. policymakers became increasingly concerned about the possible re-emergence of a new Russian empire that might seek to gain exclusive control over the region's pipelines and limit U.S. access.

- Besides, if a power vacuum emerged due to the US' passive politics in the region, Iran and China had the potential to fill the vacuum with Russia against American interests.

- With the oil exploration and transportation, the economies of Georgia and Azerbaijan would improve. Therefore, economic growth would secure the sovereignty of these states which would be stronger to counter the radical Iranian influence and hegemonic Russian pressure.

- The people and the policy makers of Georgia and Azerbaijan would look to the United States for leadership in the region by distancing themselves from Russia and Iran.

- The region would also provide lucrative markets for U.S. goods and services, and business opportunities for American companies and, ultimately, jobs for American workers.

- The US would also be able to make the energy resources a tool that would improve the NIS' own economies and societies rather than a tool that would enrich Russia or Iran.

- Though the Caspian oil cannot replace the volumes from Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states, it can contribute to the world oil market by weakening OPEC's price and political manipulation

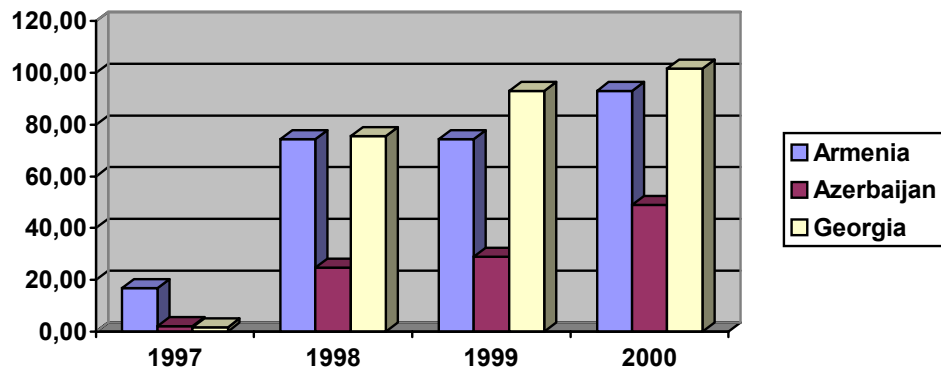
- Diversification of oil sources is also an important factor since a dramatic change in oil markets can put the oil importing countries in big difficulties.

- Another factor that makes the Caspian oil indispensable for energy security is the expected decline of North Sea oil output after it reaches its peak in 2006.

•The most important factor that shaped US energy politics in the region was the private American companies, which were powerful enough to successfully lobby for their interests in Washington.³⁸⁶

Besides, the establishment of the Caspian energy coordinator in the State Department, rather than in Commerce or Energy Departments, underlined the fact that by 1998, the geopolitics of energy development had become more important for the U.S. than other commercial considerations.³⁸⁷ In addition, due to US oil companies' activities in the region and their subsequent lobbying in Washington, the embargo imposed on Azerbaijan was lifted. As seen in the table below, foreign investment in Azerbaijan significantly increased after the "Contract of the Century" and reached its peak after the annulment of the embargo.

Table 7: Foreign investment in Azerbaijan³⁸⁸



³⁸⁶ Ayhan Yılmaz, "Instability in Caucasus and Central Asia And Caspian Basin Energy Resources Management," at http://www.carlisle.army.mil/srp/ex_paper/yilmaz_a_02.pdf, Ariel Cohen, "U.S. Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia: Building A New "Silk Road" to Economic Prosperity," at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1132.cfm>, Rovshan Sadıgbeyli, *Stability in the South Caucasus: The Role of Russia and Turkey*, (Ankara:Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.111.

³⁸⁷ Fiona Hill, "A Not-So-Grand Strategy: United States Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia since 1991," *Politique étrangère*, (February 2001), <http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/views/articles/fhill/2001politique.htm>

³⁸⁸ The data in this statistic is taken from the Statistical Yearbook Of Azerbaijan 2002, at http://www.azstat.org/publications/yearbook/2002/en/014_9.shtml and Svetlana Tsalik, *Caspian Oil Windfalls: Who Will Benefit?* at <http://www.eurasianet.org/caspian.oil.windfalls>.

However, Caspian Sea is landlocked and at the time of independence of Caucasian and Central Asian states, all of the pipelines were designed to supply the Soviet industrial heartland, and any exports to the West would have to go across Russian and Ukrainian territory before they can gain access to international markets.³⁸⁹ Russia has sought to use the pipeline issue as a means of reasserting its political influence over Central Asia and the Caucasus, insisting that a northern pipeline route from Baku to the Russian port of Novorossisk on the Black Sea should be the main transit route for the transport of South Caspian oil.³⁹⁰ But Turkey and the US supported the multiple pipeline strategy. Allies saw the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline³⁹¹ as a tool that would end Russia's monopoly over energy routes from the Caspian and offer the West an alternative means for transporting Caspian oil outside of Russian control. Despite some objections on the viability of the BTC, some recent developments boosted the implementation of the BTC.³⁹²

In addition to its oil reserves, the region has also abundant natural gas reserves, larger than those in all of North America. The sum of the proven and estimated gas reserves of the region equals to 11-12 percent of the world total.³⁹³ Though the US and Turkey share

³⁸⁹ Steven R. Mann, "Caspian Sea Energy Resources: A US Perspective," *Insight Turkey* 4:1, (January-March 2002), p.7

³⁹⁰ F. Stephen Larrabee and Ian O. Lesser, *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*, p.108 at www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1612/MR1612.ch5.pdf

³⁹¹ The features of the BTC and its comparison with the other routes is available 'section 2.2.2: Oil and oil export options', in chapter 2.

³⁹² In March 2001, Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbaev pledged that oil from Kazakhstan's East Kashagan field would be transported through Baku-Ceyhan. Therefore, it will contribute to the required volume of the oil that BTS will carry. However, industry spokesmen now claim that reserves in Azerbaijan are sufficient to make Baku-Ceyhan commercially viable even without Kazakh oil. The discovery of large gas deposits at the Shah Deniz fields in Azerbaijan in 1999 prompted British Petroleum and the Norwegian company Statoil to change their basic strategy toward Baku-Ceyhan. If the Shah Deniz pipeline runs parallel to Baku-Ceyhan, the costs of Baku-Ceyhan could be reduced. The Bush administration has thrown its full support behind the construction of the Baku-Ceyhan pipeline. Moreover, there is little chance that the administration will lift trade sanctions against Iran in the near future. This means that the "Iranian option" favored by many U.S. oil companies will remain effectively closed, giving a big boost to Baku-Ceyhan. Russian opposition to the Baku-Ceyhan pipeline has also begun to soften. In May 2002, Russia signed an agreement to transport some of its oil through a pipeline that will connect its main export port, Novorossisk, with Baku-Ceyhan. F. Stephen Larrabee and Ian O. Lesser, *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*, p.108 at www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1612/MR1612.ch5.pdf

³⁹³ A.Necdet Pamir, "Turkey: The Key to Caspian Oil and Gas", *IASPS Research Papers in Strategy*, Vol:13, (Washington: 2001), p.6.

the same views on the transportation of the Caspian oil, Turkey's gas deals with Russia³⁹⁴ and Iran³⁹⁵ produced tensions between Turkey and Washington. On the other hand, Turkey in accordance with its energy diversification strategy, signed a natural gas purchase agreement with Azerbaijan.³⁹⁶ and Turkmenistan.³⁹⁷ The United States welcomed Turkey's agreement with Azerbaijan on the Shah Deniz natural gas project, which will contribute to the economic development of Azerbaijan, enhance Georgia's energy security by diversifying supply; and bring a reliable and competitive supply of gas into the Turkish market.³⁹⁸ In addition, the US also gives priority to the Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline (TCGP) for obvious geo-political considerations (to isolate Russia and Iran) but opposes to the SWAP deal between Turkmenistan, Iran and Turkey, which would require three new pipelines to Turkey. Although economically reasonable, it faces fierce US opposition, which is targeted to continue to isolate

³⁹⁴ Turkey and Russia signed an agreement for 16 bcm/yr to be transported by a submerged pipeline to cross the Black Sea and to be further transported from Samsun to Ankara and in October 2002, a twin 866-mile natural gas pipeline running from Russia under the Black Sea to Turkey was completed. Blue Stream been sharply criticized in Turkey because of high cost of the gas and the fact that it will significantly increase Turkey's dependence on Russian gas and in the US that its success would represent a setback to American efforts to limit Russia's influence in region. Turkey, *US Energy Information Country Analysis*, May 2003, at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/turkey.htm>, Levent Demirci, *Turkey's Political Objectives in the Caucasus*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis, 2002), p.52. A.Necdet Pamir, "Turkey: The Key to Caspian Oil and Gas", *IASPS Research Papers in Strategy*, Vol:13, (Washington: 2001), p.20.

³⁹⁵ Turkey signed a gas import deal with Iran, in 1996. Under this 23-year agreement, Iran will provide Turkey with gas. Though, Turkey's gas deal with Iran disturbed the US, for its part, Turkey has persistently maintained that it needs to diversify its suppliers of natural gas away from Russia and that Turkmen and Iranian gas represent economically good options and since Turkey is just trading with Iran, the US has decided that Turkey technically is not in violation of the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA), which imposes sanctions on companies investing more than \$20 million in Iran's oil or gas industries. Turkey, *US Energy Information Country Analysis*, (July 2001). Available at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/turkey.htm> cited in Levent Demirci, *Turkey's Political Objectives in the Caucasus*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis, 2002), p.88.

³⁹⁶ Starting in 2006, two years later than the original target date, Azerbaijan is to deliver 70 Bcf of natural gas to Turkey, rising to 177 Bcf in 2007 and around 230 Bcf per year from 2008 through 2020. Turkey, *US Energy Information Country Analysis*, May 2003, at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/turkey.htm>

³⁹⁷ Turkey also signed an agreement on building a \$2-\$2.4 billion, 1,050-mile, gas pipeline from Turkmenistan, underneath the Caspian Sea, across Azerbaijan and Georgia (both of which would collect transit fees), and on to Turkey. This project is led by U.S. company Bechtel and includes General Electric, Shell, and PSG International. But there are suspicions about this project's implementation, though in mid-July 1999, a top Turkish energy official stated that the Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline (TCGP) from Turkmenistan was still the preferred option for Turkey. Because, Shah Deniz gas field in Azerbaijan, which is located hundreds of miles closer (and on the western side of the Caspian Sea) to Turkey than Turkmenistan, has huge reserves (as high as 35 trillion cubic feet -- Tcf). Currently, however, progress on the TCGP appears stalled indefinitely, with the international consortium essentially having suspended operations, and with Turkey already oversupplied with gas from Iran and Russia ("Blue Stream"). Turkey, *US Energy Information Country Analysis*, May 2003, at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/turkey.htm>

³⁹⁸ "U.S. Welcomes Approval of Shah Deniz Natural Gas Project in Azerbaijan," Press Statement, February 28, 2003 at <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2003/18092.htm>

Iran in the region, though supporters of the SWAP deal claim that it would not violate the American Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA), because Iran would only receive transit fees for moving gas to Turkey, rather than exporting gas themselves.³⁹⁹

The other dispute issue in the region has been on the use of the Caspian Sea.⁴⁰⁰ Russia's policymakers during much of the 1990s insisted that the legal status of the Caspian Sea must be determined before resources could be exploited. Iran and Turkmenistan initially endorsed Russia's view of a "closed sea" or "lake," where resources are commonly exploited.⁴⁰¹ Russia changed its stance somewhat by agreeing on seabed delineation with Kazakhstan in 1998 and with Azerbaijan in January 2001.⁴⁰² But Iran's stance on the division of the Caspian Sea did not soften.⁴⁰³ The US and Turkey support the definition of the Caspian

³⁹⁹ Caspian Pipeline Dreams, ECS Project, at www.iiasa.ac.at/~wagner/ECS/docs/caspian.html

⁴⁰⁰ The Caspian basin, a land-locked body of salt water bordered by Iran, Azerbaijan, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan, harbors billions of barrels of proven oil reserves and over 200 billion barrels of potential reserves. The market value of that oil could exceed \$5 trillion, according to some estimates. The sea also may hold up to 325 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. Combined with Russia's resources, by 2010 the region could supply up to one-half of the energy resources now provided by the Middle East. In Soviet days, the Caspian Sea was divided territorially along a national boundary between the Soviet Union and Iran. However, with the independence of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan—all with Caspian coastlines—carving up the waters and what lies beneath them has turned into a so-far insoluble problem. If the Caspian is a sea, the Law of the Sea Convention would apply, establishing full maritime boundaries for the five littoral states bordering the Caspian according to an equidistant division of the sea—and its undersea resources—into national sectors. If the Caspian is a lake, however, the rules change and the Caspian and its resources would have to be developed jointly—a division referred to as the "condominium approach." *Jon Gorvett*, "Turkey Plays Big Brother to Azerbaijan in Opening Skirmishes Over Control of Caspian Resources," at www.wrmea.com/archives/november01/0111031.html, Ariel Cohen, "Iran's Claims Over Caspian Sea Resources Threaten Energy Security," <http://www.heritage.org/Research/MiddleEast/bg1582.cfm>

⁴⁰¹ Russia attempted to block oil and gas development in the Caspian Sea by claiming that it is a lake and, therefore, that the Law of the Sea—which allows for national sectors on the continental shelf—does not apply. Russia is willing to recognize 45-mile exclusive zones, which would leave most of the Kazak oil in the hands of Kazakhstan but would transfer Azerbaijani oil to the collective ownership of the littoral states. If the Caspian Sea were to be recognized as a lake, all littoral countries would partake in the proceeds of every field and would be likely to haggle over every investment decision. Such a regime never existed in the Caspian Sea region. Ariel Cohen, "U.S. Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia: Building A New "Silk Road" to Economic Prosperity," at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1132.cfm>

⁴⁰² Jim Nichol and Julie Kim "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests," at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

⁴⁰³ Iran's leaders assert that it has territorial and treaty rights to as much as 20 percent of the Caspian Sea surface area and seabed, much more than its long-recognized sector of about 12 percent to 14 percent. Tehran's use of military forces to threaten the U.S.–British company in Azerbaijan's sector jeopardizes, in addition to energy production and security in the region, Western investments and economic development. On July 23, 2001, an Iranian warship and two jets forced a research vessel working for British Petroleum (BP)–Amoco in Azerbaijan's Araz–Alov–Sharg field (60 miles north of Iranian waters) out of the area. BP–Amoco immediately announced that it would cease exploring that field and then withdrew its vessels. Ariel Cohen, "Iran's Claims Over Caspian Sea Resources Threaten Energy Security," <http://www.heritage.org/Research/MiddleEast/bg1582.cfm>

Sea as a sea, not a lake. For example, after the Iranian navy allegedly forced an Azeri oil-exploration ship to leave a disputed oilfield, Turkey dispatched a small number of fighter jets to Azerbaijan under the pretext of participating in a previously arranged air show to show its support to Azerbaijan.⁴⁰⁴



3.2. Divergences in the allies' politics towards Armenia

Since the end of the Cold War, in contrast to Azerbaijan, Armenian-American relations has been warm from the beginning. After Armenia declared independence on 23 September 1991, President George Bush received the Armenian President and Foreign Minister in the White House in November 1991 and a month later, on December 25, Armenia was the only Transcaucasian state that was included in Bush's official recognition of five of the former Soviet republics.⁴⁰⁶ Besides, as put forward above, the US supported Armenia in the NK conflict though it changed its policy after 1998. The US Congress, under the influence of the Armenian Assembly of America and the Armenian National Committee, implemented an embargo on Azerbaijan and accepted Azerbaijan as the offender though Armenia occupied one fifth of the Azerbaijani territory.

⁴⁰⁴ Hooman Peimani, "Caspian Sea divide no closer to closure," *Asia Times*, April 18, 2002 at www.cdi.org/russia/202-11.cfm

⁴⁰⁵ Available at <http://www.cdc.gov/ncidod/eid/vol6no6/kennedyG1.htm>

Turkey also attached importance to its relations with Armenia. When Armenia experienced a devastating earthquake in 1988, Turkey provided substantial aid⁴⁰⁷ and although Armenia's campaign to absorb Nagorno-Karabakh began the following year, Turkey recognized the independence of Armenia on 16 December 1991, and due to the difficult economic conditions following its independence, Turkey was one of the first countries to help Armenia during the drought⁴⁰⁸ by facilitating the transit of humanitarian aid to Armenia through its territory. Besides, Ankara invited Armenia to the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization as a founding state. But Turkey, which allowed humanitarian shipments of food and fuel to transit its territory to Armenia, annulled this relief operation since Armenia continued its attacks on the Azerbaijani territories. However, in April 1995 Turkey reopened its air space to Armenia in order to contribute to peace in the region. Despite Turkey's cooperative politics towards Armenia, Armenia continues to repeat its territorial claims on Turkish territory. In Article 11 of the Armenian Declaration of Independence, the Eastern Anatolia Region, which is part of Turkey is referred to as "Western Armenia". Furthermore, Armenia does not officially recognize the existing common border between Turkey and Armenia as established by the Kars Agreement of 1921, thus Yerevan questions the territorial integrity of Turkey. Also, according to Article 13, paragraph 2 of the Constitution of Armenia, Armenia depicts that the Mount Ararat, which is situated in Turkey, is described as part of the coat of arms of Armenia. Moreover, Armenia, disregarding historical facts, accuses Turkey of having committed a so-called "genocide" which has never taken place. This allegation has also been included in the Armenian Declaration of Independence. Besides, Armenia's support to the terrorist organization, PKK-KADEK (Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress) hinders Turkish-Armenian relations.

⁴⁰⁶Richard G. Hovannisian, "Historical Memory and Foreign affairs," at www.sscnet.ucla.edu/history/centers/armenian/source106.html

⁴⁰⁷ Paul B. Henze, "Turkey's Caucasian Initiatives," at www.eurasianet.org/resource/cenasia/hypermail/200102/0012.html

The terrorist group is being provided with a safe haven in Armenia and is preparing to carry out activities from Armenia under the label, "the Kurdish-Armenian Friendship Committee."⁴⁰⁹ Also, recent visits to Armenia by high-ranking members of the PKK leadership raise suspicions that Armenian-PKK collaboration is intensifying⁴¹⁰ and according to the decision of the meeting, coded as "Sevan 3", the parties agreed to move the HQ of PKK terrorist organization to the territory of Armenia till June 19, 2005.⁴¹¹ In addition, Since Kocharian's takeover, the Armenian position regarding Karabakh's secession has hardened and Turkey's relations with Armenia were deteriorated even further. Yerevan even has refused to recognize the Lisbon Protocol, sponsored by the OSCE.⁴¹² The new Armenian government also demanded a limit on the number of Turkish officials entitled to carry out inspections of Armenian military bases under the CFE Treaty and the Armenian officials refused to participate in the OSCE meetings taking place in any Turkish city.⁴¹³ Therefore, confrontational policies persistently pursued by Yerevan and the Armenian Diaspora, have not made it possible for Turkey to establish diplomatic relations with Armenia.⁴¹⁴ Therefore, the state that sabotages the Turkish-Armenian relations is the latter.⁴¹⁵ But, Turkey is still willing to normalize its relations with Armenia, however Yerevan's failure to develop good neighborly relations as well Yerevan's breach of basic principles of international law and the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions, impede Ankara to establish diplomatic relations with its neighbor.⁴¹⁶

⁴⁰⁸ Tansu Çiller, "Turkey and its Neighborhood," at www.ciaonet.org/pbei/winep/cit01.html

⁴⁰⁹ "KADEK Gets Support And Shelter In Iran, Syria," at www.diplomaticobserver.com/terrorism/20020525_01.html

⁴¹⁰ "A Case Study of the PKK in Turkey," at www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/ac/acf/acf1/f641.htm

⁴¹¹ "PKK moves to Armenia," at www.alexsv7.com/~karabakh/wmview.php?ArtID=36&act=refer

⁴¹² Ariel Cohen, "Ethnic Conflicts Threaten US. Interests in the Caucasus," at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1222.cfm>

⁴¹³ Kamer Kasim, "The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict From Its Inception To The Peace Process," at http://www.eraren.org/eng/articles/nagorno_karabag_confroinpeapro.htm

⁴¹⁴ "Turkey's relations with Armenia," at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/ae/caucasian.htm>.

⁴¹⁵ The statement of Şükrü Elekdağ in "Tarih Boyunca Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri Sempozyumu," at www.belgenet.com/arsiv/ermeni/sempozyum4.html

⁴¹⁶ "Turkish Foreign Policy," at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupg/gb/default.htm#06>

Although, Armenian-American relations had been warmer than Turkish-Armenian relations, some Armenian policies were at odds with the US interests. Armenia due to its geopolitical restraints, looked to Russia as its chief guarantor for security, while Turkey and Azerbaijan clearly preferred the US to Russia. While the United States expanded its military relations with the Baltic states, Azerbaijan and Georgia in the process of NATO enlargement and under the PfP military activities, Armenia preferred to improve its military relations with Russia. Thus, Armenia has been the cornerstone of Russia's forward defense in the Caucasus.⁴¹⁷ Russia has obtained a long-term base and treaty that governs relationships with Yerevan. The treaty reaffirms Russia's lasting military presence in Armenia and commits Armenia not to join NATO. It also reconfirms Russia's determination to counter U.S. presence and remain the exclusive regional hegemon as well as its greatest power.⁴¹⁸ Moreover, deepening Armenian-Iranian ties revoked anger in Washington. Hence, the US implemented sanctions on some Armenian firms due to their contacts with Iran in the nuclear sector.⁴¹⁹ Contrary to Americans, Iran is regarded by many Armenians as their most supportive and friendly neighbor. Iran provided Armenia economic assistance in breaking out of its physical isolation by helping to construct a bridge over the Araxes River at Meghri for transportation over Zangezur to and from Yerevan.⁴²⁰

Though in 2000 Armenia was receiving \$42 per person from the US, which was an enormous indicator as compared to other countries: \$34 per head for Bosnia, \$1 for Rwanda, and \$1,40 for Russia.⁴²¹ Besides, security-related assistance for Armenia has almost doubled

⁴¹⁷ Glen E. Howard, "NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces* at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

⁴¹⁸ Stephen J. Blank, "U.S. Military Engagement with Transcaucasia And Central Asia," at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2000/milengag/milengag.pdf

⁴¹⁹ Ilgar Aliyev, op.cit., p.113.

⁴²⁰ Richard G. Hovannisian, "Historical Memory and Foreign affairs," at www.sscnet.ucla.edu/history/centers/armenian/source106.html

⁴²¹ "The Real Money Behind Foreign Aid," at www.cato.org/dispatch/01-24-01d.html

to \$10 million in 2002, up from \$5.6 million in 2001⁴²² and Armenia has become the second-largest US aid recipient after Israel on a per capita basis.⁴²³

3.3. Georgia, where the allies' interests converge

Georgia is viewed as “an important geopolitical linchpin in the Caucasus region,” since it is “the western portal to the Great Silk Road and the newest conduit of Caspian oil to world markets ... a strategic gateway of energy and trade routes linking East and West”.⁴²⁴ Due to its vital geostrategic situation and its complex domestic structure, after the break-up of the Soviet Union, Georgia has experienced a difficult state-building and independence process. Besides, Russia that sees Georgia as a key component in its security policy in the South Caucasus, supported the separatist moves in Georgia, which caused Abkhazia and South Ossetia's *de facto* separation from Georgia. Several reasons had been effective on Russia's policy towards Georgia. First, Azerbaijan took an open anti-Russian stand, therefore, Russia was endangered to become isolated from its traditional ally in the region – Armenia. Thus, a pro-Russian Georgia was crucial for Russia to have land access route to Armenia which the Russian military bases. Otherwise, maneuvering capabilities of Russian troops in the region could potentially decrease.⁴²⁵ Second, Georgia and Armenia was a natural corridor for trade and communications networks with Iran for Russia. Third, Russia whose coastline was reduced to 300 km. after the conflict with Ukraine over the division of the Black Sea fleet and dispute over the access to naval bases in the Crimea, could not afford the loss of naval infrastructure along the Georgian Black Sea coast.⁴²⁶ Therefore, when Georgia seemed reluctant to join the CIS, Georgia's reluctance was overcome by the Kremlin that has

⁴²² U.S. Assistance to Armenia, Fiscal Year 2002 Fact Sheet, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs Washington, DC, June 6, 2002, at www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/fs/11027.htm

⁴²³ Ariel Cohen, “U.S. Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia: Building A New “Silk Road” to Economic Prosperity,” at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1132.cfm>

⁴²⁴ Jim and Julie Kim, “Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests,” at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

⁴²⁵ Rovshan Sadigbeyli, *Stability in the South Caucasus: The Role of Russia and Turkey*, (Ankara:Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.35.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

strategic interests in the region, through inciting riots in Abkhazia in 1992. Consequently, in exchange for Russian support against Abkhaz secessionists, Shevardnadze was forced to join the CIS in October 1993. At that time Shevardnadze accepted Russia's dictate of Georgia's policies, which includes discouragement of Georgia's attempt to set up independent regional cooperation mechanisms, the manipulation of Georgia's access to energy resources, the introduction of a visa regime on Georgia, affecting hundreds of thousands of its citizens resident in Russia and implementing severe cuts in electricity leaving the capital with a couple of hours of current daily and parts of the countryside totally devoid of it.⁴²⁷ Hence, Russian dominance in the region.⁴²⁸

After its independence, Georgia looked to the West and especially to the United States in order to acquire a greater independence from Russia. But initially, the US support was limited mostly to humanitarian assistance since the US was primarily interested in Russia. But the US humanitarian assistance had been useful for the newly independent Georgia at that time as President Shevardnadze has often stated, "U.S. humanitarian aid made a critical difference in averting famine in Georgia in the early 1990s and helping it maintain its stability and independence".⁴²⁹

Besides, in the South Ossetia and Abkhazia conflicts, the US supported the territorial integrity of Georgia rather than the self-determination rights of Abkhazs and Ossets. In its relations with Georgia, Washington relied upon extensive bilateral assistance programs that aimed at improving administration and governance under the Tbilisi regime, allocating funding to international nongovernmental organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross to help address social problems. In addition, the United States supported the

⁴²⁷ Svante E. Cornell, "Straightening U.S. Policy in Eurasia," at www.cornellcaspiant.com/pub/0101uspol.html

⁴²⁸ An interesting example that shows the degree of independence enjoyed by Shevardnadze can be seen on the following example. When attempted to read a press release announcing Georgia's membership in the CIS, "...Russian diplomats took it out of his hands and gave him a Moscow-authored text to read. See Ariel Cohen, "The New "Great Game: Oil Politics in The Caucasus and Central Asia," at http://web.nps.navy.mil/~relooney/Caspian_13.htm

efforts of multilateral intergovernmental institutions such as the OSCE.⁴³⁰ In addition, the US had also become a member of the FOG grouping (Friends of the UN Secretary-General for Georgia)⁴³¹ to promote a movement toward a settlement in the Abkhazia conflict.⁴³²

The United States' involvement in the regional conflicts of Georgia, was based on the assumption that Russia's attempts to reach a peaceful settlement of this frozen conflict were fruitless. So the US aimed to replace Russian attempts of conflict resolution with the instruments of the United Nations. However, the only positive outcome of that policy under the Geneva Group and the Friends of Georgia Group, was the fact that the conflict was further internationalized.⁴³³

Although, the US also supported the UNOMIG⁴³⁴, which played a secondary role in the process and had to monitor the activities of the CIS peacekeepers, military engagement of the United States whether unilaterally or in the framework of NATO was not realized in the beginning of the 1990s. When Shevardnadze called for an international "peace enforcement operation in Abkhazia on the Bosnian model"⁴³⁵, the US looked reluctantly at this proposal since the United States was overburdened with other peacemaking missions and reluctant to provoke Moscow's anger. This reality was publicly stated by Shevardnadze. He said that

⁴²⁹ Jim Nichol and Julie Kim, "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests," at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

⁴³⁰ Robert Cutler, "Tskhinvali (South Ossetia), Georgia," at <http://www.selfdetermine.org/conflicts/ossetia.html>

⁴³¹ This grouping consisted of the United States, Germany, France (coordinator), the United Kingdom, and the Russian Federation (facilitator) and its main task has been "the creation of the document on distribution of constitutional competencies between Sukhumi and Tbilisi, with full respect to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia." However, the final consensus amongst the Group members was yet to be achieved. Available at "Georgia and International Organizations," at <http://www.mfa.gov.ge/intorg.html>

⁴³² Robert Cutler, "Georgia/Abkhazia," at <http://www.selfdetermine.org/conflicts/abkhaz.html>.

⁴³³ Ilgar Aliyev, op.cit., *The US Strategic Engagement in the South Caucasus 1991-2002*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.100.

⁴³⁴ See 'Section 2.1.1: Internal conflicts and their effects on Georgia's political stability' for more information about the Abkhazia and South Ossetia conflict, and the role of the UNOMIG.

⁴³⁵ Glen E. Howard, "NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.171 at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

President Clinton advised him not to try and rush the withdrawal of Russian troops from Abkhazia.⁴³⁶

In other words, the Clinton Administration, which gave strategic priority to dismantle the Soviet military machine and nuclear arsenal, and confine it within the Russian region in accordance with its Russia-first policy, gave Moscow a free hand in the South Caucasus⁴³⁷ Thus, the U.S. Administration, which does not want not just Abkhazia and Georgia, but the entire Caucasus, to become an area of international competition between Russia and the United States, has officially viewed the cooperation of the Russian “peacekeepers” with UNOMIG as mainly unobjectionable. On 7 March 1994, US President Bill Clinton told reporters that he endorsed the proposal to dispatch to Abkhazia a UN peacekeeping force, a Russian contingent, but no US troops. However, he also announced that the US would provide Georgia \$70 million in humanitarian aid for 1994 in order to avert what Shevardnadze termed the danger of famine.⁴³⁸ Besides, U.S. aid to Georgia has included setting up a business service center in Tbilisi to encourage small business development, and technical aid for monetary and fiscal reform, including through the FY1996, creation of a Center for Economic Policy Analysis and Reform (CEPAR) and with U.S. support, Georgia was formally admitted to the World Trade Organization in June 2000, the second NIS (after Kyrgyzstan) to gain admission.⁴³⁹

As put forward above, Washington did not prefer to rely on military power and concentrated its efforts on increased diplomatic ways of reaching a solution. But the US officials were aware that the security of Georgia located at the nexus of Europe and Asia,

⁴³⁶ Stephen J. Blank, “U.S. Military Engagement with Transcaucasia And Central Asia,” at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2000/milengag/milengag.pdf

⁴³⁷ Fiona Hill, “A Not-So-Grand Strategy: United States Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia since 1991,” *Politique étrangère*, February 2001, <http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/views/articles/fhill/2001politique.htm>

⁴³⁸ Liz Fuller, RFE/RL, No. 46, “Transcaucasia and Central Asia: Shevardnadze in Washington,” at [www.naukanet.org/friends/news/omri/1994/03/940308.html\(opt,mozilla,unix,english,new](http://www.naukanet.org/friends/news/omri/1994/03/940308.html(opt,mozilla,unix,english,new)

⁴³⁹ Jim Nichol and Julie Kim, “Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests,” at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

with ports on the Black Sea, was vital for the United States' vital interests since Georgia was the principal outlet for bringing Caspian oil and gas to international markets.⁴⁴⁰

However, since 1997, the US also began to assist Georgia in the military domain. In 1997, the US and Georgia signed CTR II (Cooperative Threat Reduction) assistance program, which provided Georgia equipment and training for export controls and the safe storage of weapons materials. Also, the agreement on the "Cooperation in the Area of Prevention of Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Promotion of Defense and Military Relations" signed by Georgia and the United States in 1997 also meant cooperation in promoting defense and military contacts and other cooperative military activities.⁴⁴¹

Georgian-American relations developed after Georgia gave unequivocal support to the US and offered unlimited access to its air space after the September 11 attacks. Georgia obviously gained most among the South Caucasian states from the 9/11 event and the anti-terrorist campaign as regards military cooperation with the US. For the first time in history the US decided to deploy its troops in the Caucasus region. Generally the military support for Georgia included \$64 million on training and another \$100m in development aid,⁴⁴² equipping approximately 1,200 Georgian forces, deployment of 180 troops to train Georgians for anti-terrorism purposes. This aid relieved Georgia, which had been under severe pressure from Russia that accused Georgia of turning a blind eye to terrorists in Pankisi.⁴⁴³ The United States made clear to Russia at the highest levels that no excuse that endangered Georgia's

⁴⁴⁰ James A. Baker, "America's Vital Interest in the 'New Silk Road'," *New York Times*, July 21, 1997.

⁴⁴¹ Mamuka Kudava and Cassady Craft, "Developing Non-proliferation Export Controls in Georgia in the Context of the emerging Eurasian Transportation Corridor," in (eds) Gary K. Bertsch, Cassady Craft, Scott A. Jones and Micheal Beck, *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, (New York, London: Routledge, 2000), p. 224.

⁴⁴² Georgia also received "...\$5.35 million in FMF funds in 1998, and \$7.9 million in 1999." See Robin Bhatti and Rachel Bronson, "NATO's Mixed Signals in the Caucasus and Central Asia," *Survival*, vol.42, no.3, (Autumn 2000), pp.133-34

⁴⁴³ Russia blames Georgia for tolerating the presence of Muslim rebel fighters from the neighboring Russian province of Chechnya and allowing them to operate training camps and pass freely across the border. Thus, in winter 2000, Russia imposed new, stringent visa requirements on Georgia and temporarily suspended energy supplies over payments and a contract dispute, increasing pressure on the beleaguered country. . In Georgia alone, approximately 10 percent of the population currently works in Russia. See "The Caucasus and Central

stability and territorial integrity would be acceptable.⁴⁴⁴ As well, while the US supported Georgia against Russia, Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze's administration has strongly backed the US campaign to oust Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. Before Operation Iraq Freedom, U.S. officials inspected air facilities in Georgia for possible use in Iraq military operations, which solidified Tbilisi's image as Washington's chief strategic partner in the Caucasus.⁴⁴⁵

Ankara just like the US realized that Georgia's stability was crucial for Turkey's regional policy and for the successful implementation of the regional projects as stated by the then Turkish Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz during his visit to Ajaria in 1998, "Georgia's stability is no less important than Turkey's own stability"⁴⁴⁶ Georgia is reliant on Turkey for its economic improvement, and Turkey is reliant on Georgia for its land-ties with Azerbaijan and Central Asia. Besides, for Turkey, Georgia is the gateway to the Caucasus and a key transit state in the transport of Caspian oil to Western markets and in the implementation of the Baku-Ceyhan-Tbilisi oil pipeline.⁴⁴⁷ Thus, like the US, from the outset Turkey supported the peaceful resolution of the conflicts in Georgia within the framework of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Georgia.⁴⁴⁸ Turkey has backed both the UN observer force in Abkhazia and international endeavors to solve the crisis⁴⁴⁹ that Georgia faced after its independence.

Asia in U.S foreign policy," *Eurasia Insight*, June 12, 2001 and " Putin's parody of partnership," *Washington Post*, September 19, 2002.

⁴⁴⁴ Zeyno Baran "United States Will Help Georgia Fight Terrorism and Strengthen Internally," at www.csis.org/ruseura/georgia/gaupdate_0203.htm , Ilgar Aliyev, *The US Strategic Engagement in the South Caucasus 1991-2002*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis, 2002), p.113, Vicken Cheterian , "Central Asia: America's rear base," at <http://mondediplo.com/2003/02/05oil>.

⁴⁴⁵ Eric A. Miller, "Georgia Struggles To Develop National Security Framework," at www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav032803.shtml

⁴⁴⁶ Svante E. Cornell, "Turkey: Priority to Azerbaijan", in Svante E. Cornell (ed) *Small Nations and Great Powers*, (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000), p.309.

⁴⁴⁷ Mehmet Tütüncü, "The Caucasus Policy of Turkey (1990-1997): An Evaluation", in Mehmet Tütüncü (ed) *Caucasus: War and Peace*, (Haarlem, Nederland: SOTA, 1998), p.198.

⁴⁴⁸ "Turkish Foreign Policy," at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupg/gb/default.htm#06>

⁴⁴⁹ Paul B. Henze, "The Lands Of Many Crossroads: Turkey's Caucasian Initiatives", *Orbis*, Vol.45, No.1, (Winter 2001), p.86.

In the diplomatic fora, like the US did under the Geneva Group and the Friends of Georgia Group, Turkey took place in the international and regional organizations, which aimed at stability in the South Caucasus including Georgia. In this regard, Turkey and Georgia participated in the “South Caucasus Stability Pact”. In fact Turkish President Suleyman Demirel expressed his idea to form a "Caucasus Stability Pact" at Tbilisi in January 2000. The main goal of Demirel's "Caucasus Stability Pact" was to create a stable political landscape for the "energy corridor" that Ankara hopes will bring the oil riches of the Caspian region to its Mediterranean port of Ceyhan.⁴⁵⁰ Besides, Turkey and Georgia participate in “Great Silk Road”, TRACECA (Transport Corridor Europe - Caucasus – Asia)⁴⁵¹ and INOGATE (Interstate Oil and Gas Transport to Europe) projects.⁴⁵² Today, Turkey and Georgia engage in also on several joint civil-engineering projects such as the Kars-Tbilisi railroad, Sarp-Batum-Poti highway, hydro-power projects, modernization of Batumi’s airport, Batumi’s and Poti’s harbour, construction of communication links between Poti and Baku, and, most important, the Baku-Ceyhan-Tbilisi Oil pipeline⁴⁵³ and Turkey has replaced Russia as Georgia's main trading partner.⁴⁵⁴

Not only economic and political cooperation, but also military cooperation⁴⁵⁵ between Turkey and Georgia expanded. In March 1999, Turkey and Georgia signed a treaty on military assistance and collaboration, which provides for training of Georgian troops in Turkey and for Ankara’s assistance in modernizing training facilities in Georgia. The accord

⁴⁵⁰ Harry Tamrazian, “Which Formula can Guarantee Security for the South Caucasus?” at www.eurasianet.org/resource/georgia/hypermail/200006/0019.html

⁴⁵¹ The TRACECA Program is a project which aims to develop a transport corridor on a west - east axis from Europe, across the Black Sea, through the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea to Central Asia. This project is funded by the European Union . Available at www.traceca.org/docs/main.php

⁴⁵² The INOGATE Programme which is funded by EU, aims to improve the security of Europe’s energy supply by promoting the regional integration of the oil and gas pipeline systems and facilitating their transport both within the region in question and towards the export markets of Europe and the West in general. Available at <http://www.inogate.org/html/brief/brief2.htm>

⁴⁵³ Jolyon Naegle, " Turkey: Foreign Relations Good with Two of Eight Neighbours," at <http://www.rferl.org/nca/features/1998/08/F.RU.980813130211.html>

⁴⁵⁴ Liz Fuller, “Georgia/Turkey: Agreements Secure Bilateral Trade And Defense,” at www.rferl.org/nca/features/1999/03/F.RU.990310150916.html

⁴⁵⁵ Allies military policies regarding Georgia will be examined in the fourth chapter.

envisages further Turkish assistance in creating training centers in Kodori and Gori and a modern shooting range outside of Tbilisi.⁴⁵⁶

While the allies expanded their relations with the South Caucasian states in political, economic and military domains, Russia looked suspiciously to the allies' expanding policies in the South Caucasus and initially used regional conflicts and domestic instability in the South Caucasian states as an instrument to prevent unwanted external penetration as in the example of Georgia. In the section below, allies' attitudes towards Russia in their foreign policy making in the South Caucasus and the role of Russia in the region will be analyzed.

3.4. From competition to cooperation; Russia

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russian Federation mostly focused on domestic economic and political reforms, and chose simply to "get rid" of the "Caucasian problem" by withdrawing both militarily and politically from the region. However, since mid-1992, when "Eurasianist" views gained popularity in Russia's political discourse, the Caucasus once again became one of the key regions towards which Russian political and security elite re-defined its policy.⁴⁵⁷

In fact, the Caucasus land has always been a strategic area for Russians. Russia has always recognized the Northern Tier and Turkey not only as a gateway to the peripheral seas, but also as a possible occupation route to Russia.⁴⁵⁸ Besides, Russian policymakers were aware that South Caucasus could be a buffer or barrier for Russia from the Middle East, which is a vital and important supplier of oil, if it were in the control of hostile powers.⁴⁵⁹ Thus, politico-military presence of Russia in the southern Caucasus would at a minimum help

⁴⁵⁶ *Jamestown Monitor*, 5 March 1999 cited in at Jared Feinberg, "Armed forces in Georgia," <http://www.cdi.org/issues/Europe/gastudy.pdf>

⁴⁵⁷ Rovshan Sadıgbeyli, *Stability in the South Caucasus: The Role of Russia and Turkey*, (Ankara:Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.123.

⁴⁵⁸ Ali Karaosmanoglu, "Turkey and the Southern Flank: Domestic and External Contexts", in John Chipman, (ed) *NATO's Southern Allies: Internal and External Challenges*, (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 87.

⁴⁵⁹ Nikolai Hovanissian, "Views from the Region: Armenia," *Seminar on Russia and the NIS*, 1996, Available at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/sam/1.96/1-3.ht>

Russia to preserve and possibly expand its interests in Central Asia, the Black Sea region⁴⁶⁰ and the Middle East. Then, a clear Russian policy towards the South Caucasus developed based on three major principles. Firstly, non-Russian republics of the former Soviet Union must be reintegrated into the CIS.⁴⁶¹ Secondly, the external boundaries of these states were to be protected by Russia. Thirdly, Russian military bases should be present on the territory of the three states.⁴⁶²

To realize its objectives, Russia exploited regional conflicts and domestic instability in the South Caucasian states as told in the second chapter, as an instrument to prevent the growing involvement of NATO countries, and the USA and Turkey in particular. In this regard, Russia has coerced Georgia, threatened Azerbaijan with both internal coups and major support for Nagorno-Karabakh, negotiated a peace and a long-term base agreement with Georgia and Armenia, and become the arbiter of their fates or security guarantor. Russia has acted to gain bases, lasting strategic footholds, overturn the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty, monopolize the local energy business, and create an exclusive sphere of influence.⁴⁶³ In short, Russia has not hesitated to manipulate the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as an instrument of Russian expansionism, imperialism and aggression.⁴⁶⁴

According to Russia, these policies were natural and necessary steps to maintain its influence in the region. Unfortunately, the rhetoric of “Turkic world”, which caused the fear

⁴⁶⁰ Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer, “Russia and the South: Central Asia and the Southern Caucasus,” *European Security*, Vol.5, No.2 (Summer 1996) p.314.

⁴⁶¹ Tadeusz Swietochowski, “The Long Shadow of Russia,” at <http://www.usazerbaijancouncil.org/caspiancr.html>

⁴⁶² Svante E. Cornell, “The Caucasus under Renewed Russian Pressure: Realities on the Ground and Geopolitical Imperatives”, *Caspian Brief*, No. 10 (January 2001)

Available at http://www.cornellcaspian.com/pub/10_0101russianpressure.html

⁴⁶³ Stephen J. Blank, “U.S. Military Engagement with Transcaucasia And Central Asia,” at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2000/milengag/milengag.pdf

⁴⁶⁴ Berdal Aral, “The Black Sea Economic Co-Operation after Ten Years: What Went Wrong?”, *Alternatives*, 1:4, (Winter 2002), available at www.alternativesjournal.com/aral.htm

of “Pan-Turkism” and “Neo-Ottomanism”⁴⁶⁵, also has been effective on legitimising Russia’s hegemonic policies. At that time, Russia's economic weakness and Turkey's membership of NATO added to fuel Russian ambivalence.⁴⁶⁶ As for the Russian officials, Turkey could present a security problem indirectly, manifesting itself through its support of regimes, movements, or policies in the Transcaucasus and in Central Asia which are directed against Russia or its allies.⁴⁶⁷ On the other hand, according to the Russian policymakers, the US was aiming to force Russia out altogether⁴⁶⁸ and compel Russia to accept a very inferior position compared to its regional ambitions. After NATO’s Kosovo campaign, these fears have gained renewed immediacy and urgency since the Russian military-political elite interpreted it as a prelude to a similar future anti-Russian campaign in the Transcaspian.⁴⁶⁹

On the other side of the coin, the US and Turkey, saw Russia’s over reliance on military means and desire to emplace military bases on the soil of NIS as a first step in enforced absorption of these states back into the Russian “sphere of influence” and supported the South Caucasian independence struggle as told before. Russia, so as not to lose its influence in the South Caucasus, gave importance to its connection with Armenia. But, Russia’s excessive emphasis on “strategic partnership” with Armenia and ever-deepening military relations between Russia and Armenia on the one hand, and overt pro-Abkhaz stand on the other, contributed to the formation of a negative image of Russia in the eyes of Azerbaijanis and Georgians.⁴⁷⁰ To keep its own military-industrial complex solvent, and to

⁴⁶⁵ Nur Bilge Criss, “Between Discord and Cooperation: Turkish-Russian Relations after the Cold War”, Paper presented at the seminar “Turkey at the Crossroads”, (Washington, DC: The George Washington University, Institute for European and Eurasian studies, March 31-April 1, 1998) pp.1-2 cited in Levent Demirci, *Turkey's Political Objectives in the Caucasus*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.75.

⁴⁶⁶ Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer, “Turkish-Russian Relations a Decade Later: From Adversity To Managed Competition”, *Perceptions*, Vol.VI, No.1, (March - May 2001). Available at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percept/VI-1/dbsezer.05.htm>

⁴⁶⁷ Alexei G. Arbatov, “The Russian Military in the 21st Century,” at www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/rusmil21.pdf

⁴⁶⁸ Sergo Mikoyan, “The US and Regional Conflict in Eurasia,” *Survival*, Vol. XL, No. 3, (Autumn 1998), p. 119

⁴⁶⁹ Stephen J. Blank, “U.S. Military Engagement with Transcaucasia And Central Asia,” at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2000/milengag/milengag.pdf

⁴⁷⁰ Rovshan Sadıgbeyli, *Stability in the South Caucasus: The Role of Russia and Turkey*, (Ankara:Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.49.

build a coalition in Eurasia to counterbalance U.S. military superiority, Russia developed its relations with Iran⁴⁷¹, but that policy also did not bring tangible gains to the RF in the South Caucasus region.

Nevertheless, although Turkey and Russia had intersecting interests, Turkish-Russian relations arrived at a 'Golden Age' in the post-cold war era. Though, Turkey's traditional apprehensions and Russia's anxieties in the South Caucasus have not been completely eliminated, cooperation rather than competition has dominated in Turkish-Russian relations.⁴⁷² Turkey and Russia, by participating in the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, committed themselves to improving economic and technological co-operation, to encouraging social interaction and free circulation of private enterprise. By the BSEC, Russia seeks to offset its isolation and regain its former prestige via multilateral partnerships in the South Caucasus. Boris Medvedev, deputy director for the Department of Economy within the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated that "BSEC is part of guaranteeing stability not only in the Black Sea itself, but also in the area of international trade and economic ties."⁴⁷³ Some of the projects of the BSEC have already been completed, including the establishment of fiber optic communications networks and radio link systems to connect Turkey to i) Bulgaria, Romania and Moldova (KAFOS); ii) Italy, Ukraine and Russia (ITUR), and iii) Azerbaijan and Georgia (DOKAP). The work on other projects aiming to integrate highways, railways and maritime lines so as to improve the efficiency of transportation networks between members is currently under way.⁴⁷⁴ Moreover, Turkey and Russia have signed an agreement on the transportation of Russian natural gas to Turkey via an underwater pipeline

⁴⁷¹ Baidya Bikash Basu, "Russian National Security Thinking," at www.ciaonet.org/olj/sa/sa_oct00bab01.html

⁴⁷² Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer, "Turkish-Russian Relations a Decade Later: From Adversity To Managed Competition," *Perceptions*, 6:1 (March - May 2001), at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percept/VI-1/dbsezer.05.htm>. Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer, "Turkish-Russian Relations: The Challenges of Reconciling Geopolitical Competition with Economic Partnership," *Turkish Studies*, 1:1, (Spring 2000), p.73.

⁴⁷³ *Black Sea Region: Priorities and Perspectives for the 21st Century*, April 1999, Conference paper at www.irex.org/pubs/policy/black-sea.asp

in the Black Sea, known as "Blue Stream Project".⁴⁷⁵ which is already in place despite the dispute on the price of the gas. In addition, the extent of Turkish-Russian economic relations greatly exceeded those established with Azerbaijan and all the Central Asian states. Turkey's economic relations with Russia reached a peak in 1997. The overall bilateral trade volume, including non-registered trade (the so-called "luggage trade") by tourists, reached around \$10 billion in 1997, making Russia the second largest trading partner for Turkey. Furthermore, Turkish builders did \$8.5 billion of business in Russia in 1997.⁴⁷⁶ Shortly, while "multidimensional cooperation in so many fields would have seemed pure fantasy some 10-15 years ago [between Turkey and Russia]" as former ambassador of the Russian Federation to Turkey Alexander Lebedev stated⁴⁷⁷, today Turkey and Russia understood that the unnecessary rivalry in the areas that once were a buffer zone between these two states exacerbate risks emanating from regional sources of instability.⁴⁷⁸

American-Russian and Russian-NATO relations also expanded after 1997. On 27 May 1992, NATO and the Russian Federation, in order to contribute to the establishment of common and comprehensive security in Europe that is based on allegiance to shared values, commitments and norms of behavior in the interests of all states, signed the Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Co-operation and Security. In accordance with this act, NATO and Russia created the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council, whose objective is to build increasing levels of trust, unity of purpose and habits of consultation and co-operation between NATO and Russia, in order to enhance each other's security and that of all nations in the Euro-

⁴⁷⁴ Serdar Sayan, "The Black Sea Economic Cooperation Project: A Substitute for or A Complement to Globalization Efforts in the Middle East and the Balkans?" at http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/~sayan/DiscussionPapers/ERF_WP9806.pdf

⁴⁷⁵ "Turkish Energy Policy," at www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/an/policy.htm

⁴⁷⁶ Ziya Öniş, "Turkey And Post-Soviet States: Potential And Limits Of Regional Power Influence," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 5:2, (June 2001), available at meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2001/issue2/jv5n2a6.html

⁴⁷⁷ Alexander Lebedev, "Russia and Turkey in the 21 st Century: What is behind and what is Ahead", *Insight Turkey*, 4: 2, 2002, p. 8.

Atlantic area and diminish the security of none.⁴⁷⁹ Today, although, Russia still takes a critical stance on continuing NATO enlargement, in particular the admission of the Baltic republics, its former categorical rejection has softened somewhat.⁴⁸⁰ The changing face of the Russian – American relations were also revealed in the declaration on “the New Strategic Relationship Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation”, which stressed that in Central Asia and the South Caucasus, both countries recognize common interest in promoting the stability, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of all the nations of this region. The United States and Russia rejected the failed model of “Great Power” rivalry that can only increase the potential for conflict.⁴⁸¹ Also President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin, being the first visiting president of RF to Azerbaijan in January 2001, stated that “regional conflicts should be solved without victors or vanquished”.⁴⁸² Besides, Russia supported the US military operation in Afghanistan and finally accepted the establishment of US bases in Central Asia and the secondment of American advisers to Georgia.

Although there had been changes in Russian foreign policy in favour of the US and Turkey, allies are aware that, if Russia becomes expansionist and aggressive in the South Caucasus as in the recent Russian war in Chechnya, Russia could sabotage many if not all of the forthcoming energy projects by relatively simple and tested means and there is not much that the US and Turkey could do without a strong and lasting regional commitment.⁴⁸³

⁴⁷⁸ Dmitri Trenin, “Really Burying the Hatchet: Russia and Turkey Find Themselves on the Same Side,” *Insight Turkey*, 4: 2, 2002, p. 27

⁴⁷⁹ Nicolas K. Laos, “International Security In The Post-Cold War Era,” at www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percept/IV-4/laos.htm

⁴⁸⁰ “Russian Federation Foreign Policy,” available at www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/laenderinfos/laender/laender_ausgabe.html?type_id=11&land_id=140

⁴⁸¹ Joint Declaration by President George W. Bush and President Vladimir V. Putin on the New Strategic Relationship Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation [Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents], Available at http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=2002_presidential_documents&docid=pd27my02_txt-28

⁴⁸² AzTV1, Baku, January 2001, cited in Rovshan Sadıgbeyli, *Stability in the South Caucasus: The Role of Russia and Turkey*, (Ankara:Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis, 2002), p.50.

⁴⁸³ Zalmay Khalilzad, “A Strategic Plan For Western-Turkish Relations,” in Zalmay Khalilzad, Ian O. Lesser, F. Stephen Larrabee (eds), *The Future of Turkish-Western Relations:Toward A Strategic Plan*, www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1241/MR1241.chap5.pdf

Therefore, Russia has the capability to damage Turkish and American interests in the region. Besides, if a military encounter between the US and Russian armed forces (or their proxies) occurs anywhere, Caucasus is a likely place, whether in joint peace operations or in hostile confrontations.⁴⁸⁴ Therefore, the US and Turkey try to enhance military, economic and political relationships with Russia, but are also ready to react to Moscow's threats and lessen the negative effects of the probable Russian disturbing foreign policies. Allies, to make the NIS completely independent of Russia, try to legitimize their policies in the area as well as implicitly asking Russia to view the region as an area of international cooperation rather than its own backyard.⁴⁸⁵

On the other hand, while allies aimed to cooperate with RF in their foreign policy making in the South Caucasus, allies - especially the United States - refrained to cooperate with Iran due to Iran's severe Islamic regime, energy politics, its military relations with Russia and supposed nuclear programs. In the section below, the allies attitudes towards Iran, which is seen mostly as a rival rather than a partner in the region, will be examined.

3.5. Clashing interests between Iran and the Turkish-American alliance

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, there appeared a power vacuum in Eurasia including the South Caucasus, and Iran as a great regional power with its religious ties with the NIS appeared as a candidate to fulfill the vacuum. Tehran looked at the newfound independence of the states in the north as a diplomatic opportunity to break out of the containment imposed by the United States.⁴⁸⁶ Iran perceives the Muslim Central Asian states and Azerbaijan as a potential sphere of influence in its strategic rear—a market for its goods

Stephen J. Blank, "U.S. Military Engagement with Transcaucasia And Central Asia," at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2000/milengag/milengag.pdf

⁴⁸⁴ Stephen J. Blank, "U.S. Military Engagement with Transcaucasia And Central Asia," at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2000/milengag/milengag.pdf

⁴⁸⁵ F. Stephen Larrabee, "Turkish Foreign and Security Policy: New Dimensions and New Challenges", in (eds) Zalmay Khalilzad, Ian O. Lesser, F. Stephen Larrabee *The Future of Turkish-Western Relations: Toward A Strategic Plan*, www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1241/MR1241_chap3.pdf

⁴⁸⁶ Daniel L. Byman, Shahram Chubin, Anoushiravan Ehteshami, Jerrold Green, *Iran's Security Policy in the Post-Revolutionary Era*, available at <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1320/>

and ideology. Iran, which is an attractive outlet for Caspian Sea oil and gas, would like to profit from transit fees from energy resources exported to the Persian Gulf via Iranian territory.⁴⁸⁷

However, the US, which does not want these states to fall into sphere of influence of Islamic Iran, increased its strict measures against Iran⁴⁸⁸ According to the US officials, Iran sponsored international terrorism and was pursuing a nuclear weapons program. Besides, militant Islamic leaders in Iran make no effort to hide the fact that they want to destroy the United States and its ally, Israel and that affected US foreign policy towards Iran negatively.⁴⁸⁹ In 1992 the USA also banned weapon sales to Iran. By August 1996, with the passage of the Iran Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA), Washington imposed penalties on major international investors in Iran's oil and gas industry. As a result, Iran was excluded from the probable projects of multiple pipelines for the export of Caspian oil. Although oil companies as Mobil explicitly challenged U.S. sanctions policy against Iran, which offers the cheapest route for Caspian oil, so far there have not been any changes in the politics of the USA.⁴⁹⁰

While the US sees Iran as an evil⁴⁹¹, naturally, Iran also does not look at the US with sympathy. U.S. support for the coup against Mosaddeq in 1954, subsequent U.S. backing of the Shah, the long-term U.S. support for Israel, US support for Iraq during its war with Iran, (1989-1988)⁴⁹² U.S. sanctions to Iran, which isolates it from the region, excluding Iran from the consortium of oil companies and oil export routes had been effective on the hostility

⁴⁸⁷ Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall, "US Policy and the Caucasus," at <http://ist-socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/caucasus/publications.html>

⁴⁸⁸ In fact, Tehran and Washington severed diplomatic ties more than 20 years ago when Iranian students stormed the U.S. embassy in 1979 and took 52 Americans hostage for 444 days. "Iran Rejects 'Axis of Evil' Barb," at www.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/meast/01/30/iran.bush/

⁴⁸⁹ Baidya Bikash Basu, "Russian National Security Thinking," at www.ciaonet.org/olj/sa/sa_oct00bab01.html

⁴⁹⁰ Fiona Hill, "A Not-So-Grand Strategy: United States Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia since 1991," *Politique étrangère*, February 2001, <http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/views/articles/fhill/2001politique.htm>

⁴⁹¹ Bush said Iran was part of an 'axis of evil', including Iraq and North Korea, seeking to threaten the world with weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to carry them on Jan. 29, 2002.

⁴⁹² Daniel L. Byman, Shahram Chubin, Anoushiravan Ehteshami, Jerrold Green, *Iran's Security Policy in the Post-Revolutionary Era*, available at <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1320/>

of Iran towards the US. Broadly speaking, most Iranians would agree with the following criticisms of the United States:

- The United States is arrogant and bullies lesser powers. It uses its power in a discriminatory and punitive fashion.
- The United States is a cultural threat to Islamic civilization.
- The United States finds it difficult to have normal relations with states that disagree with it. Independence and good relations with the United States are often incompatible.⁴⁹³ Thus, there does not seem an improvement in the American-Iranian relations in the near future.

While the NIS of the South Caucasus presented opportunities to Iran like Turkey and the United States, there also emerged new threats to Iran's national security. With the independence of Azerbaijan, under Elchibey's governance Azerbaijan saw an opportunity for the unification of Southern and Northern Azerbaijan and a single, independent state of Azerbaijan. Hence, that led to raise acute tensions between Tehran and the newly independent government in Baku since loss of Northern Iran would reduce Iran's population by about one-fourth and it would provide a land bridge between Turkey and northern Azerbaijan, now separated by Armenia.⁴⁹⁴ Iranian authorities who are afraid of the union of Azerbaijanis, split Iranian Azerbaijan into two provinces (Sabalan and East Azerbaijan, with capitals in Ardebil and Tabriz), in an apparent effort to reduce a sense of Azerbaijani nationhood. Although, Iran takes measures against the unification of Azeris, it can not hinder connection culturally through poetry as in the poem of Balash Azeroglu;

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ After, St. Petersburg conquered northern Azerbaijan by 1828; Azeris began to live in two different states; Iran and the Russia. Today, twice as many Azeris live in Iran as in Azerbaijan, and, strengthening the Turcophone bloc to the north. Daniel Pipes, "The Event of Our Era: Ex-Soviet Muslim Republics Change the Middle East," in (ed) Michael Mandelbaum, *Central Asia and the World: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan*, (New York : Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1994) p.63.

The sorrows and wounds of this land are one.
The battles of Baku and turmoil of Tabriz - Do these not lead to one goal?
The fatherland is neither separated nor divided!⁴⁹⁵

Thus, while the allies want a strong, politically independent, secular, pro-Western Azerbaijan, this is not in the interest of Iran. Azerbaijan, by developing its energy resources and emerging as a strong petroleum-producing country, can be increasingly charming for the 20 million Azerbaijanis living in Iran⁴⁹⁶ and also after the Operation Iraq Freedom, a democratic pro-American Iraq, in which the Shias constitute %65 of the population may also be charming for the Iran Shias, whose freedoms are restricted.⁴⁹⁷ Therefore, the territorial integrity of Iran could be jeopardised in the near future.

Iran, with the aim of making the US policies ineffective, developed its relations with Russia in the political, military and economic domains. Russia welcomed Iran's rapprochement with itself since Iran is a perfect arms client and market for nuclear reactors. The sale of Russian arms has hence become a major source of hard currency earnings for the hard pressed Russian budget. Iran has received a range of types of weaponry from Russia, including submarines and fighter jets.⁴⁹⁸ In October 2001, Iranian Defense Minister Admiral Ali Shamkhani signed a multibillion- dollar contract with Russia for a supply of sophisticated weapons to Tehran even though a 1995 secret agreement signed by then-Russian Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin and U.S. Vice President Al Gore called for limiting advanced arms sales from Russia to Iran.⁴⁹⁹ Besides, Iran is an ideal ally against US hegemony, since

⁴⁹⁵ David Nissman, "The Two Azerbaijan: A Common Past and A Common Future," at <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/usazerb/126.htm>.

⁴⁹⁶ Elkhan E. Nuriyev, "The Ongoing Geopolitical Game in the Caucasus and the Caspian Basin: Towards War or Peace?" Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies; Monterey Institute of International Studies. Available at <http://cns.miis.edu/cres/nuriyev.htm>

⁴⁹⁷ In an interview with Mustafa Kibaroglu in 'Anahtar' program on NTV, 28 April 2003.

⁴⁹⁸ Svante E. Cornell, "Iran and the Caspian Region: The Domestic and International Context of Iranian Policy," *Caspian Brief*, No. 15, Cornell Caspian Consulting, (May 2001). Available at <http://www.cornellcaspian.com>

⁴⁹⁹ Ariel Cohen, "Iran's Claims Over Caspian Sea Resources Threaten Energy Security,"

Iran helps avert the US from fully dominating the Persian Gulf.⁵⁰⁰ From Iran's point of view, Russia is a secure source of complex arms; a diplomatic ally at a time when the US has sought to isolate it, and an ally in helping to limit Azerbaijan's possible irridentist threat.⁵⁰¹ As a result, Tehran and Moscow, which see the emergence of a unipolar world as troubling⁵⁰², identify their cooperation as "strategic", each side considering the other as vital to its own national security, internal stability, and territorial integrity.⁵⁰³ However, although Russia and Iran share similar interests in the region, Russia's rapprochement with the US and increased economic relations with Turkey, worry the Iranian policymakers about Russia's reliability.

In addition, Iran, which does not want a strong Azerbaijan, worked closely with Christian Armenia, supporting it tacitly in its conflict with Shi'a Azerbaijan, while Turkey supported Azerbaijan. In this respect, Armenia has become a logical part of the grouping, and actually a practical Moscow-Yerevan-Tehran partnership has emerged, whose main function is to neutralize Turkish influence.⁵⁰⁴

While Iran, Russia and Armenia formed a de facto coalition to counteract Turkish influence, the United States continued to support the "Turkish model" as a counterbalance to the "Iranian-Islamic model" and further exclusion of Iran out of the region.⁵⁰⁵ But due to its poor economy, complex relations with Armenians and internal security problems, Turkey was not able to assume the role that the US wanted.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁰ Svante E. Cornell, "Iran and the Caspian Region: The Domestic and International Context of Iranian Policy," *Caspian Brief*, No. 15, Cornell Caspian Consulting, (May 2001). Available at <http://www.cornellcaspian.com>

⁵⁰¹ Robert O. Freedman, "Russian Iranian Relations in the 1990s", *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol.4, No.2 (June 2000). Available at http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/meria/meria00_frr01.html

⁵⁰² Daniel L. Byman, Shahram Chubin, Anoushiravan Ehteshami, Jerrold Green, *Iran's Security Policy in the Post-Revolutionary Era*, available at <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1320/>

⁵⁰³ Brenda Shaffer, "Partners in Need: The Strategic Relationship of Russia & Iran", *Caspian Crossroads*, Vol.5, No.4 (Summer 2001). Available at <http://www.usazerbaijancouncil.org/caspiancr.html>

⁵⁰⁴ Svante E. Cornell, "Geopolitics and Strategic Alignments in the Caucasus and Central Asia," *Perceptions*, Vol.4, No.2, (June-August 1999). Available at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percept/iv-2/cornell.htm>

⁵⁰⁵ Ilgar Aliyev, *The US Strategic Engagement in the South Caucasus 1991-2002*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.14.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp:15-16.

Like the US, Turkish-Iranian relations have not been so warm due to Iran's support to the PKK and Islamic militant groups in Turkey. The movements of the PKK increased through the Iranian border, when a pro-Turkish president –Elchibey- was in power in Azerbaijan.⁵⁰⁷ Iran has blocked Turkey's TIR (Transit Highway International) trucks from its highways, effectively obstructing overland trade with Azerbaijan and Central Asia.⁵⁰⁸ Besides, Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani, warned Azerbaijan against allowing NATO forces on its soil, saying that "it will pay a high price" if the forces reach the Caucasus and the Caspian Basin region⁵⁰⁹ and in August 2001 Iranian warships and fighters attacked an Azerbaijani research vessel. However, after that event, Gen.Hüseyin Kıvrıkoğlu, the Turkish Chief of the General Staff, paid a visit to Baku and participated in the graduation ceremony of the first group of cadets from the Turkish-run military academy, and confirmed Turkey's support for Azerbaijan's independence and territorial integrity. The elite "Turkish Stars" squadron appeared in the skies above Azerbaijan, pointing to the strategic union between two peoples and states. Tehran described the action as a Turkish show of force.⁵¹⁰

Though there are problems with Iran and Turkey, there is also considerable scope for economic cooperation between the two states. Iran has oil and gas that it can export to energy-thirsty Turkey, and Iran can act as a transit route of energy exports from Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan.⁵¹¹ In 1996, energy-starved Turkey negotiated a \$20 billion gas pipeline project to bring Iranian and Turkmeni gas to its fast-growing economy, and further to the European market. This decision was undesirable from the U.S. point of view, however, because of

⁵⁰⁷ Emir Salim Yüksel, "Turkish-Iranian Relations In The Post-Cold War Era: 1991-1996," at www.metu.edu.tr/home/wwwsbe/thabs/1998/ir_abs_98.html

⁵⁰⁸ Stephen J. Blank, "Turkey's Strategic Engagement in the Former USSR and US Interests," in (eds) Stephen J. Blank, Stephen C. Pelletiere, William T. Johnsen, *Turkey's Strategic Position At The Crossroads of World Affairs* at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1993/turkey/turkey.pdf

⁵⁰⁹ Elkhan E. Nuriyev, "The Ongoing Geopolitical Game in the Caucasus and the Caspian Basin: Towards War or Peace?" Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies; Monterey Institute of International Studies. Available at <http://cns.miis.edu/cres/nuriyev.htm>

⁵¹⁰ Kemal Kaya, "Turkey's New Challenges in the Caucasus and Central Asia," at http://www.cacianalyst.org/November_7_2001_Turkeys_Challenges.html.

Iran's continuing support for terrorist organizations in the Middle East and attempts to export to the Islamic revolution to neighboring states. However, since Turkey is just trading with Iran, the US has decided that technically, Turkey is not in violation of the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA), which imposes sanctions on companies investing more than \$20 million in Iran's oil or gas industries. For its part, Turkey has persistently maintained that it needs to diversify its suppliers of natural gas away from Russia and that Turkmen and Iranian gas represent economically good options.⁵¹² Although Turkey and Iran aim to develop their relations with projects such as the reestablishment of the passenger train links between Istanbul-Tehran⁵¹³, close cooperation between Turkey and Iran awaits the resolution of Iran's problems with the United States, which has strongly protested Ankara's cooperation with Tehran.

While allies supported the NIS of the South Caucasus in their state building process, they also place importance on the improvement of these states' armed forces in order to stand on their own feet. In the fourth chapter, the allies' military politics in the region will be examined.

⁵¹¹ Daniel L. Byman, Shahram Chubin, Anoushiravan Ehteshami, Jerrold Green, *Iran's Security Policy in the Post-Revolutionary Era*, available at <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1320/>

⁵¹² Turkey, *US Energy Information Country Analysis*, (July 2001). Available at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/turkey.htm>

⁵¹³ Information Note on Foreign Minister İsmail Cem's Visit to Iran 12-13 February 2001 www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/ai/iran.htm

CHAPTER 4

4. MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF THE ALLIES IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS

4.1. Russia's military policies and the US attitude to the Russian military activities

Before analyzing the military-strategic interests and activities of the US and Turkey, it is necessary to look at Russia's military policies in the South Caucasus. During the USSR period the Caucasus was divided into Trans-Caucasus Military District (MD), the Transcaucasus Border Guard District and North Caucasus MD. This region represented one of the most militarized areas, not only in the former Soviet Union but also in the world.⁵¹⁴ The importance that Russians gave to the South Caucasus region, which is located between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, and served throughout the centuries the role of a bridge or barrier for Russia, depending on the international situation,⁵¹⁵ did not decrease in the post-cold war era either Russian policymakers, to maintain control over borders between the South Caucasian states and Turkey and Iran, aimed to maintain military bases and forces in Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan. For this purpose, the first step by Russia was the implementation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Collective Security Treaty by Armenia, Russia, and others in 1992, which called for mutual defense consultations. Since then, Russia pressured Georgia and Azerbaijan to join the CIS and sign the security treaty.⁵¹⁶ But, in May 1992, Azerbaijan became the only former republic of Soviet Union (excluding the Baltic states) to get the Russians to pull out their forces (about 350 Russian troops remain

⁵¹⁴Sergey Koulik and Richard Kokoski, (ed.) *Conventional Arms Control: Prospects and Verification*, (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) cited in Rovshan Sadıgbeyli, *Stability in the South Caucasus: The Role of Russia and Turkey*, (Ankara:Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.33.

⁵¹⁵ Jim Nichol, "Transcaucasus Newly Independent States: Political Developments and Implications for US Interests," at <http://www.fas.org/man/crs/95-024.htm>

⁵¹⁶Jim Nichol and Julie Kim, "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests," at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

at the Gabele radar site). Besides, Azerbaijan also refused to approve joint Russo-Azerbaijani border patrols. However, Russia secured permission for two military bases in Armenia and three in Georgia. In addition, at that time Washington showed much respect to Russia's interests in the region as put forward in the third chapter and Russia has been granted changes in the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty to allow added weaponry in the area.⁵¹⁷ The United States has gone so far as to insist that there is "no linkage" between Russian efforts to destabilize the Caucasus region and the revision of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, even though a treaty revision could legitimize Russian forces being used for this purpose⁵¹⁸ and that is neglected security concerns of two Transcaucasian states - Azerbaijan and Georgia - and those of Turkey.

In September 1995, Georgia and Russia signed a military treaty, which enabled Russia access to bases in Vaziani, Akhalkalaki, Batumi, and Gudauta in Abkhazia for an indefinite period, and substantial control over Georgia's borders. Also, military cooperation and air defense agreements were signed by Russia with Georgia in April 1996 and with Armenia in May 1996, the latter including the creation of some "coalition" forces.⁵¹⁹

Besides, Russia by peacekeeping operations, sought to boost its role as a "key security guarantor" in the CIS. But resource shortages fundamentally restrained Russian military engagement as joint border protection, air defense and peacekeeping operations in the conflicts around the CIS. Thus, Russia's inaction and failure to take the lead in conflict resolution caused Georgia, which viewed Russian military buildup with concern from the beginning, to be alienated from Russia and prompted the direct military involvement of

⁵¹⁷ Jim Nichol, "Transcaucasus Newly Independent States: Political Developments and Implications for US Interests," at <http://www.fas.org/man/crs/95-024.htm>

⁵¹⁸ S. Frederick Starr, "Power Failure: American Policy in the Caspian," *The National Interest*, Spring 1997, at <http://www.treemedia.com/cfrlibrary/library/policy/powerfailure.html>

⁵¹⁹ Jim Nichol, "Transcaucasus Newly Independent States: Political Developments and Implications for US Interests," at <http://www.fas.org/man/crs/95-024.htm>

Western powers and NATO in the CIS.⁵²⁰ Shortly, the deadlock in conflict resolution and Russia's over reliance on military means in pursuing its interests forced Azerbaijan and Georgia to seek security guarantees in other security institutions and arrangements. In January 1999, Georgia assumed full control over guarding its sea borders, and in October 1999, most of the Russian border troops left, except for some liaison officers, and Georgia also withdrew from the CIS Collective Security Treaty in April 1999.⁵²¹ In accordance with an agreement reached at the 1999 OSCE summit in Istanbul, Russia left Vaziani military base nearby Tbilisi.⁵²² Today, the total number of Russian troops is estimated at about 5,000 in Georgia.⁵²³

Conrary to Georgia and Azerbaijan, Armenia developed its military relations with the RF. Today, Russian forces guard the Armenian-Turkish border. According to Armenia, Russia's lasting military presence in Armenia provides regional stability by protecting it from a possible attack on its territory. On March 1995, Ter-Petrossian and Boris Yeltsin signed a treaty which would allow Russia to maintain a military base near Gyumri- close to the border with Turkey-⁵²⁴, a command group and a motorized rifle regiment in Yerevan for the next 25 years.⁵²⁵ This treaty also prevents Armenia from joining NATO and reconfirms Russia's determination to oppose US presence and to remain the regional hegemon.⁵²⁶ Besides, with this treaty Russia committed itself to defend Armenia militarily if attacked by a foreign country.⁵²⁷ In April 1999, Armenia and Russia formally completed the integration of their air-

⁵²⁰ Maxim Shashenkov, "Russian peacekeeping in the 'Near abroad,'" *Survival*, 36: 3, (1994), p. 50.

⁵²¹ Available at <http://www.guam.org/media/GUAM.html>

⁵²² Ivlian Haindrava, "Georgia to NATO," at www.ideoe.org/nij230.htm

⁵²³ *The Military Balance*, 2001-2002, p. 91. But the weapons, equipment and ammunition in the Gudauta and Vaziani bases that Russia closed in Georgia, are transferred to Armenia rather than Russia.

⁵²⁴ *COVCAS Bulletin*, 29 March 1995 cited in Jonathan Aves, "The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 178.

⁵²⁵ *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 18 March 1995 cited in Roy Allison, "The Network of new security policy relations in Eurasia," in (eds) Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998), p. 19.

⁵²⁶ Stephen Blank, "American Grand Strategy and the Transcaspian Region", *World Affairs*, Vol.163, Issue 2, (Fall2000) p.68.

⁵²⁷ Harry Tamrazian, "Armenia/Russia: Landmark Treaty Includes Provision For Mutual Defense," at www.rferl.org/nca/features/1997/08/F.RU.970829143441.html

defence systems with "joint command point" near Yerevan going on duty. Armenia thus became part of an integrated air defence system that also includes Belarus and Kazakhstan. The joint air defence has been substantially reinforced recently with the deployment in Armenia of Russian S-300 anti-aircraft systems and MiG-29 fighter jets Russian air force squadron, which consists of 13 MiG-23 fighters/interceptors, providing air cover to local Russian bases from a possible attack by NATO missiles and fighter aircraft stationed at the Incirlik base in southern Turkey.⁵²⁸ Today, the total number of Russian troops has been estimated at about 3,100 in Armenia.⁵²⁹

From the point of American view, in the early 1990s ,the US Department of Defense accepted the Central Asia and the Caucasus *Area of Interest* and not *Area of Responsibility* (as the Gulf for example). Thus, the US in order not to jeopardize the CFE treaty overall and not to worsen relations with Russia, accepted Russian deployments exceeding its quotas as “technical non-compliance... that is not militarily significant to NATO, though the United States, have indicated they would not ratify the so-called adaptation agreement, until Russia meets the weapons limits set out in the agreement”.⁵³⁰ In addition, the Clinton Administration viewed a democratizing Russia as able to play a stabilizing role in the Transcaucasus and was satisfied with Russia taking over the responsibility for the region.⁵³¹ The US policymakers assumed that Russia, preoccupied with its own problems, would not have time to fill the power vacuum that emerged in the South Caucasus. But, contrary to the US perspective, the Soviet Union had been a destabilizing force in the region.

⁵²⁸ Emil Danielyan, “Armenia: CIS Defense Chiefs Map Out Cooperation Despite Divisions,” at www.rferl.org/nca/features/1999/05/F.RU.990520135014.html

⁵²⁹ *The Military Balance*, 2001-2002, p. 91.

⁵³⁰ Rovshan Sadıgbeyle, *Stability in the South Caucasus: The Role of Russia and Turkey*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.38.

⁵³¹ Jim Nichol, “Transcaucasus Newly Independent States: Political Developments and Implications for US Interests,” at <http://www.fas.org/man/crs/95-024.htm>.

4.2. Allies' increasing influence in the region through NATO

Then the US pressured on Russia to cooperate with the United Nations in this sphere and other international organizations, and due to Russia's economic and military weaknesses and Russia's imperialist politics, the US engagement in the region increased through NATO mechanisms especially with the PfP programs, which aimed to strengthen the military structure of Azerbaijan and Georgia. In February 1997, NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana visited the South Caucasian states as the highest ranking representative of NATO to ever tour the Caucasus and this historic visit to the Caucasus was accepted as the emergence of the Caucasus as a key component in American and European security planning in the pivotal energy crossroads of Eurasia.⁵³²

Since NATO protects its members from the spillover of military hostilities, prevents other countries from either intervening or being drawn into such conflicts, stabilizes the former Soviet bloc through expansion of membership and organizational tasks like PfP, and reduces the former Soviet bloc states' fear of being left alone face-to-face with Russia⁵³³, the US military engagement through NATO was welcomed by Azerbaijan and Georgia. In the South Caucasus the most important instrument of NATO was Partnership for Peace (PfP) Program that was actually introduced in Brussels in 1994. The US-led PfP program was a very useful instrument for integrating the region into the European security system. The program also delivered a signal from the United States that it was *there* and accomplished this at a very low economic and political cost. These two achievements were reached through the US strategy of "extraordinary power projection."⁵³⁴ Through the PfP program, which enables practical military cooperation between NATO, former Warsaw Pact members, militarily non-

⁵³² Glen E. Howard, "NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.151 at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

⁵³³ Stephen Blank, 'The Future of Transcaspian Security,' at <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2002/trnscasp/trnscasp.pdf>

aligned countries and former Soviet states across Eurasia, NATO planners hoped to enhance regional stability by offering military assistance and training in a variety of areas in order to bolster regional security. No security cooperation was proposed and no security guarantees were extended for the Partner states. However, it would be wrong to state that the PfP didn't increase the security of the participants. In order to understand this, one should just look at the objectives of the Program:

- promotion of civilian control over the military forces
- carrying out joint operations with NATO "peace support" humanitarian missions aimed at improvement of peacekeeping and peacemaking skills. (Azerbaijan for example "...dispatches motorized infantry company of 130 persons, unit of a civil defense (30 persons), unit of a medical service, two helicopter MI-8, training center for improvement of access to national services of the control over airways during flight of NATO countries' planes over territory of Azerbaijan." ⁵³⁵
- developing interoperability between the forces of NATO allies and participants
- training and assisting the military forces of participating states
- standardization process of the military forces of the countries wishing to put their military on the row with those of NATO members.⁵³⁶

To sum, the PFP program, which consists of 19 NATO countries and 26 partner nations, covers a wide range of defense-related activities, including air defense, communications, crisis management, democratic control of defense structures, defense planning and budgeting, interoperability with NATO forces, military training and exercises,

⁵³⁴ Stephen Blank, "Every Shark East of Suez: Great Power Interests, Policies and Tactics in the Transcaspien Energy Wars," *Central Asian Survey*, 18:2, (1999), p.158

⁵³⁵ Jannatkhan Eyvazov, "NATO and Military-Political Aspects of Azerbaijan's Security," at <http://bridge.aznet.org>.

⁵³⁶ Ilgar Aliyev, *The US Strategic Engagement in the South Caucasus 1991-2002*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.100.

peacekeeping, search and rescue and humanitarian operations.⁵³⁷ In the meantime, Azerbaijan and Georgia are militarily weak, NATO is reluctant to accept them, and Russia has strong objections to Azerbaijan and Georgia's NATO membership. Therefore, PfP is a suitable alternative, which is designed to establish a broad band of security in the South Caucasus and Central Asia rather than creating new dividing lines between east and west, for Georgia and Azerbaijan to join NATO.⁵³⁸

Like Javier Solana, NATO's new Secretary-General, George Robertson stated that Europe cannot be fully secure if the South Caucasus and Central Asian states remain outside European security in September 2000⁵³⁹ and stressed the importance of the PfP programs. But, there also appeared objections to NATO's active involvement in the region. According to objections, three bad scenarios were possible, if NATO actively engaged in the region. First, local crises could drag the alliance into unexpected crises in a volatile area and into unwanted military confrontations because of some other's interests. Second, actors such as Russia, Iran, and China have established interests in the region which could lead them to view NATO expansion in the Caucasus and Central Asia as directly threatening. Third, competing economic and political interests among NATO members could reverberate back and affect alliance cohesion.⁵⁴⁰ But some policymakers as the former Secretary of State Warren Christopher and former Secretary of Defense William Perry urged that NATO needs to adapt its military strategy to today's reality: the danger to the security of its members is not primarily potential aggression to their collective territory, but threats to their collective interests beyond their territory such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction,

⁵³⁷ James E. De Temple, 'Expanding Security Eastward: NATO Military Engagement in the South Caucasus and Central Asia,' at <https://research.au.af.mil/papers/student/ay2001/affp/detemple.pdf>

⁵³⁸ James E. De Temple, 'Expanding Security Eastward: NATO Military Engagement in the South Caucasus and Central Asia,' at <https://research.au.af.mil/papers/student/ay2001/affp/detemple.pdf>

disruption of the flow of oil, terrorism, genocidal violence, and wars of aggression in other regions that threaten to cause great disruption. Therefore, they argued that to deal with such threats alliance members need to have a way to rapidly form military coalitions that can accomplish goals beyond NATO territory.⁵⁴¹ Taking into account the objections, it was decided among the NATO members that the most appropriate tool that will enlarge NATO and increase the level of cooperation between allies and regional states, without weakening the alliance and without provoking a hostile response from Russia was PfP.⁵⁴² Consequently, in its activities and policies in the South Caucasus, there emerged two points that NATO must make clear and regard. First, NATO must be careful in determining the limits of its commitment to the region as it trains and supports local forces. Second, NATO must choose whether to support Turkey and the Caucasian states and demand a reduction in Russian forces, or support gains in Central Europe under the CFE flank and allow Russia to remain in violation of the treaty.⁵⁴³

Besides, Russia seeing its incapability in the South Caucasus, chose to cooperate with the US, though it openly announced its intention to limit the presence of the US and NATO. At the recent Moscow and Rome summits in 2002, the United States, NATO, and Russia formally agreed to work towards a cooperative security regime throughout the CIS. They even agreed to discuss joint peace operations and apparently consider a generic concept for them.

⁵³⁹ Speech by the Rt.Hon. Lord Robertson, Secretary General of NATO at <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2000/s000926a.htm>.

⁵⁴⁰ Rachel Bronson, "NATO's Expanding Presence in the Caucasus and Central Asia," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.230 at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

⁵⁴¹ Warren Christopher and William J. Perry, "NATO's True Mission," *New York Times*, October 21, 1997. Available at www-hoover.stanford.edu/publications/digest/982/perry.html

⁵⁴² Robert E. Hunter, "Maximizing NATO", *Foreign Affairs*, 78: 3, (May/Jun 1999), p. 193.

⁵⁴³ Rachel Bronson, "NATO's Expanding Presence in the Caucasus and Central Asia," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.247 at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

This includes joint and cooperative endeavors to bring peace to Chechnya, Moldova, and Nagorno-Karabakh, and wage war on terrorism.⁵⁴⁴

Turkey also actively participated the PfP activities. Due to its already established military attaché network in the Caspian region and proximity to the region, Ankara has been well-suited to set up and run the PfP exchange programs. PfPTC (Partnership for Peace Training Center) was established on 9th March 1998. The headquarters is located in Ankara. The PfPTC was inaugurated on 29 June 1998 and according to NATO's "Concept of PfP Training Centers", all procedures were completed and NATO recognized and accredited PfP Training Center on 12 February 1999. Military training cooperation activities conducted by Turkey concentrate on improving the ability of partner nations to conduct operations with NATO. These include military visits, military school, college and academy training or field training and education, various short term courses, on-the-job training at units, headquarters and institutions, unit/personnel exchange, cooperation in the field of military history, archives and museology, joint exercises, and sending observers to exercises. All of these activities are compatible with NATO/PfP spirit and lead to develop friendly relations, and Turkey's military cooperation activities significantly contribute to the security and peace in the region and in the world.⁵⁴⁵ Since the introduction of the program, over 4,000 military officers from the Caspian region have attended Turkish military academies.⁵⁴⁶ In June 2001, with the participation of Turkey, the US, Azerbaijan, Georgia and other six members, NATO within the framework of PfP held the first NATO/Partner full-scale field exercise - Cooperative Partner 2001- in Georgia.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁴ Stephen Blank, 'The Future of Transcaspian Security,' at <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2002/trnscasp/trnscasp.pdf>

⁵⁴⁵ See <http://www.bioem.tsk.mil.tr/pfptc.htm> more information about PfPTC in Ankara.

⁵⁴⁶ Glen E. Howard, "NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.172, at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

⁵⁴⁷ Cooperative Partner 2001 in Georgia at www.nato.int/docu/update/2001/0611/e0611a.htm

Georgia was the most active participant of the NATO programs in the South Caucasus. Shevardnadze made Tbilisi a sort of "conference hall" of NATO in the region by placing the Georgian capital at the disposal of NATO meetings and conferences on regional security.⁵⁴⁸ NATO has sponsored several conferences on conflict resolution there since Georgia joined PfP. In October 1996, NATO sponsored a workshop on regional security in Tbilisi that brought together key representatives of the national security bodies from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. High-ranking delegates from NATO, the United States, the European Union, Russia, Ukraine, Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbaijan convened there to discuss the geopolitical future of the Caucasus, including the impact of PfP.⁵⁴⁹ The "Cooperative Partner" PFP amphibious assault landing and natural disaster response exercises were held on Georgia's Black Sea coast in June 2001, involving 4,000 mostly U.S., Georgian, and Turkish troops.⁵⁵⁰ Besides, naval assistance from NATO members as Turkey, the United States, and Great Britain, has been pivotal for Georgia in the formation of its coastal defense forces, which would be capable of protecting Georgia's maritime borders, since Georgia inherited virtually no vessels from Russia that previously belonged to the Soviet Black Sea fleet.⁵⁵¹ However, Russia, which has been unwilling to give up its traditional role in the Black Sea area, has become increasingly anxious about NATO's naval assistance to Georgia and Turkey's naval force (while Turkey has 116 vessels and 16 submarines, Russia possesses 52 vessels and four submarines) in the Black Sea.⁵⁵² Though Shevardnadze aimed to develop relations with NATO, he has been careful not to voice his support for NATO too loudly lest Moscow fear

⁵⁴⁸ Ilgar Aliyev, *The US Strategic Engagement in the South Caucasus 1991-2002*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.100.

⁵⁴⁹ Glen E. Howard, "NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.183 at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

⁵⁵⁰ Jim Nichol and Julie Kim, "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests," at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

⁵⁵¹ Glen E. Howard, "NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.183 at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

that he intends to break Georgia's ties with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The Georgian leader has emphasized that NATO peacekeeping operations should only be conducted in cooperation with the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).⁵⁵³ On the other hand, On 13 September , 2002 the Parliament of Georgia adopted a resolution urging the Georgian government to take the necessary steps to start the accession process to NATO. On 1 October 2002, a memorandum of understanding on logistic cooperation was signed between Georgia and the NATO Maintenance and Supply Organisation (NAMSO), opening the way for the implementation of a PfP Trust Fund Project for the demilitarization and disposal of missile stockpiles and the remediation of Georgian military sites. Georgia officially applied to join NATO at the NATO Prague Summit in November 2002⁵⁵⁴ and waits to be included in NATO in the future.

As for Azerbaijan, its first serious contacts with NATO began with President Aliyev's visit to NATO headquarters in Brussels in April 1996. During the visit the Azerbaijan President asked for specific sorts of NATO military communications equipment and suggested that NATO assist training Azerbaijani units for peacekeeping purposes, creating in Azerbaijan a modern defense program under civilian control.⁵⁵⁵ . It was in 1997 when Baku deployed its first ever contingent of Azerbaijani soldiers to NATO military exercises in Norway. During the North Alliance's operation in Kosovo, Azerbaijan and Georgia sent their respective platoons there to take part in the operation within the Turkish contingent. Azerbaijan continued to modify its military doctrine according to that of Turkey and Azerbaijan's officers were trained by the Turkish military experts and the change in the Azerbaijan army doctrine is verified in the statement of Azerbaijani army spokesman Uzeyir

⁵⁵² Oleksandr Pavliuk, "Empire of Words," at <http://www.tol.cz/transitions/sep98/empireof.html>

⁵⁵³ Glen E. Howard, "NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.182 at at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

⁵⁵⁴ Available at <http://www.bits.de/NRANEU/RussiaCaucasus.html>

Cafarov in 2001, "We participate more in NATO events than in the Commonwealth of Independent States' joint exercises. Our armed forces attended 200 NATO events last year and this year this number will also be about 200".⁵⁵⁶ Azerbaijan officially applied to join NATO at the NATO Prague Summit in November 2002.⁵⁵⁷

While Azerbaijan and Georgia, which have been encouraged by the statement of the US Admiral Harold Gehmen about the enlargement of the NATO - "there were no restrictions and the doors were open"-⁵⁵⁸, have been more eager to develop their military links with NATO within the PfP framework in order to escape geopolitical dependence on Russia, Armenia's stance toward the PfP was cool due to its forging close strategic cooperation with Russia. Thus, Armenian military representatives registered little official interest not only to the joint activities in the PfP program but also to the NATO-sponsored regional conferences and meetings. But Armenia began to participate in the PfP program after NATO Secretary General Javier Solana's visit to Yerevan in February 1997. Armenia's participation in the PfP activities since 1997 can be explained by the Armenians' fear of the rapidly developing Azerbaijan-NATO relations.⁵⁵⁹ Besides, the dramatic turnaround in Armenia's participation in PfP may be strongly attributed to Russia's participation in the NATO summit in Madrid in mid-1997 where the Alliance created the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council. This event signaled Armenia that it would have greater flexibility in pursuing its ties with NATO.⁵⁶⁰ Although, in October 2002, Armenian soldiers took part for the first time in military exercises

⁵⁵⁵ Glen E. Howard, "NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.173 at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

⁵⁵⁶ "Azeri army spokesman says military doctrine to rely on Turkey," *BBC Monitoring Service* - United Kingdom; Jul 10, 2001. Available at www.geocities.com/fanthom_2000/archives/Archive53.html

⁵⁵⁷ Available at <http://www.bits.de/NRANEU/RussiaCaucasus.html>

⁵⁵⁸ Robin Bhatti and Rachel Bronson, "NATO's Mixed Signals in the Caucasus and Central Asia," *Survival*, 42:3 (Autumn 2000), p.131.

⁵⁵⁹ Ilgar Aliyev, *The US Strategic Engagement in the South Caucasus 1991-2002*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis ,2002), p.94.

⁵⁶⁰ Glen E. Howard, "NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.191 at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

held in Greece under PfP auspices and NATO military exercises will be held in Armenia on 16 June 2003⁵⁶¹, Armenia argues that NATO involvement in the Caucasus should not encroach upon the CIS collective defense treaty.⁵⁶² Despite the warming of ties with NATO, Armenia veered away from its Western course in mid-1997 when it signed a Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid with Russia, which strengthened already significant military relations between the two nations, by granting Moscow an exclusive military basing agreement in Armenia for the next 25 years, in August 1997.⁵⁶³ As a result, Armenia sees the Partnership for Peace activities as supplementary to the alliance with Russia and continues to remain a loyal ally of Moscow, as it sees Russia as the only possible protector against the potential threats of Azerbaijan and Turkey.⁵⁶⁴ Besides, Armenia's 'Military Cooperation Treaty' with Iran in March 2002, Russia's continued military technology, weapons and equipment assistance, Armenian-Russian common military exercises near the boundaries of Azerbaijan and Turkey, formation of common Armenian and Russian military troops in Armenia, training of Armenian officers and noncommissioned officers in Greece are all seen as activities against the Turkey-Azerbaijan military cooperation.

The growing importance that the US gave to the Eurasia was also seen in U.S. strategic planning. From 1991 to early 1998, no regional command authority had existed for the Caucasus and Central Asia. The US, to adapt its political and military structures to improve its ability to meet new regional challenges, developed a new military command structure that is better adapted to the challenges for managing regional crises and conflicts. U.S. European Command, which had overseen the PfP program, assumed military responsibility for the Caucasus, while U.S. Central Command, which is responsible for the

⁵⁶¹ Regional Datebook at www.eurasianet.org

⁵⁶² Emil Danielyan "Armenia's foreign policy: balancing between East and West," at www.jamestown.org/pubs/view/pri_004_002_003.htm

⁵⁶³ Glen E. Howard, "NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.195 at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

Middle East, received responsibility for Central Asia. The decision marked a prolonged period of confusion in U.S. strategic planning in Eurasia that left the region outside any type of U.S. regional command authority, though Russian commentators reacted harshly to the Pentagon decision, noting that the creation of a Caspian ‘zone of responsibility’ is a step aimed at drawing the Caspian region into the U.S. sphere of responsibility.⁵⁶⁵ The inclusion of the Caspian region in the European command's zone of responsibility also meant that, in the event of an armed conflict, not only U.S. troops but also servicemen from the NATO member countries could take part in it.⁵⁶⁶

4.3. Allies’ bilateral military relations with the South Caucasian States

Though military ties between Washington and Baku began in 1997, Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act hindered the implementation of closer ties.⁵⁶⁷ After abandonment of Section 907 in 2002, a first consultation between the U.S. Department of Defense and the Azerbaijani military took place in Baku in March 2002⁵⁶⁸ and both sides signed a major security assistance agreement. Under this document the United States will assist Azerbaijan in; upgrading air space control and air traffic safety at civilian and military airports, in accordance with NATO standards, training officers in the United States, training an Azerbaijani peacekeeping unit; improving the protection of its land borders, and enhancing its naval capabilities, so as to secure its maritime borders and protect its economic zone and territorial waters.⁵⁶⁹ The US government and military are now directly assisting Azerbaijan to

⁵⁶⁴ M A Smith, “Foreign Policy 2000: The Near Abroad,” at <https://da.mod.uk/CSRC/Home/documents/pdfs/F71-mas.pdf>

⁵⁶⁵ Glen E. Howard, “NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis,” in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.216 at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

⁵⁶⁶ Sergey Putilov, “U.S. Said Seeking To Draw Caspian Into Sphere of Influence,” *Nezavisimoye Voennoye Obozreniye*, 27 February-5 March 1998. Available at www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/2095.html

⁵⁶⁷ A joint statement “On cooperation in military and defense spheres between Azerbaijan and the United States” was signed in July 1997. But section 907 of the Freedom Support Act, adopted in 1992 by the U.S. Congress, prevented the full implementation of this document. Even after its adoption, Azerbaijan was denied US aid until 2002.

⁵⁶⁸ Gulnara Ismailova, “Central Asia - Caucasus Analyst Wednesday / April 10, 2002 Azerbaijan-American Military Consultations Take Place In Baku,” at http://www.cacianalyst.org/view_article.php?articleid=231

⁵⁶⁹ “US-Azerbaijan Program Launched,” at www.resources.net.az/d/us0402.htm

enhance its naval capacity to secure its maritime borders against Iran's threats about energy exploration in the Caspian and Azerbaijan's coastline.⁵⁷⁰ Besides, the USA assigned \$1 million for expanding Azerbaijan military forces' peacekeeping activity in 2002.⁵⁷¹

Contrary to Georgia and Azerbaijan, Armenia has rather developed military relations with Russia. Washington tried to expand its military relations with Armenia, in order to break or lessen the degree of Armenian-Russian military cooperation. After Armenia opened its airspace to the U.S. military shortly after the 11 September terrorist attacks, the United States has dropped its nine-year ban on weapon exports to Armenia and Azerbaijan, citing "positive developments" and national security interests in developing military ties with both countries in March 2002⁵⁷² and opened a demining center in the same month.⁵⁷³ In 2002 the US Congress allotted Armenia \$4.3 million (\$4 million in foreign military financing, and \$300,000 for military training).⁵⁷⁴

In its bilateral relations with the South Caucasian states, though Washington tried to expand its military relations with Armenia, in order to break or lessen the degree of Armenian-Russian military cooperation, and with Azerbaijan, in order to overcome the negative effect of the Section 907 and to prevent Azerbaijan's falling into the sphere of Russia, the main target for the US bilateral activities in the region has been Georgia that serves as an important transportation route for oil that originates from Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan and travels to Western markets via Georgia's ports on the Black Sea. Washington approved the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program that resulted in Georgian purchases of military equipment from the United States. Pentagon granted Georgia 14 transport

⁵⁷⁰ Stephen Blank, 'US Military in Azerbaijan, to Counter Iranian Threat,' April 10, 2002 at http://www.cacianalyst.org/view_article.php?articleid=30

⁵⁷¹ "USA assigned 1 million dollars for Azerbaijan army," at www.bakutoday.net/view.php?d=897

⁵⁷² "Armenia Confirms Plans to Upgrade Security Links with U.S., Georgia," at www.aaainc.org/armenia_week/04-05-02.htm

⁵⁷³ "Programs and Funding," at www.fpif.org/papers/miltrain/programs_body.html

⁵⁷⁴ "Terrorism-Military and Arms Aid," at www.cdi.org/terrorism/military-transfers.cfm

"Are Non-Military Solutions Obsolete?" at www.pcusa.org/washington/issuenet/gs-020308.htm

helicopters and provided finance for the production of Su-39 (the latest improved modification of Su-25) combat aircraft at the Tbilisi Aircraft Works⁵⁷⁵. Besides, in the framework of the FMF, the USA granted to Georgia \$17.5million aid and 140 Georgian officers received military training. Though the US provided military aid to Georgia in order to stand on its own feet, Georgian government's problems with Abkhazia continue and Georgia can not maintain control over Abkhazia. RF, by supporting the Abkhazian administration, exploits Georgia's ethnic problems and aims to put Georgia under its influence. Therefore, RF keeps military forces in Georgia and peacekeeping troops in Abkhazia for this purpose. The instability in Georgia and the Russian military presence in Georgia and Abkhazia provide several advantages to Russia. First, it enables Russian forces to interfere to Chechen militants in Georgia's territory. Second, the instability in Georgia will jeopardize the implementation of the BTC project and facilitate the implementation of the alternative pipeline which will come from Kazakhstan to Novorosisk harbor. By this way, Russia will have the control of the energy reserves and penetrate in Georgia more easily. Therefore, the United States granted coastal patrol boats to Georgia in 1997, \$20 million in 1998 to replace Russian border units along the Black Sea Coast and set up maritime and land border controls,⁵⁷⁶ committed over \$10 million in FY2000, to facilitate the closure of Russian military bases in Georgia,⁵⁷⁷ which is an obstacle in front of Georgia's genuine independence. Georgia has drastically improved its military capabilities since the launch of the US-funded Georgia Train-and-Equip Program (GTEP) in 2002. A \$64-million effort is planned to build a corps of Georgia's rapid reaction forces, drawing on the expertise of US military instructors. So far, the first command battalion has completed training, in the process earning

⁵⁷⁵ Georgian press reports in *Army & Society in Georgia*, September 1998 at www.lib.berkeley.edu/Collections/Slavic/army998.html

⁵⁷⁶ DA DPM - Information on Georgia at usaic.hua.army.mil/SCHOOL/111MI/309th/EATC/Country%20Links/georgia.htm. Ariel Cohen, "Ethnic Conflicts Threaten U.S. Interests in the Caucasus," at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1222.cfm>

compliments from its instructors. Training of the second unit, the Sachkhere Mountain Battalion, began on 1 February 2002.⁵⁷⁸ Besides, the Pentagon has transferred 10 combat helicopters to Georgia in 2002⁵⁷⁹ The USA and Georgia have military agreements on Nunn-Lugar Program, assistance in army building, ceding military hardware and equipment, training and technical assistance, anti-aircraft defense and aviation management, financial aid, financing Su-39 production, open skies observation, flight agreement and PfP cooperation.⁵⁸⁰ In the aftermath of September 11, it has deployed 40 US soldiers, who will be replaced by up to 200 Special Operations troops that will provide training and tactical direction to Georgian forces.⁵⁸¹ This deployment further reduced Russian influence in the region and defended Georgia from Russian attacks to a certain degree. Most analysts interpreted the US' sending military advisers to Georgia in April 2002 as a change in its policy, which avoided involvement in regional conflicts or direct confrontation with other major powers. In a statement on September 14th, U.S. President George Walker Bush affirmed full support for the Georgian government security operation in the Pankisi gorge and appealed to Russian President Vladimir Putin to allow the Georgian government to fulfill this task.⁵⁸² However, though Putin declared his desire to form an equal partnership with NATO and the US, Russia's behavior in Georgia, which shows that Moscow's imperial ambitions continue, stands in stark contrast to Putin's declarations. Consistent use of economic warfare and recent bombings of Georgian territory show Russia's interest in preventing Georgia from slipping

⁵⁷⁷ Jim Nichol and Julie Kim, "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests," at www.fas.org/man/crs/IB95024.pdf

⁵⁷⁸ Jaba Devdariani, "Georgia On A Fault Line," *Perspective* 13: 2 (2002) at <http://www.bu.edu/iscip/vol13/Devdariani2.html>

⁵⁷⁹ "Georgia: Bush Says U.S. Helping Tbilisi Against Terrorists," at <http://www.rferl.org/nca/features/2002/02/27022002103251.asp>.

⁵⁸⁰ Murat Tosun, *Military Power in the Caucasus*, (İstanbul: Yeditepe University, (Master's) Thesis, 2002), p.121.

⁵⁸¹ Patrick Martin, 'US troops deployed to former Soviet republic of Georgia,' at www.wsns.org/articles/2002/mar2002/geor-m01.shtml

⁵⁸² Available at <http://www.bits.de/NRANEU/RussiaCaucasus.html>. See also Jaba Devdariani and Blanka Hancilova, "US Involvement in Caucasian Security Architecture Grows," 23 October 2002 at http://www.cacianalyst.org/view_article.php?articleid=8

from Russian control⁵⁸³. After Georgian-American military cooperation in counter-terrorist activities, in April 2002, Russia deployed peacekeeping troops in the Kodori valley of Abkhazia in order to maintain security.⁵⁸⁴

While, the US mostly focused on Georgia in its military relations, Turkey focused on Azerbaijan. The military cooperation activities between Azerbaijan and Turkey began after the independence of Azerbaijan in 30 August 1991 and continues in the framework of 'Education Technique and Scientific Cooperation in the Military Domain Treaty' and 'Military Training Cooperation Treaty'. Turkish military forces reconstituted the facility, training, sports and shooting foundations, language laboratories and classrooms of the Azerbaijani War School and this school gave its first graduates in 25 August 2001. Like the Azerbaijani War School, with the cooperation of Turkish and Azerbaijani military forces, National Security Academy, Land War Academy, Air War School, Air School, Navy War School and Nakhichevan Military High School is constituted. Azerbaijani Air War School gave its first graduates in 27 July 2002 and the Air School is going to give its first graduates in August 2003. Since 1993, Turkish military experts, who are commissioned in Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan train the personnel of the Azerbaijani Armed Forces. The largest quota is allocated to Azerbaijani military personnel in Turkish Military Forces' training and education foundations. In mid-1997 the first group of over 500 field-grade Azerbaijani officers graduated from Turkish military schools. Also about 1000 servicemen are undergoing instruction and training in Turkey on defense related sciences.⁵⁸⁵ In addition, according to Glenn Howard, Azerbaijani special forces units benefitted from Turkish armed Forces' valuable combat experience by participating in Turkish-led military operations against the

⁵⁸³ Stephen Blank, "The Prospects Of Russian-American Partnership: The Georgian Litmus Test," at http://www.cacianalyst.org/view_article.php?articleid=47

⁵⁸⁴ Available at <http://www.bits.de/NRANEU/RussiaCaucasus.html>

⁵⁸⁵ Murat Tosun, *Military Power in the Caucasus*, (İstanbul: Yeditepe University, (Master's) Thesis, 2002), p.154.

Partiya Karkere Kurdistan (PKK) in southeastern Turkey.⁵⁸⁶ Turkish Military Forces in order to accommodate Azerbaijani Military Forces' necessities, provided some vehicles, communication equipments, portable facility units and hunting boats. Also with the cooperation of Turkey and Azerbaijan two peace forces platoons are constituted and one is in Kosovo and the other one is commissioned in Afghanistan under the command of the Turkish Battalion Task Force. The cost of the projects that are given to Azerbaijan by the Turkish Military forces about training amounted to \$90 million, and logistic support activities is amounted to \$130 million until today. Azerbaijan 'Counselor Group', which is formed by the Turkish officers in order to restructure the Azerbaijani Military Forces and their transformation to a structure similar to the Turkish Military Forces also continue work. Besides, Turkish officers established the organizational structure of the army as Corps/Brigade/Battalion chain of command which increased the mobilization capacity of the Azerbaijani army after the Turkish military experts' participation.⁵⁸⁷ In addition, projects about border security, control of air and sea territory and activation of command and control systems are executed with the cooperation of the Azerbaijani offices. In these projects, issues such as security of the pipelines, prevention of terrorist and smuggling activities are given utmost importance. The biggest difficulty that Turkey confronted in reestablishing the Azerbaijani Military Forces is the maintenance and care of the Russian weapons and equipment in the Azerbaijani army and completion of these weapons' ammunition in a probable military operation. Until today, 11 military agreements were signed between Azerbaijan and Turkey. But, though Azerbaijan was the first to resist the allocation of Russian border troops and Russian peacekeeping forces, it leased the early-warning "military facility"

⁵⁸⁶ Glen E. Howard, "NATO and the Caucasus: the Caspian Axis," in (ed) Stephen J. Blank, *NATO After Enlargement: New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces*, p.174 at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1998/natoafter/natoafter.pdf.

⁵⁸⁷ Murat Tosun, *Military Power in the Caucasus*, (İstanbul: Yeditepe University, (Master's) Thesis, 2002), p.153.

in Gebele⁵⁸⁸ that is able to identify even a soccer ball from 700.000 km. distance in 2001 to RF. According to some analysts, in return for this base, Azerbaijan and Russia agreed that Turkey would establish military bases in Azerbaijan.⁵⁸⁹ However, Turkish military officers do not regard the Gebele base as a threat to Turkey's security and do not see an obstacle to Turkish-Azerbaijani relations.

Turkey also expanded its security ties with Georgia. On 14 July 1997, Turkey and Georgia signed ' Military Training Cooperation Treaty' and in September 1997 Turkey granted Georgia two coastal guard cutters and agreed to train Georgian coast guards.⁵⁹⁰ In the summer of 1999, Turkey decided to grant an additional \$1.7 million and \$3.7 million.⁵⁹¹ Turkish experts helped the Georgian government repair the Vaziani airfield after the Russian withdrawal and helped train Georgian army officers after the defense cooperation agreement with Georgia in June 1997.⁵⁹² Until today, 15 military agreements were signed between Georgia and Turkey. Georgia is given precedence in the states that will receive aid in the planning of Turkish General Staff. Since 1997, many Georgian officials are trained in Turkish military training centers. According to the March 1999 agreement, Turkey accepted to provide for training of Georgian troops in Turkey and assistance in modernizing training facilities in Georgia. The accord envisages further Turkish assistance in creating training centers in Kodori and Gori and a modern shooting range outside of Tbilisi.⁵⁹³ Besides, Turkish Military Forces give Turkish language education in Georgia at three Turkish

⁵⁸⁸ Elkhan Nuriyev, " Geopolitical Breakthrough And Emerging Challenges: The Case Of The South Caucasus," *Perceptions*, June - July 2001,4:2 at mber 2 <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percept/VI-2/nuriyev.10.htm>

⁵⁸⁹ Hasan Kanbolat, "Rusya Federasyonu'nun Güney Kafkasya'daki Askeri Varlığı ve Gürcistan Boyutu", at <http://avsam.org/turkce/stanmak/03analiz/04-48ha.pdf>

⁵⁹⁰ Rovshan Sadigbeyli, " Trans-Regional Linkages' in Turkey's Foreign Policy: The Case of the South Caucasus," at www.ir.metu.edu.tr/conference/papers/sadigbeyli.pdf

⁵⁹¹ " Turkey to Give Georgia Third Grant for Defense Purposes," *RFE/RL Newslines*, 3: 138, July 19, 1999 Available at www.friends-partners.ru/friends/news/omri/1999/07/990719I.html (opt,mozilla,unix,english,new)

⁵⁹² Jean-Christophe Peuch, " Georgia: What Are The Motives For U.S. Sending Elite Troops?" at www.rferl.org/nca/features/2002/02/27022002095326.asp

⁵⁹³ *Jamestown Monitor*, 5 March 1999 cited in at Jared Feinberg, "Armed forces in Georgia," <http://www.cdi.org/issues/Europe/gastudy.pdf>

language classrooms. The cost of the projects that are given to Georgia by the Turkish Military forces about training amounted to \$9 million, and logistic support activities amounted to \$31million until today. In addition, Turkish officers are commissioned at UNOMIG since 15 October 1994 and at the present time 5 Turkish officers work at the UNOMIG. Also one officer participates in the OSCE Observer Mission since 20 February 2000. Turkey and Georgia have military agreements on training and assistance in all branches, assistance in army building, transfer of non-combat military equipment, frontier cooperation, establishing regional security system and PfP cooperation.⁵⁹⁴ But bilateral defense cooperation with the US and Turkey has taken off since Vardiko Nadibaidze, a career Soviet army officer, was replaced as Georgian Defense Minister last spring by West Point graduate Davit Tevzadze.⁵⁹⁵ However, Turkish-Georgian relations continue to expand in several areas. In 1998 an ex-Turkish Navy AB-25 Patrol Craft was delivered to Georgia.⁵⁹⁶ In January 2000, Turkey and Georgia launched a joint initiative to create a "South Caucasus Stability Pact."⁵⁹⁷ to legitimize Western involvement in the area.⁵⁹⁸ In September 2000, Turkey and Georgia executed 'Turkey-Georgia Border Maneuver' at the border regions. Furthermore, Turkish Military Forces efforts to make a Georgian brigade to make a sample brigade continue. In 2001 Turkey also delivered 2 UH-1H helicopters and in 2003 Turkey also indicated that it would assist in training a marine anti-terrorism unit for Georgia's Black Sea flotilla.⁵⁹⁹ Besides, Turkey encouraged Georgia to join its new regional cooperation scheme the "Black Sea Naval Cooperation Task Group" (BLACKSEAFOR) created in 2001.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁴ Murat Tosun, op.cit., p.121.

⁵⁹⁵ Liz Fuller, "A New Strategic Partnership?" at www.rferl.org/caucasus-report/1999/03/10-090399.html

⁵⁹⁶ 'Turkey and the Arms Trade 1998 - 2002: A Precis Nurturing Turkey's War Machine,' at www.caat.org.uk/information/publications/countries/turkey-0303.php

⁵⁹⁷ F. Stephen Larrabee and Ian O. Lesser, *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*, p.106 at www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1612/MR1612.ch5.pdf

⁵⁹⁸ Turkish Current Events in Brief at www.ultimateconspiracy.com/history/turkishnotes.htm

⁵⁹⁹ Igor Torbakov, 'Expanding Turkish-Georgian Strategic Ties Rankle Russia,' at http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav042503_pr.shtml

⁶⁰⁰ The Republic of Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Turkey, Ukraine have signed in 2 April 2001 in Istanbul the Agreement on the Establishment of the Black Sea Naval Co-operation

4.4. Military problems between the allies

Though Turkey and the US have similar strategic interests on Georgia and Azerbaijan, there are some military problems between the allies. There are a lot of issues that the Turkish administration does not favor in the 'Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement' (DECA)⁶⁰¹, which was signed between Turkey and the US in 1980. As for Turkish officials, Americans were not undertaking their responsibility on the modernization of the Turkish Military Forces. Turkish officials wanted the American- Turkish security relations to be isolated from issues such as Cyprus, human rights, alleged Armenian genocide...But after American administration's unwillingness to make changes in the DECA in favor of Turkey and propping up its military aid, which was approximately 8 billion dollars after the Gulf War by alleging the Cyprus, Kurd, and human rights, shook Turkey's faith in the US. As a result, Turkish leaders perceived that their nation's long contributions to NATO, support to the U.S.-led coalition during the Gulf War, and, especially, their difficult economic sacrifices in support of the embargo of Iraq have not been adequately recognized by the United States⁶⁰² and the Çiller government refused the US military aid which was conditioned upon to the issues above. Besides, there had been no difference between Turkey's borrowing from a commercial bank and taking military aid from the US due to the US administration's decreasing the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) credit under 400 million dollars, implementing

Task Group after the successful conclusion of the process of negotiations that was initiated by Turkey in 1998. BLACKSEAFOR is a regional and stand-alone formation, as well as a transparent initiative in the Black Sea. The aim of BLACKSEAFOR is to contribute to further strengthening of friendship, good relations and mutual understanding in the Black Sea region through enhancement of cooperation and interoperability among the naval forces of the littoral countries. It enables the participating countries to call their naval elements to come together in order to perform such tasks as search and rescue, humanitarian assistance and environmental protection operations, as well as mine counter measures. Joint Press Release on the Establishment of the Blackseafor Istanbul, 2 April 2001 at www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/af/bsec9.htm "Turkey's Security Perspectives and Its Relations with NATO," at www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/af/secure.htm and see also agreement on the establishment of the blacksea naval cooperation task group at <http://www.blackseafor.org/establishment.htm>

⁶⁰¹ See the context of the agreement at www.usemb-ankara.org.tr/IRC/treaty/32t3323.htm

⁶⁰² William T. Johnsen, "Turkey and Europe: Expectations and Complications," in (eds) Stephen J. Blank, Stephen C. Pelletiere, William T. Johnsen, *Turkey's Strategic Position At The Crossroads of World Affairs* at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1993/turkey/turkey.pdf

%10.8⁶⁰³ interest on this aid and stipulating some conditions which are interpreted as US interference in Turkey's internal affairs. A 1996 deal for Bell-Textron Cobra helicopters was also shelved due to concerns about Turkey's so called use of U.S.-supplied helicopters against Kurdish civilians in its war on the PKK.⁶⁰⁴

Table 8: U.S. Military Aid and Arms Sales to Turkey, fiscal years 1980-1997⁶⁰⁵

	Arms imports*	Grant Aid	Direct Loans**
FY80	\$136 million	\$202.9 million	\$0
FY81	\$109 million	\$250 million	\$0
FY82	\$197.6 million	\$343 million	\$0
FY83	\$155.1 million	\$290 million	\$0
FY84	\$327.4 million	\$585 million	\$0
FY85	\$423.4 million	\$485 million	\$0
FY86	\$303.7 million	\$409.4 million	\$0
FY87	\$332.9 million	\$177.9 million	\$0
FY88	\$735.5 million	\$156 million	\$178 million
FY89	\$961.8 million	\$340.7 million	\$90 million
FY90	\$943.0 million	\$412.2 million	\$85.6 million
FY91	\$697 million	\$500 million	\$100 million
FY92	\$741 million	\$475 million	\$25 million
FY93	\$878.7 million	\$0	\$450 million
FY94	\$951.8 million	\$0	\$405 million
FY95	\$536.9 million	\$0	\$328 million
FY96	\$547 million	\$0	\$320 million
FY97	\$1.27 billion	\$0	\$175 million
FY98***	\$642 million	\$0	\$0
FY99****	\$803 million		
Totals	\$10.424 billion	\$4.627 billion	\$1.982 billion

* Arms imports here means the total dollar value of arms Turkey took delivery of from the United States through the Foreign Military Sales (government to government) program and through direct commercial sales from industry.**As of 30 September 1997, Turkey had an outstanding balance of \$3.1 billion for military loans from the U.S.*** FY98 direct commercial sales deliveries are estimated at \$201 million.****FY99 figure includes only direct commercial sales estimated by the State Dept. based on previously issued export licences.

⁶⁰³ FMS (foreign military sales) loans initially started at 3 %, and now it has reached the level of 10.8 %, which is, of course, a rather heavy burden. The growing Turkish discontent has been repeatedly brought to the attention of the White House, but

no progress was made on this matter. Mehmet Ögütçü, "The Turkish-U.S. Strategic Partnership: Broadening and Deepening in the 21st Century," at <http://www.econturk.org/Turkisheconomy/ogutcu5.pdf>

⁶⁰⁴ 'US Arms Sales to Turkey,' at www.geocities.com/tziakas/arms1.htm However, the problem is solved and the US company Bell Helicopter Textron Inc. have been selected to sell the Turkish Army attack helicopters and will provide 145 King Cobra AH-1Z aircraft. The first phase of the contract, for 50 helicopters, is worth approximately \$1.6 billion. TAI are to be the prime contractor on the deal. The first 2-3 AH-1Zs are to be made in the US (and scheduled to be delivered in 2005), the rest in Turkey 'Turkey and the Arms Trade 1998 - 2002: A Precipitous Turkey's War Machine,' at www.caat.org.uk/information/publications/countries/turkey-0303.php

⁶⁰⁵ Defense Security Assistance Agency, *Foreign Military Sales Facts, FY89 and FY97*; Defense Security Assistance Agency, letter to the Speaker of the House, 31 January 1996, "Section 655 Report" on U.S. arms transfers: FY 96, 97 and 98, Congressional Presentations Document for Foreign Operations, FY2000 cited in 'U.S. Military Aid and Arms Sales to Turkey,' at www.fas.org/asmp/profiles/turkey_weapons.htm

Because, US security assistance was offered only at market-rate loans and Congress often tried to attach political conditions to economic assistance⁶⁰⁶, Turkish-American military relations worsened. Because of worsened Turkish-American relations and the US' budgetary constraints 8 of 12 NATO bases were closed in Turkey in 1994. Turkey's dependence on the US on logistic, care-repair, training issues - 80 percent of its military inventory is U.S.-made- restricts Turkey's trading weapons and equipment from other states. As a result, Turkey must have the support of the US in its military policies in the Caucasus.

⁶⁰⁷**Table 9: Sources of Turkish arms imports 1997-99** (Turkey is the fifth largest recipient of US arms)

Supplier	Value (\$m)	% of total Turkish arms imports
USA	4,900	79
Germany	650	11
Other NATO	210	3
China	140	2
UK	90	1
France	90	1
Eastern Europe (excl. Russia)	50	1
Middle East	20	

Though there had been military problems between Turkey and the US, the geopolitical features of the Caucasus necessitate Turkey and the US to work together. Compared to Boris Yeltsin, Putin took a more aggressive attitude in Russian foreign policy and clearly criticized the enlargement of NATO. Taking into account Russia's power compared to the newly independent states of the South Caucasus, Turkey and the US must cooperate to strengthen these states in order not to fall in the hegemony of Russia. Turkey has been a key strategic partner of the United States for decades and Turkey, as a regional actor and a NATO member, with the support of the US is able to be a model for the Caucasian

⁶⁰⁶ Mehmet Ögütçü, "The Turkish-U.S. Strategic Partnership: Broadening and Deepening in the 21st Century," at <http://www.econturk.org/Turkisheconomy/ogutcu5.pdf>

⁶⁰⁷ 'Turkey and the Arms Trade 1998 - 2002: A Precipitous Nurturing Turkey's War Machine,' at www.caat.org.uk/information/publications/countries/turkey-0303.php

states and is able to aid Georgia and Azerbaijan in military domains due to its geographic proximity and experienced army. If the US continues to decrease military aid due to issues like human rights, it may complicate US efforts to bring peace and stability to the Caucasus and harm its relations with Turkey, its unique strategic partner in the region. On the other hand, Turkish military will seek to ensure that U.S.-Turkish military ties will remain intact despite disagreements over Iraq, and will increase for the sake of allies' common interests in the South Caucasus.

To sum, none of the states that emerged from the wreckage of the Soviet Union had any experience as self-governing political communities, or as independent states with their own armed forces.⁶⁰⁸ The US and Turkey's military engagement in the South Caucasus, which aimed to create democratic, professional, and loyal armed forces that can maintain legitimate order, avoid internal political participation and reliably defend the national interests of the NIS, strengthened the military forces of these states, especially Georgia and Azerbaijan to a great extent, and prevented Russian military monopoly in the region. Closer military cooperation with the countries of the Caspian region should prove useful in the future to draw the region out of Russia's control.⁶⁰⁹ However, more difficult problems wait the alliance in the future since the demands of Georgia and Azerbaijan increased proportionally with the assistance of the US and Turkey. For example, President Edvard Shevardnadze of Georgia has frequently proclaimed his intention to pursue a "Bosnia" or "Dayton" type solution to the conflict with the Abkhaz nationalist movement and to bring Georgia into NATO by 2005 and similarly, Azerbaijan constantly urges NATO to provide F-16 planes from Turkey for the security of the oil-pipelines.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁸ Stephen J. Blank, "U.S. Military Engagement with Transcaucasia And Central Asia," at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2000/milengag/milengag.pdf

⁶⁰⁹ Walter Schilling, "the return of Geopolitics in the Caucasus and central Asia," cited in Erhan Altın, *NATO Enlargement in the Caucasus: Implications for the Caspian Security*, (İstanbul: Yeditepe University, (Master's) Thesis, 2000), p.91.

⁶¹⁰ Stephen J. Blank, "U.S. Military Engagement with Transcaucasia And Central Asia," at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/2000/milengag/milengag.pdf

CONCLUSION

As told in the first chapter, Turkish-American cooperation turned into an alliance with the adoption of the Truman Doctrine in 1947. With this treaty, the US accepted to supply weapons, ammunitions, military experts and roads, financial and technical support in building harbor and military foundations. After Turkey's acceptance in NATO, Turkish-American relations strengthened to the extent that Turkish leaders did not hesitate to think and declare that US was going to support Turkey on every issue. However there had been several problems as examined in the first chapter such as the *Baghdad Pact* (while the US did not join the pact in order to avoid Arab reaction, involving in groupings in the region, losing its ties with Egypt and Saudi Arabia, damaging its relations with Israel, and provoking the SU, with the US and British incitement, Turkey joined the Baghdad Pact, which caused Turkey to be further alienated from the Arab world), *Jupiter missile crisis*, which which made Turkey a nuclear target, *Johnson letter*, which hindered Turkish intervention in Cyprus to save Turkish Cypriots from a massacre and was written in an undiplomatic style, *American bases and military personnel in Turkey* that led Turkish leaders and public to suspect Turkey's sovereignty due to transportation of 1600 American soldiers from West Germany to İncirlik without giving information to Turkish administration, U-2 reconnaissance flights from Turkish soil, which deteriorated Turkish-Russian relations and undisciplined behaviors of American military personnel, *poppy problem* (the US blamed Turkey as the culprit for the whole narcotics traffic and Turkish-American relations worsened until the Ecevit government took strict steps that were appreciated by the whole world to hinder the illegal poppy traffic), *arms embargo* that the US Congress enforced on transferring military equipment to Turkey, claiming that American-supplied military equipment had been used against the US law during the Cyprus operation, *Gulf War* when Turkey supported the US willingly, but suffered much because of this war. As a result of this war, Turkey lost million dollars in the crisis by

closing the pipeline, accepted refugees , most of the whom were PKK (Kurdistan Worker Party) members or sympathizers, and PKK was empowered because of the vacuum of authority in Northern Iraq that emerged due to the declaration of the US a safe zone on the north of the 36th parallel.⁶¹¹ On the other hand, the US, in return for Turkey's support of the U.S.-led coalition during the Gulf War, decreased the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) credit under 400 million dollars, implemented %10.8⁶¹² interest on this aid and stipulated some conditions which are interpreted as US interference in Turkey's internal affairs.

Despite fluctuations in Turkish-American relations, this alliance remained quite strong since the US has been the main supporter of Turkey in the economic and military domain⁶¹³ and this alliance has been the concrete symbol of the Westernization policy of Turkey. Turkey is a strong, stable and trustworthy partner that sits at the juncture of the unstable regions; Balkans, the Caucasus and the Middle East. The two countries share common objectives and there are numerous areas where the interests of the US and Turkey converge as encouraging the development of democratic pro-Western regimes and free-market economy in the Caucasus and Central Asia, establishing non-Russian/non-Islamic lines of communication for the newly independent states of Eurasia, curbing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, preventing the accumulation of weapons in the hands of the irresponsible states and illicit trafficking of narcotic drugs, expanding NATO's membership, opposing terrorism, securing oil reserves in the Caspian and Gulf, opening of new oil pipeline routes in the Caucasus, preventing the rebuilding of the Russian Empire, keeping Iran and Islamic fundamentalism in check, supporting Israel and the Middle East Peace Process.

One of the areas that Turkish – American interests met have been the South Caucasus. As examined in the second chapter, the South Caucasian states, including Azerbaijan,

⁶¹¹ Nasuh Uslu, *op.cit.* , pp: 297-300.

⁶¹² FMS (foreign military sales) loans initially started as 3 %, and it has reached the level of 10.8 %.

Armenia and Georgia faced enormous difficulties in enhancing their national security, implementing the process of state building and improving their economic situation after the dissolution of Soviet Union. Independence for these states did not initially provide political stability nor a strong state to handle the problems. Internal conflicts such as the Abkhazia and the South Ossetia conflict undermined Georgia's state building efforts and due to the Russian pressure, Georgia found itself as a strategic ally of Russia reluctantly. On the other hand, despite having rich oil and gas reserves, internal instability and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which caused Azerbaijan to lose 20 percent of its territory, hindered Azerbaijan to be a strong state. Armenia, which is the smallest of the three Transcaucasian republics in terms of both territory and population and which has few natural resources, differentiated itself from Georgia and Azerbaijan in its close relationship with Russia and its interest in the development of the CIS because of its handicapped geographical position. Since Armenia had a homogenous population, it did not confront internal conflicts like Georgia but because of its agricultural insufficiency and being dependent on imports for 96 percent of its energy and the economic burden that the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict brought, deteriorated Armenia's economy to a great extent. Shortly, although Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia gained their independence after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, they could not have coped with the challenges of the new geopolitical and economic environment due to the lack of their own military power, strong economy and thereupon, these states' first years of independence have been fraught with economic, political, and social difficulties.

As put forward in the third chapter, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the South Caucasus due to its geopolitical position which is a barrier or a bridge for Russia's expansion to the West and South, a natural land corridor for the transportation of oil from the Caspian to the Mediterranean Sea and Europe, and its vast untapped natural resources, has emerged as a

⁶¹³ % 80 of Turkey's military inventory is US made.

vital geostrategic area, which presented several opportunities in the political, economic and military domains to the US as the unique superpower of the world, and to Turkey as a regional power. It is seen that, while Turkey's interests intersect with Russia in the Caucasus, they are harmonious with the US to a great degree. As a result, both states whose interests converged as stated above, regarded to pursue active politics in the South Caucasus as a duty for the sake of their own global and regional interests.

In the wake of the Soviet collapse in 1991, the United States strengthened its relations with the Soviet successor states by recognizing the states as independent and viable entities, supporting their transition to market economies and democratic societies, facilitating of their integration into international institutions, and encouraging regional cooperative arrangements. However, initially Washington was not keen on asserting its influence in the region, acknowledging it as Russia's sphere of influence⁶¹⁴ and understood Russia's security concerns in the South Caucasus. The Clinton Administration, which gave strategic priority to dismantle the Soviet military machine and nuclear arsenal and confine it within Russia region in accordance with its Russia-first policy, gave Moscow a free hand in the South Caucasus⁶¹⁵ in order not to complicate the nuclear issues.

On the other hand, in the aftermath of the demise of the Warsaw Pact and then of the Soviet Union, the new geopolitical configuration of the world relieved Turkish foreign policy of certain constraints. Thus, Turkey caught an opportunity to extend its relations towards the post-Soviet world and due to its multi-regional identity and its ethnic, cultural and religious ties with the Caucasus and Central Asia, Turkey aimed to expand its influence and be a regional stabilizing power. Turkey has also supported these new states to institute bilateral and multilateral affairs with all of the international community. In this respect, it has worked

⁶¹⁴ Svante E. Cornell, "The Caucasian States and Eurasian Strategic Alignments," at www.geocities.com/svantec/geopl.html

⁶¹⁵ Fiona Hill, "A Not-So-Grand Strategy: United States Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia since 1991," *Politique étrangère*, February 2001, <http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/views/articles/fhill/2001politique.htm>

to help their involvement in the UN, OSCE, NACC, and other international institutions.⁶¹⁶ Besides, like the US, Turkey has been careful not to antagonize Russia while pursuing its own interests. But, many of the Turkish expectations have not materialized because of Turkey's own domestic problems- the growth of Kurdish separatism and the challenge posed by the rise of Islamic forces in Turkish politics-, external security concerns, including threats from Syria and Iraq; instability in the Balkans; the deterioration of relations with Greece over Cyprus and the Aegean, and economic weaknesses.

However, due to Russia's economic and military weaknesses, which was revealed with the Chechen war, and Russia's imperialist politics, the US engagement in the region increased after 1994. While the war in Chechnya altered the US military policy, the "Contract of the Century" which was signed in September 1994 between SOCAR, State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic, and the Consortium of major international companies, the Azerbaijan International Operating Company (AIOC) changed the US energy policy in the region and the US has declared that it considers the Caucasus and the Caspian a region of 'vital US interests'.⁶¹⁷

Afterwards, the US policy towards Azerbaijan changed radically. While Turkey had been the first state to recognize the independence of Azerbaijan and it tried to do its best for Azerbaijan since its independence, the US under the influence of the Armenian lobby, pursued a biased policy towards Azerbaijan, instead of being neutral. But, after the visit of Aliyev to Washington on July 30 1997, the US administration, which recognized the importance of the Caspian oil reserves, embarked on a newly focussed policy towards the Caucasus. In January 2002, George W. Bush executed his right to waive section 907 and

⁶¹⁶ "Foreign Policy of Turkey: The Goals and Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy", Official Declaration of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs at internet. Available at <http://www.byegm.gov.tr/REFERENCES/for-pol-98.htm>

⁶¹⁷ Svante E. Cornell, "The Caucasian States and Eurasian Strategic Alignments," at www.geocities.com/svantec/geopl.html

then, the US administration extended \$4.4 million in military assistance to Azerbaijan to improve Azerbaijan's coastal defenses, upgrade its airfields to NATO standards and train a peacekeeping unit.⁶¹⁸ Although the United States and Turkey had different attitudes to Azerbaijan in the beginning of the 1990s, today they share similar objectives to bolster the energy security of the region and both aim to develop closer relationships with Azerbaijan.

Armenian-American relations had been warmer than Turkish-Armenian relations, since the US policies in the region always has been under influence of the strong Armenian lobby. On the other hand, Turkish-Armenian relations has been cool due to Armenia's territorial claims on Turkish territory, accusation of Turkey of having committed a so-called "genocide" which has never taken place, support to terrorist organization, PKK-KADEK. Nevertheless, Turkey is still willing to normalize its relations with Armenia, however Yerevan's failure to develop good neighborly relations, and Yerevan's breach of basic principles of international law and the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions, impede Ankara to establish diplomatic relations with its neighbor.⁶¹⁹ On the other hand, though the US grants huge amounts of economic assistance to Armenia, deepening Armenian-Russian and Armenian-Iran relations invoke anger in Washington. In the Georgia case, since its independence Turkey and the US supported the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Georgia. Allies made great assistance to Georgia in order to secure oil transportation routes and in order to prevent Russian imperialistic policies on Georgia. Besides, as analyzed in the fourth chapter, while allies supported the NIS of the South Caucasus in their state building process , they also put importance on the improvement of these states' armed forces by providing bilateral military assistance or multilateral assistance by way of NATO.

⁶¹⁸Aynura Akhmedova, "Azerbaijan, Georgia Move To Secure Oil Pipelines," at <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/business/articles/pp042102.shtml>. "Section 907 of the Freedom Supporty Act," at www.aaainc.org/press/Section907.pdf.

Between 1990 and 1994, it was seen that the power vacuum that emerged in the region was fulfilled by Russia that spoiled the regional stability by using local conflicts. As a result, this situation only had been in favor of Russia. But the vigorous efforts of the US and Turkey prevented the South Caucasus to fall into Russian hegemony as examined in this study and in the future for the sake of their interests and the stability in the region, the US and Turkey should pay attention to the points below:⁶²⁰

- Allies should strengthen the independence and prosperity of the new Caspian states, and encourage political and economic reform. Allies should interact with these countries as they do with the other independent countries of the world, and they should expect every country to respect the independence and sovereignty of the Transcaucasus countries. As a regional power, Turkey is able to reinforce American policy to support the independence of those states and to draw them more closely to the West.
- Allies should mitigate regional conflicts by building economic linkages among the states of the region. Peace is important for future economic developments especially in the energy domain, therefore, the US and Turkey should increase their diplomatic involvement in the resolution of regional conflicts such as those in the Nagorno-Karabakh and Abkhazia. The

⁶¹⁹ “Turkish Foreign Policy,” at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/gruppg/gb/default.htm#06>

⁶²⁰ These recommendations are compiled from Mehmet Ögütçü, “The Turkish-U.S. Strategic Partnership: Broadening and Deepening in the 21st Century,” at <http://www.econturk.org/Turkischeconomy/ogutcu5.pdf>, Alan Makovsky, “The New Activism in Turkish Foreign Policy”, at www.washingtoninstitute.org/media/amakovsky/alansais.htm, Ian O. Lesser, “Western Interests in a Changing Turkey,” *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty* at www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1241/MR1241_chap4.pdf Ulaş Mangıtlı, *Russia, Turkey and Eurasia: Intersection of Turkish and Russian Foreign Policy Spheres in Eurasia*, (Ankara: Bilkent University, (Master's) Thesis, 2001), p. 111, Ian Bremmer, "Oil Politics: America and the Riches of the Caspian Basin," *World Policy Journal*, (Spring 1998), p.34. Kemal Kaya, “Turkey’s New Challenges in the Caucasus and Central Asia,” at [http://www.cacianalyst.org/November 7 2001 Turkeys Challenges.html](http://www.cacianalyst.org/November%207%202001%20Turkeys%20Challenges.html), Ariel Cohen, “Ethnic Conflicts Threaten U.S. Interests in the Caucasus,” at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1222.cfm>, Ariel Cohen, “U.S. Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia: Building A New “Silk Road” to Economic Prosperity,” at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1132.cfm>, Stephen Blank, “US Military in Azerbaijan, to Counter Iranian Threat,” April 10, 2002 at http://www.cacianalyst.org/view_article.php?articleid=30, Stephen J. Blank, Stephen C. Pelletiere, William T. Johnsen, *Turkey's Strategic Position At The Crossroads of World Affairs* at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/1993/Turkey/Turkey.pdf, Alan Makovsky, “US Policy Toward Turkey: Progress and Problems,” in (ed) Morton Abrowitz, *Turkey's Transformation and American Policy*, (Newyork: The Century Foundation Press, 2000), p. 222. Yunus Kotaman, *US Policy and Russian Interests in the Transcaucauss since 1991*, (California :Naval Postgraduate School, (Master's) Thesis, 2001), p.77.

United States should respond to such requests with support for further peacekeeping efforts for example, assistance in monitoring peace agreements, refugee resettlement, and attracting foreign investment. The United States must balance its relations with Azerbaijan and Armenia. This balance should include equalizing the levels of assistance to both countries and they should cooperate militarily with Azerbaijan to offset the Russian military support of Armenia.

- Allies should enhance commercial opportunities for Turkish, U.S. and other companies. In this framework, allies should promote market reforms and assist in the development of communication, transportation links and oil export routes to help create a viable East–West axis. This will allow Turkish and American companies to participate in building the new Silk Road into Central Asia and the Far East, generating jobs at home and markets abroad for billions of dollars of American and Turkish goods and services. Infrastructure projects in the region are especially lucrative for the U.S. heavy equipment, aircraft, transportation, petrochemical, and telecommunications industries. Such Turkish and the US involvement in the region’s economy will deter Russia and Iran from dominating their smaller pro-Western neighbors.

- Allies should bolster their own energy security, and the energy independence of the Caspian region by ensuring the free flow of oil and gas to the world market place in order to prevent a concentration of resources that could prevent the allies from being denied energy sources and monopolization of the energy reserves by Russia. Allies also should increase political and security support for the proposed BTC pipeline. It is in Turkey and America’s strategic interests to ensure the flow of oil and gas from the Caspian Sea basin via Georgia and Turkey rather than south to Iran or north to Russia. By this way, the BTC will help diversify the West’s energy resources and lessen somewhat its dependence on the Middle East.

Otherwise, a north–south main route would allow Russia and Iran to control an even larger share of the world energy market than they do now.

- The US should support Turkey, which is a moderate, pro-Western state in an unstable area; a rare, probably unique, example of democracy, a barrier to potential reappearance of Russian violent behavior; a powerful but peaceful and anti-separatist supporter of the cause of besieged Azerbaijan Muslims in the region; an important non-Russian line of contact with the West and a potential opening for Caspian Basin energy supplies as an alternative to Russian and Iranian routes, an ideological counterweight to Iran; for the stability in the region. Besides, Turkey's ability to facilitate U.S. power projection and preference for close bilateral ties count heavily.

- Allies should avoid any form of conflict with Russia. Russian Federation, although lost its full control of the region and global political influence, still boasts a massive nuclear arsenal, and continues to be a great power with formidable might and potential. In the event of a sharp deterioration in strategic relations with Moscow and a resurgent military threat, Ankara would once again play a critical containment role and therefore, the US should continue its military assistance to Turkey that provides insurance for the U.S. as a land buffer, a sea-lane bottleneck, a forward base, and an intelligence-gathering post, as in Cold War days. Therefore, the US should restructure Turkey's foreign military sales debt to optimize Turkey's ability to repay.

- The US should increase coordination between governments and American companies involved in the oil and natural gas industry and pipeline routes in the region. Congress and the executive branch need to formulate a well-defined Silk Road strategy that integrates their energy, trade, geopolitical, and security concerns for the region.

- Allies should foster security cooperation with Georgia, which is a strategic gateway of energy and trade routes linking East and West and susceptible to Russian pressure due to

its inefficient military force. Allies should strengthen Georgia's military by providing assistance in building its command-and-control, communications, intelligence capabilities; training instructors for Georgian military schools; modernizing training facilities, executing common maneuvers. Allies should also expand Georgia's military capabilities through its ties with NATO and the Partnership for Peace (PFP).

- Allies also should expand Azerbaijan's military capabilities through its ties with NATO and the Partnership for Peace (PFP). Besides, Turkey which is the sole effective regional counterweight against the Russia-Armenia-Iran triangle against Azerbaijan, should help Azerbaijan's military forces in transforming a structure similar to Turkish Military Forces and in increasing the mobilization capacity of the Azerbaijani army. The US also should assist Azerbaijan in order to enhance its naval capacity to secure its maritime borders against Iran's threats about energy exploration in the Caspian and Azerbaijan's coastline.

- Washington should make it clear that U.S. assistance to Russia and U.S. support for Russia's requests to international financial institutions cannot continue as long as Moscow works to destabilize the Caucasus.

- The engagement of the allies in the region should also be within the multilateral framework including NATO, OSCE and UN, and the allies should support the regional organizations like GUAMM and Blackseafor.

- As stated in the first chapter, in the event of crisis in Turkey - U.S. relationships, Turkey always came out the loser in the end but the alliance remained strong due to the US and Turkey's strategic interests. Therefore, the allies must not permit the deterioration of their partnership after Turkish parliament's disapproval of the US' using Turkish soil to attack Iraq and allies must cooperate to achieve their aims in the south Caucasus region.

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INTERVIEW:

Interview with A. Necdet Pamir, Foreign Policy and Energy Adviser to the ARI Movement (an independent political initiative in Turkey).

Blair ,Betty, “Envisioning the Nation,” - Interview with Azerbaijan's President, Heydar Aliyev – at http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/93_folder/93_articles/93_aliyev.html

Interview with Mustafa Kibaroglu in ‘Anahtar’ program on NTV, 28 April 2003.

APPENDIX :1

A CHRONOLOGY OF TURKISH - AMERICAN RELATIONS

9 November 1800 "George Washington" arrives in Istanbul, the first United States navy ship to visit Turkey.

15 January 1820 Plincy Fish and Levi Parsons, the first American Christian missionaries arrive in Izmir.

7 May 1830 Navigation and Trade Agreement between the Ottoman State and the United States.

11 August 1874 Extradition Agreement between the Ottoman State and the United States.

March 1878 Former President Grant visits Istanbul.

20 April 1917 The Ottoman State severs diplomatic ties with the United States.

27 October 1922 The United States delivers a memorandum on the Lausanne peace treaty to the British, French and Italian governments.

9 April 1923 Turkish Parliament ratifies the Chester Concession (which was not implemented).

6 August 1923 Soon after Lausanne, the signing of a General Treaty, which the Senate turns down on 18 January 1927.

17 February 1927 Modus Vivendi concerning the establishment of diplomatic and consular relations between the two countries.

12 October 1927 Joseph C. Crew, the first American Ambassador to Turkey, presents his credentials to Turkish President Gazi Mustafa Kemal.

1 April 1939 Trade Agreement.

September 1940 Turkey starts to benefit from the American Lend-Lease arrangements through Britain.

4-6 December 1943 İnönü-Roosevelt meeting at the Allied Conference in Cairo.

1 April 1944 The United States stops aid to Turkey upon discontinuation of Anglo-Turkish military talks.

23 February 1945 Lend-Lease Agreement between Turkey and the United States.

2 November 1945 The United States delivers a note to Turkey concerning the Straits of Marmara.

27 February 1946 A \$ 10 million credit agreement is signed between Turkey and the US.

5 April 1946 Turkish Ambassador Ertegün's body is brought to Istanbul on the warship Missouri, an indication of Turkey's importance for the U.S.

12 March 1947 Truman declares his doctrine to defend Turkey and Greece against the Soviet threat.

22 May 1947 Congress passes a bill to provide \$400 million in aid to Turkey and Greece.

5 June 1947 Secretary of State Marshall announces a plan to provide aid to Turkey and Greece alongside the West European countries.

12 July 1947 Aid Agreement between Turkey and the United States.

4 July 1948 Turkish - American Agreement to include Turkey in the Marshall Plan.

25 June 1950 Turkey sends an army corps of 4500 troops to South Korea

13 May 1951 The United States proposes to its allies the Turkish (and Greek) accession to NATO.

7 January 1952 Joint Security Agreement (through exchange of letters).

18 February 1952 Turkey joins NATO.

17-25 January 1954 Celal Bayar's official visit to the United States (the first Turkish President to do so).

5 January 1957 Eisenhower announces his doctrine aimed at protecting Middle Eastern countries against international communism

22 March 1957 Turkey is included in the Eisenhower doctrine

11 October 1957 The Soviets threaten Turkey in the "Syrian crisis". Washington offers defense guarantees.

9 December 1957 First US guided missiles are installed in Turkey.

10 May-15 July 1958 American forces use the Incirlik Air Base to intervene in Lebanon.

May 1959 The exhibition "150 Years of Turkish – American Friendship" opens.

6-7 December 1959 President Eisenhower visits Turkey

1 May 1960 An American U-2 surveillance aircraft which takes off from the Incirlik Air Base is shut down over Russia

23 October 1962 During the Cuban crisis, the USSR demands the removal of Jupiter missiles from Turkey in return for its missiles in Cuba. Americans accept.

5 June 1964 During the Cyprus crisis President Johnson sends a letter to PM İnönü to warn him that Turkey would not be allowed to use weapons supplied by the United States, should it intervene in Cyprus.

Summer 1964 The slogan "Yankee Go Home" gets popular in public and youth rallies

7 April 1966 The Turkish Government memorandum to the US Government on the consolidation of 54 separate Bilateral Treaties signed between 1945 and 1965.

3 July 1969 Turkish - American Defense Cooperation Agreement is signed upon the completion of the talks to consolidate bilateral agreements.

30 June 1971 Opium poppy cultivation is banned in Turkey upon American demands, which promises to compensate for loss of earnings.

1 July 1974 The Ecevit Government lifts the ban on poppy farming and permits cultivation in 7 provinces.

5 February 1975 Congress imposes an arms embargo on Turkey on the grounds that Turkey intervened in Cyprus using American weapons.

25 July 1975 The Turkish Government terminates the 1969 Turkish-U.S. agreement on joint defense facilities and stops operations at bases and facilities other than Incirlik.

26 September 1978 The arms embargo is lifted by Congress Turkey reopens the bases and facilities under a provisional status.

29 March 1980 Defense Cooperation Agreement.

16 March 1987 DCA is extended by five years.

2 August-End 1990 Turkey unequivocally opposes Iraq in the Gulf Crisis and cooperates with the United States.

8 April 1991 A buffer zone is established on the Turkish border to safeguard some 460,000 Kurds who fled Iraq after the Iraqi army suppresses the Kurdish uprising.

11 April 1991 "Operation Provide Comfort" is launched. A Security Zone is set up for refugees, and the Coalition forces enters Northern Iraq.

12 July 1991 The Turkish, American, British and French governments deploy a provisional force to protect the Kurds north of the 36th parallel.

December 1991 After the collapse of the Soviet Union the United States closes down some of its military bases.

10-11 January 1992 Allegations about "OPC helping the PKK"(Stories appear in the press about OPC aircraft dropping relief supplies on the Bisi Plateau).

6 October 1992 The establishment, under US guarantees and supervision, of a Kurdish Federated State in Northern Iraq with its capital in Erbil.

January 1994 The U.S. Commerce Department cites Turkey among ten Big Emerging Markets.

19 April 1994 In his Cyprus report presented to Congress,

President Clinton finds UN Secretary-General Gali's confidence- building measures to be fair and balanced and urges the parties to reach an agreement.

19 May 1994 The Appropriations Sub-Committee of the House of Representatives suspends 25% of the military credit aid to Turkey until the latter makes progress on human rights and Cyprus issues.

10 June 1994 Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin announce their agreement of principle on the draining of petroleum belonging to Turkey from the Iraqi pipeline

31 January 1995 Ambassador Grossman says they will support the passing of the Kazakh and Azerbaijani petroleum pipeline through Turkey.

30 June 1996 Turkish Parliament ratifies the US-Turkish Agreement on Mutual Assistance between Customs Administrations.

12 January 1997 Turkish Parliament ratifies the Supply and Mutual Service Agreement and the Mutual Logistic Support Application Agreement.

20 March 1997 Turkish Parliament ratifies the MoU concerning the creation of Business Opportunities Development Council.

24 March 1997 Turkish Parliament ratifies NAT-I-3300 Agreement between the US Federal Aviation Administration and the Turkish Police Headquarters.

28 October 1998 Foreign Minister Ismail Cem meets with Richard Morningstar, the Senior Advisor to the U.S. Secretary of State on the Caspian Basin Energy Resources and discusses the prospective Baku-Ceyhan pipeline.

29 October 1998 Turkey and Turkmenistan sign an Agreement concerning the Execution of the Trans-Caspian Turkmenistan-Turkey-Europe Gas Pipeline Project and the Sale of Natural Gas by Turkmenistan to Turkey.

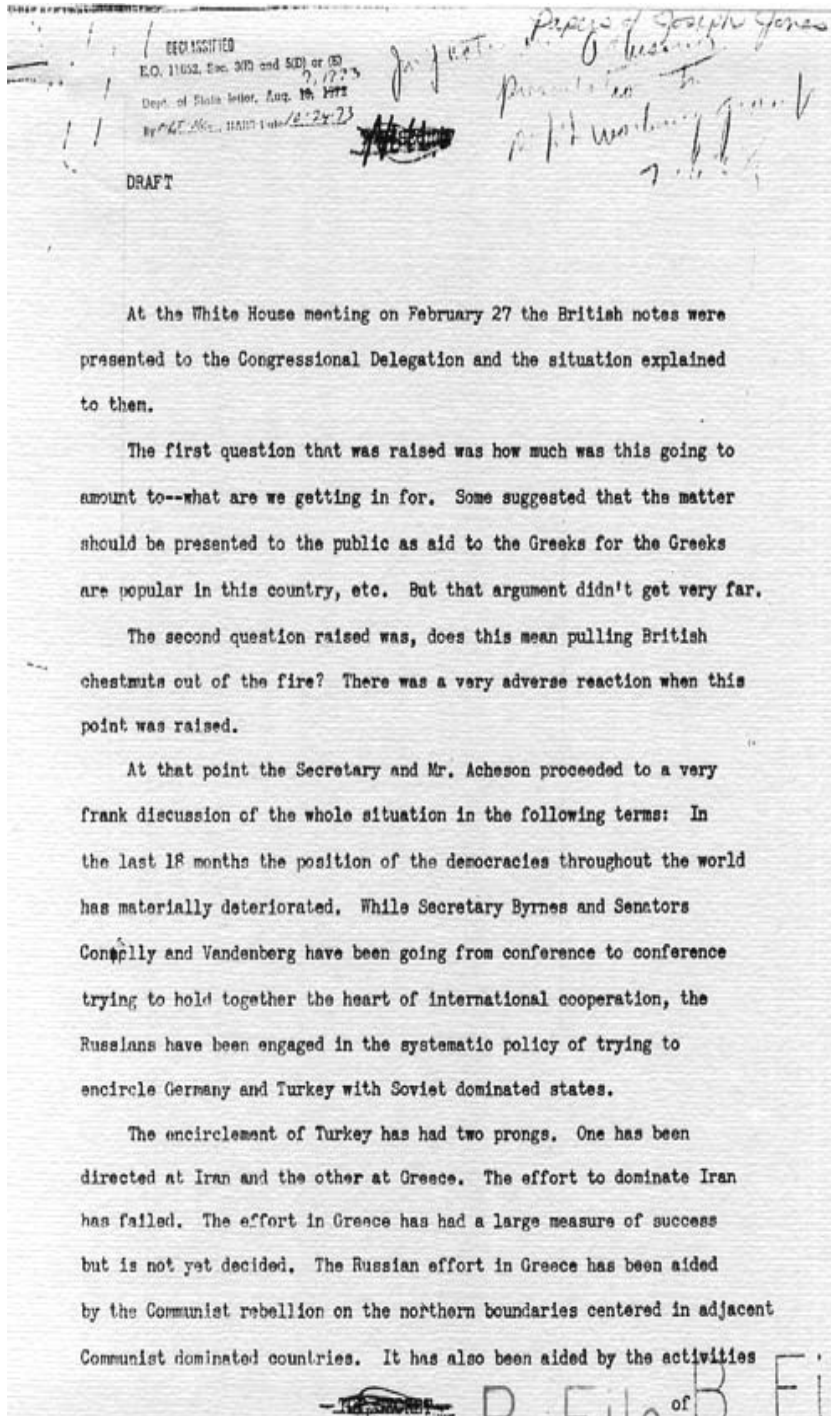
January - March 1999 The capture of Abdullah –Öcalan, the chief of the terrorist organization PKK, in Kenya, through cooperation between the CIA and the Turkish National Intelligence Agency;

Turkey extends political and military support to the U.S.-led NATO air raids on Yugoslavia to help ethnic Albanians of Kosovo; President Clinton, the Department of State and the Pentagon publicly emphasize the political and military importance of Turkey in the region, as reflected by the international media.

SOURCE: PrivateView Spring 1999.vol.3. No.7.1999

APPENDIX: 2

Draft Notes of President Truman Explaining Why the US Should Grant Financial Aid to Greece and Turkey.



DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 2(d) and 5(D) or (E)
2/27/77
Dept. of State Insur. Aug. 16, 1972
E.O. 11652, NAAS Date 11-24-73

- 2 -

of the EAM. These Communist activities in Greece have undermined the financial position and the tranquility of Greece.

Meanwhile, the Russians have been spurring extensive activity in Hungary, Italy, France, and Austria.

In France Communist infiltration has been extremely successful, so successful that it appears that any time the Russians want to pull the rug they can do so.

In Italy Communist influence has grown enormously; in Hungary it is advancing; and in Austria it is going very well.

We have arrived at a situation which has not been paralleled since ancient history. A situation in which the world is dominated by two great powers. Not since Athens and Sparta, not since Rome and Carthage have we had such a polarization of power. It is thus not a question of pulling British chestnuts out of the fire. It is a question of the security of the United States. It is a question of whether two-thirds of the area of the world and three-fourth of the world's territory is to be controlled by Communists.

After this presentation the Congressional delegation were extremely impressed and said that they would support a program designed to strengthen Greece and Turkey. But they wanted to know what definite program we had for meeting the situation and what it would cost. They also stipulated that this program be presented to the public in terms almost as frank as those in which Secretary Marshall had presented it to them.

It is therefore necessary in the next week to draw up an elaborate program and President Truman will discuss it with the Congressional delegation on week from today.

General Marshall has said that this matter must be presented to

Congress

- 3 -

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 205 and 5(D) or (E)
Dept. of State letter, Aug. 7, 1973
By AGF/ML, NARS Date 12-29-73

Congress and the public in the frankest terms. Mr. Acheson says that we should not talk provocatively; specifically we should avoid accusing the Soviet Union directly but to talk instead about the spread of Communism without specifically tying it up to Russian direction.

In the public presentation the concept of individual liberty is basic, and the protection of democracy everywhere in the world. It is not a matter of vague do-goodism, it is a matter of protecting our whole way of life and of protecting the nation itself.

British action with respect to Greece is a part of the general program of British retrenchment throughout the world, as in Burma, Palestine, India, Egypt.

Our program in Greece should be: (1) to equip the Greek Army so that it can restore order, (2) make it possible for the Greeks eventually to reduce their military cost so that ~~they~~ will not be such a drain on the Greek economy, (3) bring about a reconstruction of Greek economy and administration so that it can be self-supporting.

Extensive legislation is required of Congress for relief, for delivering military equipment to the Greek Army, for personnel to carry out the economic and military program.

See the current issue of "World Report" for an analysis of the British white paper on their general economic condition.

At the SWMC meeting it was pointed out by Mr. Jernejen that Greece is a constitutional democracy. Elections were held last spring

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* 4 -

under allied observance and they concluded that the elections had been fair. Last fall there was a plebis/cite on the King, and the opinion of the military observers there was also that it was a fair vote. The cabinet was reformed recently by the will of parliament. These are evidences of a real democracy in Greece. There is plenty of evidence that the government represents 75 to 80 percent of the electorate. The government is not a corrupt fascist regime.

See NEA's policy statement on Greece.

See the electoral report.

We are going to set up in Greece a economic organization to have in their hands virtual control of all the resources of the Greek state.

Why is Greece in danger of collapse?

What is the story of the EAM?

Instead of talking about the Russians encircling Greece, we should talk of Communist developments in all critical areas.

The theme of our new approach should be that the security of the United States depends upon our going to the aid of any and all democratic governments. Tommy Thompson said we should put this in the President's statement. We are not supporting any country in aggression but we will help them defend themselves.

We must make sure that the British go along with us.

We are certain to be charged with being anti-Soviet, with engaging in atomic diplomacy and with encircling the USSR.

Our line should be that war with the Soviet Union is not inevitable, but that if Communism ~~spreads~~ spreads to all the critical areas where it

threatens

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 5 -

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1973
By *MT/llc*, NARS Date *10-24-73*

threatens now, war will be inevitable. This should be presented ~~if~~ as a way to avoid war.

General Arnold's statement: Greek geurillas now number 12,000. The Greek Army is unable to cope with these. Greece is the only country in the Balkans not under Soviet domination. If Greece falls, Soviet pressure on Turkey will be irresistible. If Greece and Turkey should fall, the Eastern Mediterranean, with its oil supplies, would be untenable to the democracies.

We should point out in our public presentation that we have been interested for some time in developments in Greece. We can point to the visit of the Greek Prime Minister in January, and to the Porter Mission to show our interest.

We should talk about the cost of doing what we are going to do as compared to the cost to us if Turkey and Greece should go.

See NEA for Communist activity in Greece.

See EUA for telegram from Paris on new book on Communism and Bedell Smith telegrams.

SOURCE:

http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/folder3/mpc10-1.htm

APPENDIX: 3

Letter from President Johnson to Turkish Prime Minister Inonu, June 15, 1964

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I am gravely concerned by the information which I have had through Ambassador Hare from you and your Foreign Minister that the Turkish Government is contemplating a decision to intervene by military force to occupy a portion of Cyprus. I wish to emphasize, in the fullest friendship and frankness, that I do not consider such a course of action by Turkey, fraught with such far reaching consequences, is consistent to the commitment of your government to consult fully in advance with the United States. Ambassador Hare has indicated that you postponed your decision for a few hours to obtain my views. I put it to you personally whether you really believe that is appropriate for your government, in effect, to present an ultimatum to an ally who has demonstrated such staunch supporter over the years as has the United States for Turkey. I must, therefore, urge you to accept the responsibility for complete consultation with the United States before any such action is taken is my impression that you believe such intervention by Turkey is permissible under the provision of the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960. I must call to your attention, however, to our understanding that the proposed intervention by Turkey would be for the purpose of supporting intervention by Turkish Cypriot leaders to partition the island, a solution which is specifically excluded by the Treaty of Guarantee. Further, that treaty requires consultation among the guarantor powers. It is such a view of the United States that the possibilities of such consultation have by no means been exhausted in this situation and that, therefore, the reservation of the right to take unilateral action is not yet applicable.

I must call to your attention also, Mr... Prime minister, the obligations of NATO. There can be no question in your mind that a Turkish intervention in Cyprus would lead to military engagement between Turkish and Greek forces. Secretary of State Rusk declared at a recent meeting of the ministerial council of NATO, in its very essence, means that NATO countries will not wage war on each other. Germany and France have buried centuries of animosity and hostility in becoming NATO allies; nothingness can be expected from Greece and Turkey. Furthermore, a military intervention in Cyprus by Turkey could lead to direct involvement by the Soviet Union. I hope you will understand that your NATO allies have not had a chance to consider whether they have an obligation to protect Turkey against the Soviet union if Turkey takes a step which result in Soviet intervention without the full consent and understanding of its NATO allies.

Furthermore, Mr.. Prime Minister, I am concerned about the obligations of Turkey as a member of the United Nations. The United Nations has provided forces on the island to keep peace. Their task has been difficult, but, during the past several weeks, they have been progressively successful in reducing the incidents of violence on that island. The United Nations Mediator has not yet completed his work. I have no doubt that the general membership of the United Nations would react in the strongest terms to unilateral action by Turkey which would defy the efforts of the United Nations and destroy any prospect that the United Nations could assist in obtaining a reasonable and peaceful settlement of this difficult problem.

I wish also, Mr.. Prime minister, to call your attention to the bilateral agreement between the United States and Turkey in the field of military assistance. Under Article IV of the agreement with Turkey of July of 1947, your government is required to obtain United States consent for the use of military assistance for purposes other than those for which such assistance was acknowledged to the United States that you fully understand this condition. I must tell you in all candor that the United States cannot agree to the use of any United States supplied military equipment for a Turkish intervention in Cyprus- under present circumstances.

Moving to the practical results of the contemplated Turkish move, I feel obligated to call your attention in the most friendly fashion to the fact that such a Turkish move could lead to the slaughter of tens of thousands of Turkish Cypriots on the island of Cyprus. Such an action on your part would unleash the furies and there is no way by which military action on your part could be

sufficiently effective to prevent wholesale destruction of many of those you're trying to protect. The presence of United Nations forces could not prevent such a catastrophe.

You may consider that what I have said is much too severe and that we are disregarding of Turkish interests in the Cyprus situation. I should like to assure you that this is not the case. We have exerted ourselves both publicly and privately to assure the safety of Turkish Cypriots and to insist that a final solution of the safety of Turkish Cypriots and to insist that a final solution of the Cyprus problem should rest upon the consent of the parties most directly concerned. It is possible that you feel in Ankara that the United States has not sufficiently active in your behalf. But surely you know that our policy has caused lively resentment in Athens (where demonstrations have been aimed against us) and has led to basic alienation between the United States and Archbishop Makarios. As I said to your Foreign Minister in our conversation just a few weeks ago, we value very highly our relations with Turkey. WE have considered you as a greatly ally with fundamental common interests. Your security and people been a deep concern for the American people and we have expressed that concern in the most practical terms. you and and we have fought together to resist the ambitions of the communist world revolution. This solidarity has meant a great deal to us and I would hope that it means a great deal to your government and to your people. We have no intention of lending any support to any solution in Cyprus which endangers the Turkish Cypriot community. We have not been able to find a final solution because this is, admittedly, one of the most complex problem on the earth/ but I wish to assure you that we have been deeply concerned about the interests of Turkey and of Turkish Cypriots and will remain so.

Finally, Mr.. Prime minister, I must tell you that you have posed the gravest issue of war and peace. These are issues which go far beyond the bilateral relations between Turkey and the United States. They not only will certainly involve war between Turkey and Greece, but could involve wider hostilities because of the unpredictable consequences which a unilateral intervention in Cyprus could produce. You have your responsibilities as chief of the government of Turkey: I also have mine as President of the United States. I must, therefore, inform you in the deepest friendship that unless I can have your assurance that you will not take such action without further and fullest consultation that I cannot accept your injunction to Ambassador Hare of secrecy and must immediately ask for emergency meetings of the NATO Council and the United Nations security Council.

I wish it were possible for us to have a personal discussion of this situation. Unfortunately, because of the special circumstances of our present constitutional position, I am not able to leave the United States. If you could come here for a full discussion I would welcome it. I do feel that you and I carry a very heavy responsibility for the general peace and for the possibilities of a sane and peaceful resolution of the Cyprus problem. I ask you, therefore, to delay any decisions which you and your colleagues might have in mind until you and I have had the fullest and frankest consultation.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson **Source:** <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/~akommata/letter2.html>

APPENDIX: 4

Table 1. Caspian Sea Region Oil and Natural Gas Reserves

<u>Azerbaijan</u>	1.2 BBL	32 BBL	33.2 BBL	4.4 Tcf	35 Tcf	39.4 Tcf
<u>Iran***</u>	0.1 BBL	15 BBL	15.1 BBL	0 Tcf	11 Tcf	11 Tcf
<u>Kazakhstan</u>	5.4 BBL	92 BBL	97.4 BBL	65 Tcf	88 Tcf	153 Tcf
<u>Russia***</u>	2.7 BBL	14 BBL	16.7 BBL	N/A	N/A	N/A
<u>Turkmenistan</u>	0.6 BBL	80 BBL	80.6 BBL	101 Tcf	159 Tcf	260 Tcf
Total	10 BBL	233 BBL	243 BBL	170.4 Tcf	293 Tcf	463.4 Tcf

Sources: Oil and Gas Journal, Energy Information Administration

* proven reserves are defined as oil and natural gas deposits that are considered 90% probable

** possible reserves are defined as oil and natural gas deposits that are considered 50% probable

*** only the regions near the Caspian are included

BBL = billion barrels, Tcf = trillion cubic feet

Table 2. Caspian Sea Region Oil Production and Exports (thousand barrels per day)

Azerbaijan	259	311.2	1,200	77	175.2	1,000
Kazakhstan	602	811	2,000	109	631	1,700
Iran*	0	0	0	0	0	0
Russia**	144	11	300	0	7	300
Turkmenistan	125	159	200	69	107	150
Total	1,130	1,292.2	3,700	255	920.2	3,150

Source: Energy Information Administration

* only the regions near the Caspian are included

** includes Astrakhan, Dagestan, and the North Caucasus region bordering the Caspian Sea

Table 3. Caspian Sea Region Natural Gas Production and Exports (billion cubic feet per year)

Azerbaijan	350	200	1,100	-272	0	500
Kazakhstan	251	314.3	1,100	-257	-176.6	350
Iran*	0	0	0	0	0	0
Russia**	219	30	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Turkmenistan	3,100	1,642	3,900	2,539	1,381	3,300
Total	3,920	2,072	6,100	2,010	1,204.4	4,150

Source: Energy Information Administration

* only the regions near the Caspian are included

** includes Astrakhan, Dagestan, and the North Caucasus region bordering the Caspian Sea

Table 4. Oil Export Routes and Options in the Caspian Sea Region

Atyrau-Samara Pipeline	Atyrau (Kazakhstan) to Samara (Russia), linking to Russian pipeline system	Recently increased to 310,000 bbl/d	432 miles	Increase in capacity cost approximately \$37.5 million	Existing pipeline recently upgraded by adding pumping and heating stations to increase capacity.
Baku-Ceyhan ("Main Export Pipeline")	Baku (Azerbaijan) via Tbilisi (Georgia) to Ceyhan (Turkey), terminating at the Ceyhan Mediterranean Sea port	Planned: 1 million bbl/d	Approximately 1,038 miles	\$2.9 billion	One-year detailed engineering study completed in June 2002. Construction on Turkish section of pipeline began in June 2002. Completion of entire pipeline targeted for 2004, exports by Feb. 2005.
Baku-Supsa Pipeline (AIOC "Early Oil" Western Route)	Baku to Supsa (Georgia), terminating at Supsa Black Sea port	Recently upgraded from 115,000 to 145,000 bbl/d; proposed upgrades to between 300,000 bbl/d to 600,000 bbl/d	515 miles	\$600 million	Exports began in April 1999; approximately 115,000 bbl/d exported via this route in 2001.
Baku-Novorossiisk Pipeline (Northern Route)	Baku via Chechnya (Russia) to Novorossiisk (Russia), terminating at Novorossiisk Black Sea oil terminal	100,000 bbl/d capacity; possible upgrade to 300,000 bbl/d	868 miles; 90 miles are in Chechnya	\$600 million to upgrade to 300,000 bbl/d	Exports began late 1997; exports in 2001 averaged 50,000 bbl/d.
Baku-Novorossiisk Pipeline (Chechnya bypass, with link to Makhachkala)	Baku via Dagestan to Tikhoretsk (Russia) and terminating Novorossiisk Black Sea oil terminal	Currently: 120,000 bbl/d (rail and pipeline: 160,000 bbl/d); Planned: 360,000 bbl/d (by 2005)	204 miles	\$140 million	Completed April 2000. Eleven-mile spur connects bypass with Russia's Caspian Sea port of Makhachkala.
Caspian Pipeline Consortium (CPC) Pipeline	Tengiz oil field (Kazakhstan) to Novorossiisk Black Sea oil terminal	Currently: 565,000-bbl/d; Planned: 1.34-million bbl/d (by 2015)	990 miles	\$2.5 billion for Phase 1 capacity; \$4.2 billion total when completed	First tanker loaded in Novorossiisk (10/01); exports rising to 400,000 bbl/d by end-2002
Central Asia Oil Pipeline	Kazakhstan via Turkmenistan and Afghanistan to Gwadar (Pakistan)	Proposed 1 million bbl/d	1,040 miles	\$2.5 billion	Memorandum of Understanding signed by the countries; project stalled by regional instability and lack of financing.
Iran-Azerbaijan Pipeline	Baku to Tabriz (Iran)	Proposed 200,000 bbl/d to 400,000 bbl/d	N/A	\$500 million	Proposed by TotalFinaElf.
Iran Oil Swap Pipeline	Neka (Iran) to Tehran (Iran)	175,000 bbl/d, rising to 370,000 bbl/d	208 miles	\$400 million to \$500 million	Under construction; oil will be delivered to Neka and swapped for an equivalent amount at the Iranian Persian Gulf coast.
Kazakhstan-China Pipeline	Aktubinsk (Kazakhstan) to Xinjiang (China)	Proposed 400,000 bbl/d to 800,000 bbl/d	1,800 miles	\$3 billion to \$3.5 billion	Agreement 1997; feasibility study halted in September 1999 because Kazakhstan could not commit sufficient oil flows for the next 10 years.
Kazakhstan-Turkmenistan-Iran Pipeline	Kazakhstan via Turkmenistan to Kharg Island (Iran) on Persian Gulf	Proposed 1million bbl/d	930 miles	\$1.2 billion	Feasibility study by TotalFinaElf; proposed completion date by 2005.
Khashuri-Batumi Pipeline	Dubendi (Azerbaijan) via Khashuri (Georgia) to Batumi	Initial 70,000 bbl/d, rising to 140,000 bbl/d-160,000 bbl/d	Rail system from Dubendi to Khashuri, then 105-mile pipeline from Khashuri to Batumi	\$70 million for pipeline renovation	ChevronTexaco has canceled plans to rebuild and expand the existing pipeline.
Trans-Caspian (Kazakhstan Twin Pipelines)	Aqtau (western Kazakhstan, on Caspian coast) to Baku; could extend to Ceyhan	N/A	370 miles to Baku	\$2 billion to \$4 billion (if to Ceyhan)	Feasibility study agreement signed in December 1998 by Royal/Dutch Shell, ChevronTexaco, ExxonMobil, and Kazakhstan; project stalled by lack of Caspian Sea legal agreement.

Table 5. Natural Gas Export Routes and Options in the Caspian Sea Region

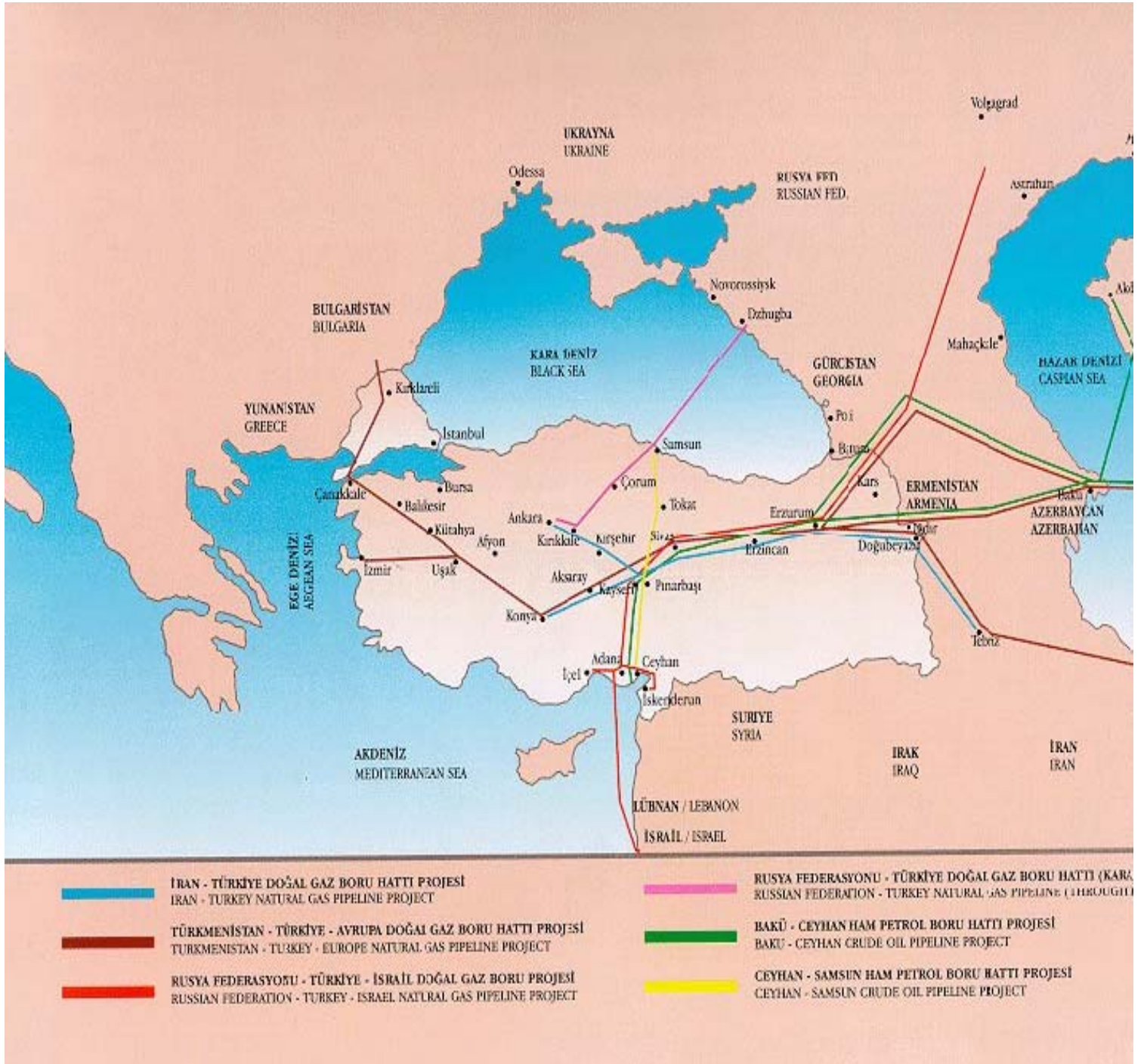
Baku-Erzurum	Baku (Azerbaijan) via Tbilisi (Georgia) to Erzurum (Turkey), linking with Turkish natural gas pipeline system	Planned 254 Bcf capacity	540 miles	\$1 billion (includes up to \$500 million to construct new Azeri section)	Financing being arranged, construction originally scheduled to start in summer 2002.
"Centgas" (Central Asia Gas)	Daulatabad (Turkmenistan) via Herat (Afghanistan) to Multan (Pakistan). Could extend to India.	700 Bcf/year	870 miles to Multan (additional 400 miles to India)	\$2 billion to Pakistan (additional \$500 million to India)	Memorandum of Understanding signed by Turkmenistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Uzbekistan. Presidents of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Turkmenistan met in May 2002 to discuss reviving this pipeline idea.
Central Asia-Center Pipeline	Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan via Kazakhstan to Saratov (Russia), linking to Russian natural gas pipeline system	3.5 Tcf/year	Existing route	N/A	Operational. Turkmenistan is using this pipeline to export a total of 8.83 Tcf to Ukraine (via Russia) from 2002 to 2006, as well as smaller amounts to Russia.
China Gas Pipeline	Turkmenistan to Xinjiang (China). Could extend to Japan.	1 Tcf/year	4,161 miles; more if to Japan	\$10 billion to China; more if to Japan	Preliminary feasibility study done by ExxonMobil, Mitsubishi, and CNPC
Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline (TCGP)	Turkmenbashi (Turkmenistan) via Baku and Tbilisi to Erzurum, linking with Turkish natural gas pipeline system	565 Bcf in first stage, eventually rising to 1.1 Tcf/year	1,020 miles	\$2 billion to \$3 billion	Project stalled; negotiations between Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan over pipeline volumes restarted in October 2001.
Korpezh-e-Kurt-Kui	Korpezh (Turkmenistan) to Kurt-Kui (Iran)	283-350 Bcf/year; expansion proposed to 459 Bcf/year by 2005	124 miles	\$190 million; 2005 expansion: \$300 million to \$400 million	Operational since December 1997.

Table 6. Bosphorus Bypass Oil Export Routes (for Oil Transiting the Black Sea)

Adria-Druzhba Integration	Russian Druzhba export pipeline connected to Adria pipeline (flows reversed) to terminus at Omisalj (Croatia)	100,000 bbl/d in first full year of operation; increasing to 300,000 bbl/d	1,987 miles in total	\$20 million to modernize Adria, integrate the pipelines, and reverse existing flows	Yukos expects exports from Omisalj via the integrated pipeline system to start by end-2002.
Albanian Macedonia n Bulgarian Oil (AMBO) Pipeline	Burgas (Bulgaria) via Macedonia to Vlore (Albania) on Adriatic coast	750,000 bbl/d (could be expanded to 1-million bbl/d)	560 miles	\$850 million to \$1.1 billion	Construction delayed, (proposed 2001-2002) as financing is arranged. Completion originally targeted for 2004-2005.
Burgas Alexandroupolis (Trans-Balkan Oil Pipeline)	Burgas to Alexandroupolis (Greece) on the Aegean Sea coast	Proposed 600,000 bbl/d to 800,000 bbl/d	178 miles	\$600 million	Initial agreement signed in 1997 between Bulgaria, Greece, and Russia. Project delayed.
Constanta-Trieste Pipeline	Constanta (Romania) via Hungary, Slovenia, and/or Croatia to Trieste (Italy) on the Adriatic Sea coast. Omisalj (Croatia) has also been proposed as a terminus.	660,000 bbl/d	855 miles	\$900 million	Feasibility studies completed; financing still to be arranged.
South-East European Line (SEEL)	Constanta via Pancevo (Yugoslavia) and Omisalj to Trieste. Omisalj has also been proposed as a terminus.	660,000 bbl/d	750 miles	\$800 million	Feasibility studies completed; financing still to be arranged.
Odesa-Brody Pipeline	Odesa (Ukraine) to Brody (Ukraine), linking to the southern Druzhba pipeline; optional spurs to the northern Druzhba line at Plotsk (Poland) and/or to Gdansk on the Baltic Sea	500,000 bbl/d	400 miles from Odesa to Brody	\$750 million for pipeline and Pivdenny terminal	Construction on pipeline completed in August 2001; Pivdenny terminal became operational in December 2001. Ukraine is seeking to sign contracts with Caspian oil exporters to fill the line.

SOURCE: [http:// www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/caspgrph.html](http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/caspgrph.html)

APPENDIX:5



SOURCE: <http://members.tripod.com/madsiz/pipeline.html>

APPENDIX 6

ILLEGAL ARMS TRANSFER IN FIGURES

No	Name	Price Per Item	Quantity	Total Cost
1	R-17 Missile Systems	210,000	8	1.680.000
	R-17 Missiles	210.000	32	6.720.000
2	“Krug” Surface To Air Systems	300.000	27	8.100.000
	Missiles For Them	300.000	349	104.700.000
3	Missiles For The “Osa” Surface To ms	200.000	40	8.000.000
4	T-72 Tanks	1.200.000	84	100.800.000
5	BMP-2 Armored Combat Vehicles	280.000	50	14.000.000
6	122 Mm D-30 Howitzers	52.000	36	1.872.000
7	155 Mm D-20 Howitzers	40.000	18	720.000
8	152 Mm D-1 Howitzers	50.000	18	900.000
9	“Grad” Multiple Missile Systems	250.000	18	4.500.000
10	Mortars	12.000	26	312.000
11	Portable “Igla” Anti-Aircraft Systems	40.000	40	1.600.000
	Missiles For Them	40.000	200	8.000.000
12	Grenade Launchers	2.500	20	50.000
13	Machine-Guns	400	306	122.400
14	Assault Rifles	120	7.910	949.200
15	Pistols	60	1.847	110.820
16	Shells	400	489.160	195.664.000
17	Shells For ACV (BMP-2)	30	478.480	14.354.400
18	BM Anti-Tank Self Targeting	330.000	4	1.320.000
19	Anti-Tank Self-Targeting Missiles	8400	945	7.938.000
20	Hand Grenades	30	345.800	10.374.000
21	Different Types Of Bullets	1	227.253.000	227.253.000
22	Other Types Of Weapons, Equipment And Military Property		Approxim ately	27.000.000.000

TOTAL

Approximately \$ 1 Billion

SOURCE: Fatma Abdullazadeh, *Karabakh*, (“XXI” YNE: Baku, 1999), p. 124.