

TURKEY'S ROLE IN AFGHANISTAN IN THE POST 9/11 ERA

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ABSTRACT

TURKEY'S ROLE IN AFGHANISTAN IN THE POST 9/11 ERA

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This thesis presents Turkish foreign policy towards post-9/11 Afghanistan. Turkey has important contributions for a Western-led military operation and other humanitarian assistance in a Muslim-majority country (Afghanistan) and region (Central Asia) having Muslim-majority population since the intervention by the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In this regard, Turkey seeks for stabilising Afghanistan through training of the Afghan National Military Forces, enhancing civil-led PRTs, providing humanitarian assistance, leading to diplomatic initiatives as regional peace-broker between the conflicting parties. This thesis tries to uncover that Turkey's Afghanistan policy is in a coherence with newly developed security culture which relies on soft power tools and mediation and with the subsequent transformations in U.S./NATO policy in the country. Turkey's efforts for a peaceful region has invaluable contribution towards global peace and stability. However, Turkey seems to have few instruments to affect the situation on the ground.

Key words: Turkish Foreign Policy, Soft Power, Mediation, Afghanistan-Pakistan-Turkey Trilateral Relations.

ÖZ

11 EYLÜL'DEN GÜNÜMÜZE TÜRKİYE'NİN AFGANİSTAN'DAKİ ROLÜ

Bayram Çubuk, Canan
Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler
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Bu tez, 11 Eylül sonrasında Türkiye'nin Afganistan'a yönelik politikasını anlatır. Türkiye'nin, çoğunluğu Müslüman olan bir nüfusa sahip olarak, çoğunluğu Müslüman olan bir diğer ülke olan Afganistan'a ve Orta Asya bölgesine Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve NATO müdahalesinden beri askeri operasyon ve diğer insani yardım konusunda önemli katkıları bulunmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Türkiye, Afganistan'ı istikrara kavuşturmak için Afgan Ulusal Askeri Kuvvetlerin eğitimi, sivil PRT'ler artırılması, insani yardım sağlanması ve her düzeyde çatışan taraflar arasındaki bölgesel barışı sağlamak için çeşitli diplomatik girişimler sayesinde problemlere yaklaşmaktadır. Bu tez, Türkiye'nin yumuşak güç araçları ve arabuluculuğa dayanan Afganistan politikasının, yenilenen Türk dış politikası parametreleri ve NATO güçlerinin Afganistan politikasındaki değişikliklerle bir uyum içinde olduğunu ortaya çıkarmak için çalışır. İstikrarlı bir Afganistan için Türkiye'nin gösterdiği çaba, bölgesel ve küresel barış için paha biçilmez bir katkı sağlar. Ancak, Türkiye zeminde durumu etkilemek için oldukça az araca sahip görünmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Dış Politikası, Yumuşak Güç, Arabuluculuk, Afganistan-Pakistan-Türkiye Üçlü İlişkileri

To Ömer & Nuriye

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------|---|
| AK Party | The Justice and Development Party |
| AIHRC | Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission |
| ALP | Afghan Local Police |
| ANA | Afghan National Army |
| ANP | Afghan National Police |
| ANSF | Afghan National Security Forces |
| APRP | Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Program. |
| INGOs | International Nongovernmental Organizations |
| ISAF | International Security Assistance Force |
| ISI | Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (Pakistan) |
| Loya Jirga | Grand Council |
| NSC | National Security Council |
| OIC | Organisation of Islamic Cooperation |
| PTS | Peace Through Strength program |
| Quetta Shura | The top leadership council of the Afghan Taliban, headed by Mullah Mohammad Omar in the southern Pakistani city of Quetta in Balochistan province |
| NGOs | Non-governmental organizations |
| OECD | The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| SAARC | The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation |
| SCO | Shanghai Cooperation Organisation |
| STSC | Summit of Turkish-speaking countries |
| TAF | The Turkish Armed Forces |
| TFP | Turkish Foreign Policy |
| TIKA | Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency |
| TOBB | The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNSC | United Nations Security Council |

| | |
|-------|--|
| UNAMA | United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Program |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Asia is a body of water and clay,
Of which the Afghan nation forms the heart.
Its decline is the decline of Asia;
Its rise is the rise of Asia."

Muhammad Iqbal

The arguments are beginning with Turkey's keeping peace forces in ISAF placed in Afghanistan as a non-combat forces different from other NATO members, establishing of civil-led PRTs through numerous education and health programs, increasing socio-cultural and economic investment, being the biggest donor country, seeking for Afghan refugees in the world and lastly mediating between Afghanistan and Pakistan for the regional cooperation are built upon the positive image on the eyes of Afghans, Turks living in Afghanistan and international society in general. Therefore, the policy of soft power and mediation are the basic tools of Turkish foreign policy in the conflict. The sustainability of this policy depends on the internal and external events.

Just immediately after extraordinary¹ attacks to the World Trade Centers in New York and the Pentagon on 11 September 2001, American President George W. Bush announced that "either you are with us or with the terrorists... Those, who would harbor terrorists, would meet the same fate"². Since then, directly or indirectly,

¹ Mehmet Özcan, Serkan Yardımcı, derl., İhsan Bal, "Avrupa Birliği ve Küresel Terörizm İle Mücadele," *Terör, Terörizm ve Küresel Terörle Mücadele: Ulusal ve Bölgesel Deneyimler içinde*, Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2006, s. 200.

² E.Fuat Keyman; "Globalization, Modernity and Democracy: In Search of a Viable Domestic Polity for a Sustainable Turkish Foreign Policy", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, p.14.

NATO members were increasingly affected, as an observer or as one of the parties to the invasion into Afghanistan. This issue became very important for some European states, including Germany and France, regional countries like Pakistan, Russia, China, India, Republics of Central Asia, Iran and Turkey³.

In this atmosphere, Turkey was one of the addresses because of its being the only Muslim country in NATO, having the long term experience in fighting against terrorism, offering its air space to the US to overcome Afghan conflict and she hailed as a critical ally⁴ of United States. Turkey has contributed to NATO's International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).⁵ Turkey has twice led the NATO Regional Command Central in Kabul.⁶ Turkish soldiers were described as showing more empathy towards civilians than those from other European countries, by being more mindful of local religious and cultural sensitivities and needs. However, Turkey increasingly needed for moving beyond military instruments and instead focusing on civilian instruments to help Afghanistan's reconstruction. Turkey established NATO's first civilian-led Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Wardak in 2006 and Jawzcan in 2010 as being the biggest civilian component among the 25 NATO PRTs.

Also, Turkish military seeks for reaching out to civilians by enhancing projects to meet the benchmarks of the Afghanistan Compact Document and the Interim Afghanistan National Development Strategy. Turkish presence in Afghanistan is based on the projects like agricultural alternatives to local farmers; training of judges, police, military forces, the restoration of a mosque, schools, a radio station, checks

³ Aijaz Ahmad, *Iraq, Afganistan and Imperialism*.

⁴ *The News International*, 2009, April 7.

⁵ TSK, "Turkey's Contributions to the ISAF Operation", at: <http://www.tsk.tr/eng/uluslararası/isaf.html>, last visited 17 June 2010.

⁶ NTVMSNBC, "Turkey Takes Command of ISAF", at <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/309517.asp>, last visited 10 June 2010.

points, and various courses for women including literacy courses, computer training centers; allocating anti-narcotic efforts in Afghanistan.⁷

As in a coherence with newly developed Turkish foreign policy parameters, Turkey has invested in the soft power of persuasion through multiple levels of dialogues on variety of issues concerning Afghanistan's future. Turkey has hosted a multitude of conferences since 9/11 and has been an active participant in all international efforts for the Afghan government and the society. Using an Ankara-centered approach, the trilateral process has gradually evolved into an annual platform to discuss Afghan issues and so far, the eight rounds have been held since 2007. Turkey supports Afghan-led and Afghan-owned processes, concentrating on further enhancing the capacity of Afghan National Security Forces. Istanbul and Ankara processes have contributed in consolidating and expanding common grounds between Islamabad and Kabul to achieve the sustainable peace in the heart of Asia⁸.

Turkey seeks for fighting terrorism, expand commerce, promoting Turkish political influence and prestige throughout Central Asia, protecting the interests of Turkic ethnic groups, such as the Uzbeks and Turkmens and strengthening Turkey's role in NATO. A leadership role for Ankara in stabilizing Afghanistan would contrast with the slack created by the lack of leadership exhibited by several other NATO members.

Turkey has experienced numerous terrorist attacks and casualties, including those due to PKK or related to Al Qaeda. Turkey tries to help Afghanistan stability by getting rid of terrorism. In economic sense, Turkish firms are major participants in construction and development contracts in Afghanistan, and Turkey is a large foreign investor in the region. Turkey's mediation efforts or facilitator efforts are appreciated by international community however, there are few obvious challenges.

⁷ <http://www.tc-america.org/issues-information/us-turkey-relations/turkeys-contributions-in-iraq-and-afghanistan150.html>

⁸ http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_afghanistan_pakistan-trilateral-summit-was-held-in-ankara.en.mfa

1.1 Argument of Thesis

In this study, Turkey's Afghan policy in the 9/11 era is examined within international context in terms of both human interest and national interest. The Turkish involvement in Afghanistan has provided interesting clues about the parameters of Turkish foreign policy in general and Turkish perceptions of the future of Afghanistan in particular. Also, Turkey's approach became relevant with the subsequent transformations in U.S./NATO policy on Afghanistan. However, she has never engaged in Afghanistan for any parallel agenda for a proxy war but strengthened its place in Western Alliance as a fully committed ally in the global war on terror.

While there is a considerable amount of military role, Turkey's non-military engagements are becoming more important and transformative in Afghanistan case. Ankara's timely promotion of a non-military approach to the conflict had an instrumental value: while this policy eased Turkey's task of distancing itself from the unsympathetic U.S. policies and carving space as an independent-minded actor, it also enabled Turkey to maintain cooperation with the United States on its own terms. Turkish reconstruction projects, Turkey's leading civil-led PRTs are sensitive to Afghan values, culture and religion. Being very much receptive and acceptable to Afghans, they are winning "hearts and minds". The reinforcement of Turkey's situation in NATO and the US-Turkey alliance facilitates Turkey's return to Central Asia, attendance to energy game as an active player in strategic level. Also, Turkey's unique status as a Muslim-majority NATO member state as well as its close diplomatic ties with Afghanistan. Turkey can play a constructive role thanks to its good relations with Afghanistan, Pakistan and its role in NATO. Turkey's consciously persistence on using the civilian power tools like the policy of soft power, the new style of mediation, and preventative diplomacy presents a unique policy towards regional and global stability in the near future. However, the practice and theory sometimes can not fit with each other due to various challenges.

2.1. Structure of Thesis

In this paper, Turkey's contributions are described in terms of safety and security, basic services, government functionality, economic development, civil society institutions, humanitarian assistance, political processes together with mediation efforts by way of bilateral, regional and international initiatives.

Here, it is necessary to collect the findings of the projects, conversations of summits and the visual and/or written records of the public, the sources like Academic Search Premier, EBSCO: newspaper archives for discourse analysis, ProQuest, Lexus/Nexus, political party agendas, speeches, international media reports, translated local media reports, interviews conducted by researchers as well as published interviews, the official or unofficial works, activity reports and yearly agendas published on the web sites of the Presidency, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Energy, Ministry of Religious Affairs, NGOs, TIKA, UNAMA and UN resolutions, UNCHR documentaries, UDSAM.org, YÖK theses, reports, journals and articles from strategic think tanks like USAK, ORSAM, TSE, SEMAP. I will collect data from TIKA which is the most important Turkish nongovernmental organization in Afghanistan in such a quantitative analysis.

The theoretical framework could be the concept of soft power and mediation in the global perception of security after 11 September and used in the 1990s. I may search for the impact of the theory of constructivism in relation to cultural and religious ideas and norms, etc. In this sense, there is not a single theory that explains fully the developments of today's Afghanistan. Depending on the domestic player, group, etc. sociological theories may also be important in some cases. So, I shall make a review of the policies that can relate to sociological theories or/and international relations theories like neorealist or/and constructivist approaches. This focus on the discourse analysis of the statements of political actors such as the leaders of Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan, US, Taliban forces and other NATO member countries involved in the reconstruction process of Afghanistan after the US-led coalition invasion in 2001. Interviews, observations and discussions about solution in social, economic and political terms will be considered as well.

In this regard, Turkey's status within the context of these Afghanistan centered developments are examined by following questions to be responded throughout a descriptive and analytical methodology:

- What is the general Turkish foreign policy and Turkey's Afghan policy understanding in the post- 9/11 era?
- What is the role of Turkey's foreign policy agenda using soft power and mediation in the Afghan conflict?
- What is the civilian capacity of Turkey in the post-conflict reconstruction of Afghanistan?
- Can the ties between Turkey and Turkic populations in Afghanistan be used as a tool to increase Turkey's influence?
- Turkey has made great efforts in Afghanistan within the scope of civilian investments, but have these efforts been recognized internationally?
- What are the challenges for Turkey in the solution of the conflict? What is the sustainability of Turkey's regional approach?
- Is the utilisation of soft power enough by itself to have a say in the conflict? Should/Can Turkey do more than this?
- Can Turkey take more risks and use its full capacity to prevent any further foreign intervention into the Afghan affairs after 2014? How should it be?

Turkey's Afghan approach will be evaluated in six chapters and the following issues will be examined in each chapter:

In the first chapter, a short brief of historical developments and the current situation will be determined within the developments in the pre- and post-September era. The history of Afghanistan has been impacted by many rivalries among regional actors and external powers⁹. When US-led coalition forces launched an attack against the Taliban regime by October 2001, Afghanistan had already unfortunate experience of more than 23 years of continuous war, during which one million people had died and another million had been disabled and lost their houses. In 1990s, after a long time anti-Soviet war with the U.S. assistance to the Afghan mujahideen, the bloody

⁹http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/5355~v~InternationalPeacemakinginTajikistan_and_AfghanistanComparedLessonsLearnedandUnlearned.pdf

Afghan civil war began. Then, the Taliban movement seized the power of the country from 1994 to 1999. Longstanding interests between regional players such as Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and India have further underpinned the conflict. Yet not get rid of this complexity, Afghanistan became so close with the other major intervention for the political and economic primacy in South and Central Asia.

The second chapter will focus on Turkish-Afghan relations since from the beginning of republic to US-led NATO coalition forces invasion into country. Turkey's interest in the region goes back to the history of Gokturks, Ghaznavids, Harzemshah and Ottomans. There is a close proximity between these two nations based on the sense of friendship and brotherliness in the hardest times and breaking points throughout history. The first strategic alliance agreement of the Turkish government was signed with Afghanistan, during Turkey's War of Independence, in 1921. And it reached its highest level in the last decade.

In the third chapter, Turkey's contribution for training the Afghan army and police force, assistance in the fields of education, health, social charity, and trade investment for the "Afghanization" of security and reconstruction, its leading annual Turkish-Pakistani-Afghani triple summits in order to facilitate regional cooperation using the mediation tools in political processes will be examined in the light of Turkish foreign policy which have been formulated by Ahmet Davutoglu, the author of "Strategic Depth" through principles of the balance between security and democracy, zero problem policy toward neighbours, proactive and pre-emptive peace diplomacy, multidimensional foreign policy and rhythmic diplomacy. Results of these Turkish diplomatic activities have been limited, but they may serve as a good base for further improvements and so much needed process in early future. The profile of Turkey's mediation and Turkey's civil society will be determined by Turkey's foreign policy performance and its ability to sustain the image of a trusted and capable actor.

In the fourth chapter, the relevance of Turkey's Afghan approach with the concept of soft power and mediation in Turkish style will be evaluated.

In the fifth chapter, the internal and external challenges on the ground and Turkey's critical inner dynamics will be examined. Although Turkey has a privileged status in her relations with local Afghans based on trust and brotherhood, to gain a huge influence in the region is limited. The reasons for that will be underlined.

In conclusion, given Turkey's close ties to Afghanistan; it has been playing an important role in stabilising Afghanistan in the post-September era. Turkey hopes to assist the resolution of the problem with a helping hand model, by creating a more conducive regional environment in which Afghan political actors can work towards national reconciliation. However, the regional approach has yet to produce concrete outcomes, as far as pacification of Afghanistan is concerned, which is a must for economic development and political stabilization. Turkey's increasing engagement in the resolution of the Afghan conflict is so much related with the extension of the transformation of Turkish foreign policy in recent decades.

CHAPTER 2

THE COUNTRY PROFILE: AFGHANISTAN

2.1. Geography

Afghanistan lies in the South-Central Asia region with the surface area of 625.090 square meters¹⁰. This is a landlocked country surrounded with Pakistan, Iran, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and China. Afghanistan is linking the Middle East with Central Asia and Far Asia and has a long border with especially Iran. Having such a strategic position, region is described as the "mouth of four ways", "The Heart of Asia" and "Asia's key", "Heartland", "Asia's bastion" along the ancient "Silk Road".¹¹



Figure 2.1: Political Map of Afghanistan¹²

¹⁰ <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/geography/Afghanistan-to-Comoros/Afghanistan.html>

¹¹ Haydar Cakmak, International Crisis and Turkish Military Forces, Ankara: Platin, 2004, s. 207.

¹² http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/afghanistan_map.html

2.2.Population

The borders of Afghanistan were mostly artificially formed, separating ethnic territories and constituting a multi-ethnic country¹³. The country population is approximately 31,108,077 people¹⁴ in total 34 cities. The capital city is Kabul with population of 3.573 million in 2009, to come up to 5 million together with internally displaced citizens¹⁵ who turn back to settle in an urban setting instead of rural areas.¹⁶ Other big cities are Mazar-ı Sharif, Herat, Kunduz ve Jalalabad.¹⁷

Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic country. The Pashtuns make up 40% of the population, followed by the Tajiks who represent 33%. The 9% of the population is of Hazard ethnicity, 11% is Uzbek, 3% is Turkmen, 1% is Baloch, Nuristani is 1%, Aimak is 1%, Arab 2%, Pashaye 1%, and Sadat is 1%¹⁸. In addition to that, there are Turkic ethnicity living in the country like Uzbek, Hazards, Kyrgyz, Kazakhs, Turkmen, Shia Turks, Kalpaks, Karuk's and Chagatai Turks. Afghanistan is an Islamic country with 80 % Sunni Muslims and 19% Shia Muslims.

¹³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_groups_in_Afghanistan

¹⁴ "Afghan Population: 31,108,077 (July 2013 est.) [Pashtun = 42%]". *Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)*. The World Factbook. Retrieved 7 June 2013.

¹⁵ NYT, 21.01.2013.

¹⁶ Safri, 2011.

¹⁷ Özgür Çınarlı, "Afghanistan'daki İç Savaş ve Dış Müdahale (1989-2001)," Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, Ağustos 2009, ss. 50-51.

¹⁸ "Afghanistan in 2012; A survey of the Afghan people", Kabul, Afghanistan: The Asia Foundation. pp. 181–182. Retrieved 2012-11-28.

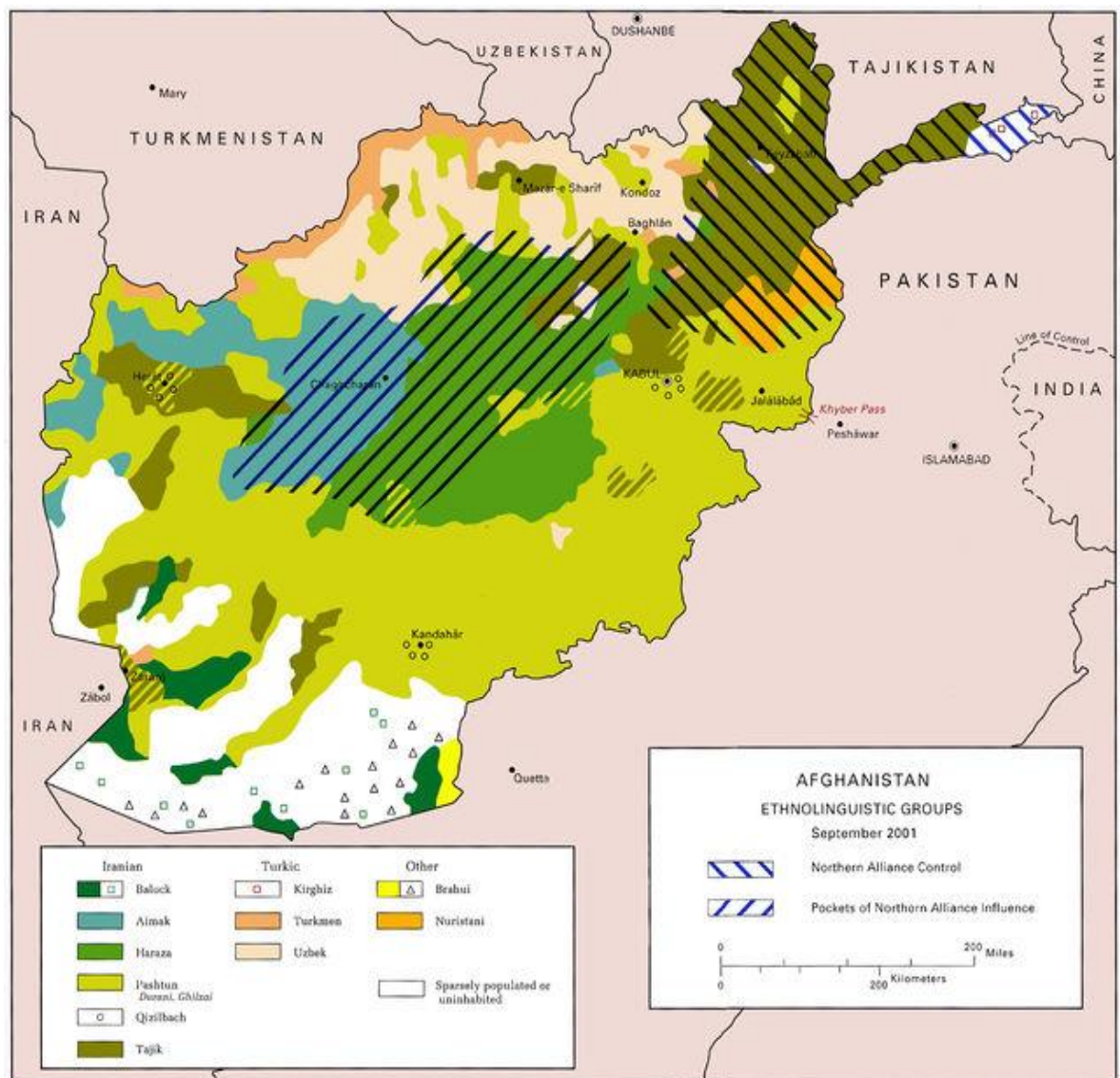


Figure 2.2 : Afghan Ethnicities¹⁹

2.3. The Afghan Conflict

Afghanistan was used as a buffer state between British and Russians in 19th century. The current situation in Afghanistan had undergone a series of transformation started from 1979 when Afghanistan was occupied by Soviet military forces. The resistance movement, Afghan guerrilla fighters known as the Mujaheddin received substantial international assistance from the United States in 1980, Saudi Arabia. Approximately three million refugees settled in camps along the Afghan border with Pakistan and

¹⁹http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Ethnic_Groups_in_Afghanistan,_by_district.svg#mediaviewer/File:US_Army_ethnolinguistic_map_of_Afghanistan_circa_2001-09.jpg

about two million fled to Iran²⁰. Different international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) provided humanitarian assistance to refugees that were under the control of the Mujaheddin. They helped to Afghans whose villages emptied and existing village hierarchies were appeared by massive displacement. Consequently, the newly acquired wealth and power of local Mujaheddin militia commanders were supported by the aid-arms industry.²¹

The Soviet troops withdrew in 1989 following the international Geneva Accords of 1988²² but it failed to address the issue of post-occupation government institutions and peacebuilding,. The war continued between the Mujaheddin and the Soviet-installed regime of President Najibullah. In 1992, the United Nations negotiated a deal with Najibullah to make way for the establishment of a broad-based transitional authority. However, the divided Mujaheddin factions, disagree on a power-sharing formula and instead stormed Kabul from different directions, launched a massive and destructive civil war. Afghanistan was renamed the Islamic State of Afghanistan. The neighbouring countries backing different Mujaheddin factions and commanders, in pursuit of their own interests in Afghanistan. A massive migration ensued. As financial assistance from the superpowers declined with the end of the Cold War, fighters were obliged to procure alternative local sources to fund their activities. Thus, Afghanistan became a transportation and marketing corridor for drugs and contraband in the war economy.

The Taliban, consisting mainly of Pashtun youth, emerged from the refugee camps with the conservative values of the madrassas in Pakistan and expanded in Afghanistan in 1994²³. They enjoyed the financial and military support of Pakistan through its Inter Services Intelligence Agency (ISI) and were also welcomed by the

²⁰http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/pakistan-cracks-down-on-afghan-immigrants-fearing-an-influx-as-us-leaves-afghanistan/2014/05/12/74057f62-cfa9-11e3-b812-0c92213941f4_story.html

²¹ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12024253>

²²http://www.google.com.tr/books?hl=tr&lr=&id=S9NKCCXbzbQC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Afghanistan+conflict-n+1980s&ots=So42hdT04J&sig=nqlykjDlzaW0PMktwckOicYpljU&redir_esc=y

²³ <http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/afghanistan-the-cost-of-war.pdf>

majority of the Afghan population that was fed up with insecurity and the behaviour of local Mujaheddin fighters. Initially, the role of the Taliban was to secure the main transport routes and to remove or disarm the different Mujaheddin checkpoints. In response, the groups opposed to the Taliban formed The Northern Alliance in 1996.

The Taliban enjoyed military superiority with relative ease, taking control of Kabul in September 1996. In October 1997, the country became the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, with the Taliban regime basing its doctrine on a very strict interpretation of the Sharia law, prohibited the free circulation of women and their participation in public life. By mid-2001, they were controlling more than 90% of Afghanistan. Nevertheless, the Taliban were never accorded official international recognition.

U.S. supported the Afghan mujahedeen groups stationed at the border of Pakistan against Russians during the Soviet invasion in 1979²⁴. US thought that Taliban could eliminate drug trade, effectiveness of Russia and Iran in Afghanistan, close the training camps of terrorist organizations, provide the safety of roads for Pakistan which was close ally to trade with Central Asia, provide secure transfer of Central Asia's energy resources in part of the Trans-Afghan pipeline passing through Afghanistan and Pakistan to world markets.²⁵ After the August 7, 1998 when the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed. US administration accused Al Qaeda of these bombings. In July 1999, Taliban regime was declared as a, "State Sponsor of Terrorism" by UN resolution 1267, in October 1999.²⁶ The new resolution was imposed when the Taliban did not comply with the resolution²⁷ which

²⁴ Kalfa, Serdar, 11 Eylül öncesi Afganistan, Basılmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Trabzon, 2002, s. 128.

²⁵ Rubin, B., US policy in Afghanistan. Müslim Politics Report No:11, 1997a. s. 1-6.

²⁶ Hillary Rodham Clinton, "Leading through Civilian Power", Foreign Affairs, Vol. 89, No. 6, 2010, pp.13-24.

²⁷ "United Nations Security Council Resolution 1333(2000)", adopted by Security Council at its 4251st meeting on December 19, 2000.

imposed an arm-embargo on the Taliban. Next was the freezing of all funds and financial assets of Osama Bin Laden and his organization, Al Qaeda²⁸.

The War in Afghanistan²⁹ in October 2001, was launched because of the fact that the Taliban hosted and provided safe haven to Al-Qaeda, and refused to send members to any international court for trial.³⁰ Congress passed legislation titled as Authorization for the Use of Military Force against Terrorists on 18 September 2001. The article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations³¹ and the fifth article of the NATO Treaty were used as a reference for stepping along with other NATO members.

The Bush administration named the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States³² as more than acts of terror against humanity. That led to the War on Terrorism and they redefine foreign policy and national security strategy. The only enemy was terrorism, not a single political regime or person or religion or ideology.³³ The war on terrorism was perceived as an imminent threat to society, linked to the potential use of weapons of mass destruction, and a supreme emergency in terms of struggle between good and evil.³⁴ Bush administration followed a new strategic doctrine to the conduct of the war on terrorism: preemptive action³⁵ which says that

²⁸ <http://www.gwu.edu/~narchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB147/clarke%20attatchment.pdf>.

²⁹ Goodson, Larry P. (2001), *Afghanistan's Endless War: State Failure, Regional Politics, and the Rise of the Taliban*, USA: University of Washington Press.

³⁰ [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1570232/Taliban-control-half-of-Afghanistansays-report.html\(2.5.2009\)](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1570232/Taliban-control-half-of-Afghanistansays-report.html(2.5.2009)).

³¹ Article 51 of Charter of United Nations.

³² <http://www.cfr.org/afghanistan/us-war-afghanistan/p20018>

³³ George W Bush, the White House [Speech], september 12, 2001 10:56 am, 2001 [cited]; available from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010912-4.html>.

³⁴ George W. Bush, New York [Speech] (The White House, June 1, 2002 9:13 a.m. Edt 2002 [cited]; available from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020601-3.html>., p. 2

³⁵ <http://www.thebushdoctrine.com/>

the nature of the threat (hidden and unpredictable), the ultimate means of security would be to eliminate the threat at its source prior to its execution.

In the early years of the war, the invasion of Afghanistan aimed at capturing Osama bin Laden³⁶ and destroying al-Qaeda terrorist training camps and their ability to plan and launch terrorist attacks. The Bush administration labelled Taliban troops as supporters of terrorists defining them as outside the protections of the Geneva Convention and due process of law. Then, the mission expanded to combat terrorism; to invade Afghanistan Mission, to capture Osama bin Laden, The Hijackers of the Attacks, to destroy Al-Qaeda (Saudi-Egyptian-originated Sunni Salami international militia group) network, to remove Taliban Regime from power and replacing it with a regime friendly to the USA and its allies.³⁷ They organized the opposition forces to do most of the ground work to limit the danger of large-scale US troop involvement. Consequently, the Afghanistan invasion immediately destroyed training camps, displaced AQ activists to Pakistan, reduced AQ capacity, and increased tensions.

Bush Doctrine was seen as a security response to terrorism, from the perspective of the Just War tradition. The invasion of Iraq in 2003 was justified, in accordance with the Bush Doctrine of “preemption,” as a means to prevent a terrorist attack upon the United States. However, 9/11 attacks the doctrine’s linkage with a power-driven, hegemonic foreign policy strategy undermines the moral credibility of the doctrine, and thus the moral credibility of the United States. The Bush Doctrine, does not form a “just” response to terrorism morally.³⁸

2.4. The Root Causes of the Current problems in Afghanistan

The Afghan conflict has shaped by various conflicts with different root causes and escalating factors.³⁹ Decades of civil war and proxy regional wars have caused

³⁶ Steve Coll. *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*. Penguin Press, New York, NY, 2004. P. 186.

³⁷ Jones, <http://www.afghanconflictmonitor.org/2007/11/taliban-in-cont.html> (2.5.2009).

³⁸ Dale t. Snauwaert, *The Bush Doctrine and Just War Theory: The online journal of peace and conflict resolution* 6.1 fall: 121-135 (2004) Issn: 1522-211x, www.trinstitute.org/ojpcr/6_1snau.pdf

³⁹ <http://prezi.com/mmfqyy0kyjw/iraq-and-afghanistan-causes-of-conflict-and-effects-on-america/>

competing economies around war, drugs, agriculture, and humanitarian aid that drive conflicting incentives for Afghans and their neighbors.

Afghanistan struggles with the negative effects of bad governance and unstable New Government in terms of political level. Afghanistan is known as the endemic corruption second most corrupt country and wide-spread impunity of power players. UN declared Afghanistan as a failed state and fragile. State structures lack political will and/or capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations.⁴⁰ Also, there are militarized perception of “peacebuilding” among many key persons in Afghan government that have instrumentalized ethnicity, regionalism and religion in order to mobilize citizens or their followers.

Socially, the population is highly traumatized after decades of war, the blood feuds. Despite, explosive population growth, the life expectancy in years is 45.5, the median age is 17.9 and each one of four children dies before the age of five in Afghanistan. There is a high illiteracy rate nearly at 64 per cent i.e., like two-thirds of Afghan adults. Primary school enrolment ratio for boys is 39 per cent, while for girls, it is 3 per cent and the community assistance could provide education to only 7 per cent of 4.4 million children of primary school age.⁴¹

In terms of economic situation, there is an unstable economic environment, poor infrastructure, limited roads, power and transportation systems as well as a high level of unemployment. Afghanistan is classified among the world's poorest countries by depending on the foreign aid and drug trafficking and corruption.⁴² 53% of populations live below the poverty line. The Drug Trade flourishes 92% of World's Heroin while insurgency and corruption economy is supported by drug trafficking.

⁴⁰<http://www.oecd.org/countries/democraticrepublicofthecongo/aboutthefragilestatesprinciples.htm>

⁴¹ UNICEF.

⁴² Nilüfer Karacasulu, *Bölgesel Güvenlik Analizi*, ss. 5-6.

Environmentally, Afghanistan faces a growing scarcity of natural resources such as water, arable land, pastures and wood, in combination with the fact that 80% of population depends on agriculture.

In terms of security situation, there is a lack of security for the local population, with insurgency, illegal armed groups organized as criminal gangs or under the command of warlords who use private militias to claim and maintain political power, threatening civilians or offering “protection” in exchange for financial or logistical support. National security forces, especially the police, are weak and tended to corruption as well as unqualified and ill-equipped staff.

The numerous attempts at invasion brought about the arena for conflicts between foreign powers that try to influence the situation in Afghanistan to their benefit.⁴³ The extreme Islamic groups, suicide bombers, Taliban operating in Afghanistan receive external support or at least benefit from “safe havens” outside Afghanistan’s borders. Afghan people perceive injustice in the distribution of development aid, the alienation of the Afghan population caused by civilian casualties from international air strikes based on faulty information and inappropriate behavior of international soldiers.

When Westerns leave the country after 2014, Taleban want to govern the country again. Westerns and Turkey also believe that that would mean a waste of a cost of Afghanistan. Strengthening the capability of states to fulfil their basic functions, reducing poverty, ensuring security and justice; mobilizing revenue; establishing an enabling environment for basic service delivery, strong economic performance and employment generation is important to achieve a stable country.⁴⁴

⁴³ Kocaoglu, Timur, Afganistan Ulusal Sorunun Uluslararası Boyutları, Afganistan Uzerine Arastirmalar, Ali Ahmetbeyoğlu (der.), Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı(TATAV) Yay., Istanbul, Mart 2003.

⁴⁴ <http://www.oecd.org/dacfragilestates/fragilestatesprinciplesprinciple3.html>

2.5. The New Era in Afghanistan

Today, the complexity of the players in Afghanistan makes the issue unsolved. Main actors are Afghan Government and coalition forces, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Tribal/militia leaders/warlords supporting the government, US (ISAF and Operation Enduring Freedom), NATO plus (ISAF), UN (UNAMA), Anti-government forces like Taliban groupings, Anti-government tribal leaders/ militia warlords, Al Qaeda and other foreign fighters.

A roadmap for Afghanistan's political transition to democratic rule for the post-war reconstruction in Afghanistan was negotiated by the international community in Bonn in December 2001⁴⁵. Major Afghan factions formed an interim 30-member administration until the convening of an emergency Loya Jirga, or grand council, in June 2002. Loya Jirga took place in Kabul and around 1,600 representatives from all provinces attended to put together the interim government. The new government was composed of the three Mujaheddin coalition groups, the Northern Alliance, an alliance of Tajik and Uzbek political parties. The Northern Alliance became the local partner of the US-led invasion of Afghanistan as a result of 9/11 and the rejection of the Taliban regime to hand over Osama bin Laden.⁴⁶

In January 2004, the new Afghan constitution was passed and the first presidential elections took place later in October. Hamid Karzai won the elections receiving more than 50% of the votes. And parliamentary elections was in September 2005 and the other one in 2009 despite some constitutional shortcomings regarding the lack of District Council elections. Instances of intimidation, fraud and a growing insecurity incidents was noted during both elections. The international efforts for the reconstruction in Afghanistan is helped by the Afghan government, numerous U.N. agencies, bilateral donors, many international organizations, and NGOs.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Barnett R. Rubin, "Peace-building and State-building in Afghanistan: Construction Sovereignty for Whose Security", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 2006, p. 177.

⁴⁶ Noam Chomsky, 11 Eylül, Çev.: Dost Körpe, 3ncü Baskı, Om Yayınevi, İstanbul 2002, s. 44 – 45.

⁴⁷ http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL31759_20030226.pdf

Post-war reconstruction efforts of US policy in Afghanistan has been a mixture of both state-building, which further develops the institutions of government, and nation-building, which constructs roads, schools and other projects. U.S. efforts, so far, have concentrated on building the security infrastructure. This infrastructure of military and police serves to provide security and prop up U.S.-friendly governments rather than build the political and economic infrastructure for sustainable economic reconstruction and democratic institutions. The change in post-Taliban Afghanistan starts by understanding reconstruction as modernization⁴⁸ and needs to be more realistic Afghan-led assessment to sustain post-transition, is very much needed⁴⁹. The complex transition of the withdrawal of foreign forces, the presidential election, the substantial drop in foreign assistance, the rising influence of narcotics trade, and the potential exit of some of the country's most skilled human resources exacerbate all current dysfunctions in government.⁵⁰

The US-led state-building in Afghanistan is not successful because the intervening coalition tried to construct national political institutions before establishing basic control of the countryside, and invested in the militias-turned-police without marginalising former warlords and commanders.⁵¹

2.5.1. International Security Assistance Force, (ISAF) Mission

ISAF was created in accordance with the Bonn Conference in December 2001⁵² under the authority of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). UNSC

⁴⁸ Okan Arslan; Arı, Selçuk, Amerika Özgürlük Havarisi mi? Yoksa Günah Keçisi mi?, Platin, Ankara, 2004.

⁴⁹ http://fpif.org/nation-building_in_afghanistan/

⁵⁰ <http://asiafoundation.org/in-asia/2012/05/02/time-to-rethink-state-building-in-afghanistan/>

⁵¹ Martin Kipping, Two Interventions, Comparing Soviet and US-led state building in Afghanistan http://www.afghanistanalysts.org/wpcontent/uploads/downloads/2012/10/AAN_Two_Interventions_exec.pdf

⁵² <http://www.isaf.nato.int/mission.html>

authorised the establishment of the force to assist the Afghan government in the maintenance of security in Kabul and its surrounding areas in particular with an initial strength of 5,000 soldiers⁵³. ISAF has a peace-enforcement mandate under Chapter VII of the UN Charter in order to protect the security of the international community. ISAF mission is described in its official web site, as follows:

In support of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, ISAF conducts operations in Afghanistan to reduce the capability and will of the insurgency, support the growth in capacity and capability of the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF), and facilitate improvements in governance and socio-economic development in order to provide a secure environment for sustainable stability that is observable to the population⁵⁴.

The development of the administrative and judiciary system, training of the Afghan Police Force and increasing their capabilities, conducting activities aimed to improve and support infrastructure, and public works and social support to raise the life quality of local population⁵⁵.

ISAF is working for conducting security and stability operations; development and training the Afghan National Army (ANA) and the Afghan National Police(ANP) to provide security and law enforcement to the Afghan people throughout the country; disarming illegally armed groups; facilitating bullets depository managements; and providing post-operation assistance. ISAF is also contributing to reconstruction and development⁵⁶ in Afghanistan through its Provincial Reconstruction Teams(PRTs) conducted by national and international actors.⁵⁷

⁵³ http://www.nato.int/cps/fr/natolive/topics_69366.htm?selectedLocale=en

⁵⁴ <http://www.isaf.nato.int/mission.html>

⁵⁵ <http://www.tsk.tr/eng/uluslararasi/isaf.html>, last visited 17 June 2010.

⁵⁶ Rubin, Barnett R., Ashraf Ghani, William Maley, Ahmed Rashid, Oliver Roy, *Afghanistan Reconstruction and Peace-Building in a Regional Framework*, Bern: KOFF Peace Building Report, Swiss Peace Foundation, June 1/2001.

⁵⁷ Astri Suhrke, "Reconstruction as Modernisation: the post-conflict project in Afghanistan", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 7, 2007, p. 1294.

The War in Afghanistan was masterminded in Washington, but the U.S. invaded with a coalition of countries by taking international support to its war. The fifty nations which make up the NATO-led ISAF conduct security and stability operations throughout the country together with ANSF and train and develop the Afghan forces. The coalition helped the U.S. press on unwilling regional players, but it also shared the military burden.⁵⁸ Europe's participation in the early years of the war helped to produce success, which was the overthrow of the Taliban regime⁵⁹. It was mainly the combination of American Special Forces, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Afghan warlords that constituted the Northern Alliance led to quick removal of the Taliban from power⁶⁰.

2.5.1.1. The Share of Burden, Europeans in Afghanistan

The relative burden by Europe's military started to change with the creation of ISAF. Creating a stable and secure Afghan state would prevent refugees from flowing to the rest of Central Asia and further destabilizing neighboring states, European states, especially a nuclear-armed Pakistan. The destruction of the opium fields, the primary source of European heroin, the elimination of Al-Qaeda leaders that plan attacks on the west would also benefit NATO allies in terms of the prestige, satisfaction or long-term gains, state's reputation for restoring security, protecting the rights of women and generally improving the lives of every Afghani. If the USA fails to create security and stability in Afghanistan, it could serve as a strong signal that its ability to project power and act as a superpower by maintaining order in the international system is diminishing. European Governments could face similar effects if the nascent Afghan state collapses.

They want to avoid the security risks associated with an active al- Qaeda network. Jihadists in Europe may no longer be receiving their training in Afghanistan. But, if Al-Qaeda and other groups were to regain strength and take hold once again within a

⁵⁹ Hunter, Robert (2006), 'The EU Should Put Up or Shut Up in Afghanistan', RAND Corporation, November 18, <http://rand.org/commentary/111806PS.html> (accessed 06/05/2008).

⁶⁰ Rashid 2008, Jones 2009.

failed Afghan state, the threat of future terrorist attacks in Europe would only increase. If NATO experiences failure in Afghanistan, its relevancy for solving other security problems will only decrease. NATO Member States would lose a great deal of credibility with the US Government as European Security reliable partners. Also, European countries would also face serious harm to their reputation among both Americans and the rest of the world to cooperate with each other and play an important role in the international system.

On the other hand, a failure in Afghanistan could also bring great harm to the USA, Europe and the North Atlantic alliance in general. While it is true that these terrorists are primarily interested in targeting the USA, adherents to this global jihadist vision are found not only in the USA, and their targets are not exclusively American, such as the bombings in Madrid in 2003 and London in 2005.

Except from Australia and Canada, some European countries together represent the greatest portion of the total non-US troop presence in Afghanistan because as the greatest powers in European Council, Germany and France supported to US from the very start.⁶¹ In ISAF, the number of European countries is approximately 75 per cent of all European and non-US troops in Afghanistan. The largest troops come from the UK (9500), Germany (4335), France (3750), Italy (3160), Poland (2140), the Netherlands (1880) and Spain (1075). Less than 1000 comes from Rumania and Austria. Canada, France, Germany, Italy and the UK were significant to combat operations by sharing of national naval and air assets to defeat the Taliban.⁶²

France and Italy contribute more troops than average, while Canada and the Netherlands choose to focus on aid more than military combat. Thus, excluding the USA, the relative combination of soft and hard power becomes clearer. Germany, France Norway and other Scandinavian countries choose to focus on development projects and assistance instead of exercising hard power. However, their attitudes

⁶¹ Nicholas 2003.

⁶² Sperling and Webber, 2009, p. 501.

towards Afghanistan has changed since Taliban is not captured from the region successfully.

NATO members declaration to send in more troops or more trainers in 2007, it was seen as a victory in the capitals of these nations, and also in the United States which long been seeking burdensharing. But despite this surge, it soon became increasingly clear that tactical victories were not being translated into the strategic defeat of the insurgents. In the meantime, reliance on air strikes with high civilian casualties led to the growing alienation of the population. Yet, the economic crisis affected the amount of their help to U.S. in 2008 and America has been criticizing their inadequate help from time to time.

Since the beginning of the operations, the debate concerning the presence of NATO troops in Afghanistan, seen as a test for the future of the transatlantic alliance, has been a contest of force among Western nations and their new allies. NATO forces were a minor contribution to OEF in terms of combat forces. However, they were supposed to be free among western powers, with those sending more troops decrying the lack of commitment of others, especially those with national caveats that prevented countries such as Germany, Italy, France and Spain from either active fighting, or from being based in the more dangerous provinces.

If Afghanistan is a test case for the future of NATO, it is not by continuing to perfect the art of hand-wringing among European capitals, and wrangling between the United States and Europe, and between western Europe and its new eastern front, that the alliance will be able to carve out a survival strategy, and for that matter, prove its relevance and benevolent intentions. The debates have so far been more about NATO alliance building than stabilization of Afghanistan⁶³.

⁶³http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/5355~v~International_Peacemaking_in_Tajikistan_and_Afghanistan_Compared__Lessons_Learned_and_Unlearned.pdf

2.5.1.2. The expansion of ISAF

The main purpose of ISAF was for peacekeeping in practically all parts of Afghanistan allowed to more combat missions under the Regional Commands' tasks. However, ISAF mission⁶⁴ shifts step by step from a combat-centric role to a more enabling role focusing on training, advising and assisting as responsibility is gradually transitioned to the Afghans.⁶⁵ ISAF mission has evolved to generate a strong governance with fully control over its territory beyond providing security and stability for Kabul and the surrounding areas aiding in justice and security reform, supporting the Afghan National Army (ANA) and police forces, disarming illegally armed groups, providing reconstruction assistance, fighting against terrorism, preventing the opium trade and crime across the whole country.

As renewal of NATO's mandate in Afghanistan in September 2007, the parliament continuously raised the issue of the legalization of foreign troops on the territory so that NATO forces were not to be seen as a peacekeeping force in a sovereign state, but as a party to war in an occupied country. Moreover, despite the agreement with the Karzai government, NATO troops in Afghanistan failed to address the demands of the government. As Western alliances deemed the "problem" of insurgents in Afghanistan as too important for international security to be dealt with through the small, untrained and ineffective national forces. Seen from the Afghan point of view, however, with their long experience with warfare on their territory and their intimate knowledge of ground realities, they should have been trusted more.

Upon request of the UN and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, NATO took command of ISAF in August 2003. The United Nations extended ISAF's mandate to cover the whole of Afghanistan (UNSCR 1510), opening the way for an expansion of the mission across the country in October 2003. Then the UN

⁶⁴ International Security Assistance Force mission, Available at:
<http://www.isaf.nato.int/mission.html>

⁶⁵ http://www.nato.int/cps/fr/natolive/topics_69366.htm?selectedLocale=en

mandated ISAF's gradual expansion outside of Kabul.⁶⁶ On 28 June 2004, at the Summit meeting of the NATO Heads of State and Government in Istanbul, NATO announced to establish four other Provincial Reconstruction Teams other than Kunduz PRT, in the north of the country like in Mazar-e-Sharif, Meymana, Feyzabad and Baghlan.

NATO announced that ISAF would be further expanded, into the west of Afghanistan on 10 February 2005. ISAF took command of two additional PRTs in the provinces of Herat and Farah. ISAF mission led a total of nine PRTs in the north and the west providing security assistance in 50% of Afghanistan's territory. The Alliance continued to expand further to the south of the country as additional six provinces Daikundi, Helmand, Kandahar, Nimroz, Uruzgan and Zabul and taking on command of four additional PRTs. In September 2005, the Alliance also temporarily deployed 2,000 additional troops to Afghanistan to support the 18 September provincial and parliamentary elections.⁶⁷

ISAF led a total of 13 PRTs in the north, west and south, covering some three-quarters of Afghanistan's territory. The number of ISAF forces in the country also increased significantly, from about 10,000 prior to the expansion to about 20,000 after.⁶⁸

ISAF expands to the east, takes responsibility for entire country. ISAF continues to support the development of Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) operational effectiveness, so that they are able to fully assume their security responsibilities at the end of 2014. As agreed by Allied leaders and their ISAF partners at the Chicago

⁶⁶ http://www.nato.int/summit2009/topics_en/03-afghanistan.html

⁶⁷ <http://nato.usmission.gov/afghanistan.html>

⁶⁸ http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/sede/dv/sede250110natoroleafghanistan/_sede250110natoroleafghanistan_en.pdf

Summit in May 2012⁶⁹, NATO will lead a new mission to continue to train, assist and advise the Afghan national security forces after 2014 while the ISAF forces will gradually be able to step back and start redeploying back to their home countries. By the time transition is completed, all Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) will have been handed over to the Afghan government, traditional development actors, non-governmental organisations and the private sector.

2.5.1.3. The US/ISAF Withdrawal from Afghanistan

When President Obama took office, there were only roughly 34,000 US troops, in two surges and added over 66,000 additional troops. 10,000 troops would be removed by the end of the summer 2011, with 23,000 additional troops leaving at the end of the summer of 2012. All US troops would cease to be a combat mission and become a support mission⁷⁰. However, President's June 2011 speech did he mention a deadline for the full withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan, and no date for full withdrawal has been specified.

US-Afghanistan Bilateral Security Agreement is defined the shape of the U.S. military presence in Afghanistan, and U.S. government's ongoing funding for Afghan security forces for years to come, but it is suspended. The draft agreement allows an indefinite U.S. presence, but Karzai said it would be in place for 10 years on November 21, 2013. Taliban said that US should leave willingly for peace; but the U.S. has committed its negotiations with the Afghan government to keep tens of thousands of US troops in Afghanistan.

The longest war of US in Afghanistan is not seen as a success according to American people in Pew Research Company opinion⁷¹ poll that 64 percent of Democratic

⁶⁹ North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Chicago Summit Declaration on Afghanistan, Chicago, IL, May 21, 2012. Available at:http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_87595.html

⁷⁰ <http://countdowntodrawdown.org/facts.php>

⁷¹ American Enterprise Institute. "Afghanistan War Cost". American Enterprise Institute, Washington D.C. October 18, 2012. Available at: <http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-anddefense-policy/regional/india-pakistan-afghanistan/afghanistan-war-cost>

voters, while 49 percent of Republicans share the opinion that the U.S. should withdraw from Afghanistan immediately.⁷² In 2014, Afghanistan will left alone by Westerners. For instance Netherlands, Canada, Germany, Sweden, Britain, France and Italy left the country in 2010-2014 gradually. But it is not certain yet date of the withdrawal of Australia and Turkey.

There are concerns about that a civil war or sporadic conflicts may occur in Afghanistan. Three crucial questions for the future of Afghanistan want an answer. First, whether the Afghan National Security Forces would be capable of providing security alone in the country after 2014 or not. Second, and perhaps more importantly, in such a period of uncertainty, the promises that was given to Afghan people's political, social and economic aspects. Thirdly, according to widespread opinion in the American public, Afghanistan which is considered as "the Second Vietnam", what would be the importance for the United States in the future. Taliban seems likely to emerge as significant in the future and therefore, the probability that sooner or later the situation will dominate in Afghanistan.⁷³ People are afraid of the possibility of the bloodshed of terrorism in Afghanistan as it happened in the 1990s.⁷⁴

The report by International Crisis Group named as 'Afghanistan: "The Long, Hard Road to the 2014 Transition"' warns that after withdrawal of NATO forces in 2014 could be followed by the government's collapse and even civil war, unless steps are taken now. It says the Afghan police and army are unprepared for security responsibility. It added that polls in two years' time would be "plagued" by fraudulent as the last ones unless the state acted to ensure a clean vote. Afghanistan's

⁷² Majid Mohammad Pour, *Afghanistan: Firsatha ve Tehdidha*, Tehran, 2011. s.248

⁷³ The Gurdian, Obama and Karzai Outline Post-2014 Afghanistan Vision at NATO Summit, 20 May 2012. http://apps.facebook.com/theguardian/world/2012/may/20/obama-karzai-afghanistan-nato_01.01.2013.

⁷⁴ Afghanistan: America's Second Vietnam or its First Victory over Al Quida? April 22, 2011 <http://andrewliptak.com/2011/04/22/afghanistan-americas-second-vietnam-or-its-first-victory-over-al-quida/>

President Hamid Karzai who is not allowed to run again may be trying to "stack the deck" for a favoured candidate⁷⁵. The government asserted that elections would be "free and fair and without any foreign interference."⁷⁶

For the peace in Afghanistan, it is necessary to withdraw all NATO forces completely, rapidly and unconditionally when Afghan National Forces be ready. To improve regional security after withdrawal of U.S. from Afghanistan and strength business, economic, security, diplomatic links between Pakistan, India and Afghanistan is important. To eliminate distrust between Pakistan and India by resolving the Kashmir, Rann of Katch issues are important. There is need to create a functioning of a stable, democratic, civilian empowered government in Pakistan. Afghanistan, China, Iran, India, Pak, Russia, Turkey, CAS under UN auspices reach an agreement for creation of a stabilization force for ensuring security in major towns of Afghanistan. Joint business corporations are created and are in operation in Afghanistan, India and Pakistan. Economic, educational/civil society linkages are enhanced and visa regimes softened provide regional players opportunity for joint cooperation in investments. While the Afghanistan negotiates with the Taliban, the other ethnicities may be encouraged to also interact in peace building that ensures the solidarity of the Afghans. United Nations should move towards a more balanced position offering honest broker role in an international push for peace negotiations. Countries must continue aid commitment comparable to war effort strictly conditional on civil rights compliance. The proposed pipeline projects passing through Afghanistan should be implemented.

2.5.2. The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)

UNAMA was established through the United Nations Security Council(UNSC) resolution 1401 to oversee the Bonn process implementation on March 28, 2002⁷⁷.

⁷⁵ Ben Farmer. " Hamid Karzai says he will not seek third term". The Telegraph 11August 2011. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/8695924/Hamid-Karzai-says-he-will-not-seek-third-term.html>

⁷⁶ Report by International Crisis Group named as 'Afghanistan: The Long, Hard Road to the 2014 Transition.'

UNAMA was supposed to be responsible for all UN relief, recovery and reconstruction activities in Afghanistan⁷⁸ in a coordination with the Afghan government's development strategy. They are mainly focused on agriculture, energy, private sector development, capacity building, and higher education and vocational training, political outreach, conflict resolution, disarmament demobilization and reintegration (DDR), security sector reforms (SSR), relief, reconciliation, regional cooperation, promotion and protection of human rights in Afghanistan⁷⁹. However, there are challenges to the scope of the mission.⁸⁰

As the situation in Afghanistan unfolded, however, the role of the UN shifted in response to a multitude of factors because they hoped a minimised UN presence would lead to a strong and stable Afghanistan. In 2002 and 2003, quick impact projects were aimed to transfer authority to Afghan officials as possible⁸¹ in the concept of the light footprint model.

In 2005-2007, as a reflection of the developing crisis in Afghanistan⁸², the Security Council added the phrases, reform of the justice system; election monitoring; and helping deal with the reintegration of militia forces to UNAMA's responsibilities.⁸³

⁷⁷ United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, UNAMA Official Website, <http://unuama.unmissions.org>.

⁷⁸ Suhrke, Astri, "Reconstruction as Modernisation: The Post-conflict Project in Afghanistan", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 7, 2007.

⁷⁹ Human Development Report, 2009, Afghanistan, The Human Development Index. Available online at: www.undp.org/en/countries/country.../cty_fs_AFG.html accessed June 2010.

⁸⁰ http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/5355~v~International_Peacemaking_in_Tajikistan_and_Afghanistan_Compared__Lessons_Learned_and_Unlearned.pdf

⁸¹ UN Security Council, S/RES/1510.

⁸² UN Security Council, S/RES/1378 & 1974.

⁸³ UN Security Council, S/RES/1589.

The 2006 resolution says:

Recognizing once again the interconnected nature of the challenges in Afghanistan, reaffirming that sustainable progress on security, governance and development, as well as on the cross-cutting issue of counter-narcotics, is mutually reinforcing and welcoming the continuing efforts of the Afghan Government and the international community to address these challenges⁸⁴.

The Security Council adopted resolution 1868 (2009) emphasizes the importance of helping the Afghan government to become stable and achieve sustainable security, implement the National Drugs Control Strategy and the reconciliation programs, improve the governance and the rule of law, facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance, assist the internally displaced persons and develop regional cooperation for more prosperous Afghanistan in March 2009.

The development assistance framework for Afghanistan sets the road map for the intervention of the United Nation system in Afghanistan from 2010 to 2013 priorities like governance, sustainable livelihoods, basic services⁸⁵. The UN was supposed to be focused on elections and economic and development assistance. But, it was constrained by the lack of security throughout the country. Then, UNAMA became to the secondary role of implementing the Bonn Agreement like institution building, human rights protection, humanitarian and development coordination.

2.6. The Regional Actors in the Afghan Conflict

Afghan conflict which goes beyond the limits of terrorism and borders, has both internal (structural) and external (geopolitical, global and regional) sides. Neighbouring countries use the diversity of Afghan population for their benefits and they are not ready for peace until their interests are not at risk in Afghanistan⁸⁶.

⁸⁴ UN Security Council, S/RES/1707.

⁸⁵ UN Security Council, S/RES/1974.

⁸⁶ Crisis Group interview, *General Esmatullah Alizai, provincial chief of police, Balkh province, Mazar-e Sharif*, 20 September 2011.

Although India do not share common border with Afghanistan, it is supporting anti-Pakistani elements and perception because India's Afghan policy is shaped in the light of its conflict with Pakistan⁸⁷. The differences between Afghanistan and Pakistan over Durand line, the factor of 'Ethnicity' in Pakistan, the disputed northern territory of Kashmir between India-Pakistan ever since the partition of the sub-continent consist of the interests and activities of India in Afghanistan. Because India denies Pakistan "strategic depth" in Afghanistan and try to marginalize Pakistan's influence in the region and in the global politics at large. Also, India seeks for getting close relations with Central Asian Republics⁸⁸ that have oil economy for the region and the world at large in the future. India seeks deeper economic relations with Central Asia, and fight against Islamist radicalism, so India supports an independent and stable Afghanistan as a transit country.

India sided with Russians against the American interests in the region during Russian invasion. India seeks to create insurgency and conflict like situation in Balochistan. During the Taliban regime, India had close relations with their rival Northern Alliance and in the post-Taliban period. India is working actively involved in the reconstruction projects of Afghanistan by becoming a major investor in and donor to Afghanistan along with the Asian Development Bank in northern Afghanistan⁸⁹.

The fundamentalist Islamic organizations in Pakistan related with Al Qaeda's aims to end Indian control of Jammu and Kashmir areas. India is accused by Pakistan of using its nine consulates in Afghanistan to spread Indian influence. On the other hand, India follows a balance policy with USA against China that desire USA to withdraw from the region completely. China's expansion on the Central Asia energy-economy is a move to prevent Russian cartel in the region. India has many

⁸⁷ Kautilya, 1992.

⁸⁸ CARs

⁸⁹ Iqbal, 2009, April 6

consulates in Afghanistan⁹⁰ so that talking about Pak-US-Afghan relations, Indians can not be ignored.

India provided a large amount of investment and develop trade relations. For instance, \$750 million in aid between 2001 and 2007⁹¹, by receiving more than 23 per cent of Afghanistan's total 2010 exports⁹². Through a series of bilateral agreements, including a memorandum of cooperation between the India Export-Import Bank and the Afghanistan Investment Support Agency, Indians expands their influence over Afghanistan export sector⁹³ and so the competition between India's main intelligence agency, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), and Pakistan's ISI, which is deeply suspicious of the activities of Indian consulates in provinces that border on Pakistan, such as Nangarhar and Kandahar.

As a result, Pakistan's Afghan ally, the Haqqani network, has targeted Indian missions by attacks on the embassy in Kabul in July 2008 and October 2009⁹⁴. India and Afghanistan signed a strategic partnership agreement in November 2011 which includes training for the Afghan National Army and support for the Afghan air force. Thus India wants to protect its interests and to counter Pakistan's influence, in a post-transition Afghanistan⁹⁵.

India is interested in the U.S.-led plans on Talks with the Taliban but from New Delhi believes that "this is not an overriding objective that needs to be achieved at all costs"⁹⁶. Pakistan-backed power-sharing agreement with the Taliban would damage

⁹⁰ Scapel, 2005: 87

⁹¹ "SAIL-led consortium sees \$11 bn investment in Afghanistan", *Reuters*, 30 November 2011.

⁹² Afghanistan Trade Exports and Imports, *Economy Watch*, 9 December 2010

⁹³ "Exim Bank: A Catalyst for India's International Trade", *India EximBank*, (undated).

⁹⁴ Mark Mazetti, Eric Schmidt, "Pakistan is aided attack in Kabul, U.S. officials say", *The New York Times*, 1 August 2008.

⁹⁵ Sanjeev Miglani, "With an eye on 2014, India steps up Afghan role", *Reuters*, 9 November 2011.

⁹⁶ "India warns of Afghan 'terrorism' victory", *Agence France-Presse*, 24 January 2012.

India's traditional allies and its national security. India does not want Afghanistan to become a safe haven for terrorists.

In addition to that, India offered itself as a potential bridge to Iran about the U.S. presence and a post-transition political settlement in Afghanistan. On the one hand, India is seeking to obtain concessions on U.S. sanctions to obtain Iranian oil.⁹⁷ India also encourages Iran to accept a non-interference agreement in combination with other third-party approaches in stabilising Afghanistan.

The relationship between Iran and Afghanistan goes beyond the 30 years of civil war that caused the flow of almost four million Afghan refugees, affected the security of the country's Shia minority and interventionist opportunities for its regional rival, Saudi Arabia.

In the 1980s, Iran sought its own political ties to Shia Hazara population in Afghanistan as the pro-Pashtun political order supported by Pakistan. After Taliban's fall, Iran concerned about a possible Taliban resurgence as threat the U.S. military presence in Afghanistan. The Taliban's Saudi backing and pro-Wahhabi, Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, strongly supported the Northern Alliance's Hazara and Tajik-dominated mujahidin factions.⁹⁸ In 1997, the Taliban closed the Iranian embassy in Kabul, possibly with implicit U.S. support, though Washington still refused to officially recognise the Taliban government. Tensions reached their peak when the Taliban kidnapped and killed eight Iranian diplomats in 1998 in retaliation for Iranian support of the Northern Alliance in the protracted battle for control of the northern city of Mazar-e Sharif. The incident, which brought Iran to the brink of war with the Taliban, remains a sore point for Iranian leaders and has been raised in connection with more recent attempts to take certain Taliban members off the UN sanctions list.

⁹⁷ Crisis Group interview, New Delhi, 11 July 2011.

⁹⁸ Janne Bjerre Christensen, "Strained Alliances: Iran's Trouble Relations to Afghanistan and Pakistan", Danish Institute for International Studies, 2011, p. 9.

Iran assumes key national interests as exerting its traditional influence over western Afghanistan with the mainly Persian-speaking Tajiks and other non-Pashtuns comes from the Persian empire. Iran perceived Taliban as a threat to its interests in Afghanistan, especially after Taliban forces captured Herat (the western province that borders Iran) in September 1995. Iran subsequently drew even closer to the Northern Alliance providing its groups with fuel, funds.⁹⁹ After the fall of the Taliban in late 2001, President Bush warned Iran against meddling in Afghanistan. Since then, the Bush Administration criticism of Iranian “meddling” has lessened as the pro-Iranian Northern Alliance has been marginalized in the government. Iran offered search and rescue assistance in Afghanistan during the U.S.-led war to topple the Taliban, and it also allowed U.S. humanitarian aid to the Afghan people to transit Iran.

Iran spends hundreds of millions of dollars on Afghanistan’s reconstruction. Iran creates regional trade networks and connecting Central Asia and Iran’s Eastern provinces. Particularly during the Bonn conference, but also with regard to the anti-drug activities and refugees and a carefully negotiated place for the Taliban in postwar Afghanistan. For Iran, the difficulties presented by ongoing bilateral tensions and conflict with the United States complicate the possibility for cooperation in Afghanistan and color assessments of their national security priorities there. Iran develops relations with not only Shia Hazaras but also the Sunni groups, especially Rabbani, collaborating with names like Ismail Khan. Iran has close relations with Karzai too. Iran is accused of helping the Taliban.

Tehran offered to cooperate with Washington in its effort to topple the Taliban in 2001. The Iranian Revolutionary Guard provided the CIA with critical intelligence and, along with Russian and Indian intelligence services, gave the Northern Alliance critical support during the early days of the U.S.-led military intervention.¹⁰⁰ Iranian

⁹⁹ Steele, Jonathon, “America Includes Iran in Talks on Ending War in Afghanistan.” *Washington Times*, December 15, 1997.

¹⁰⁰ Barnett R. Rubin with Sara Batmanglich, “*The U.S. in Iran and Afghanistan: Policy Gone Awry*”, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, October 2008.

military officials supported Northern Alliance efforts to capture Taliban and al-Qaeda members.¹⁰¹

When the U.S. and Afghans signed the Declaration of Strategic Partnership in 2005, Tehran's Afghanistan policies tended to be more anti-American¹⁰². However, Iranian and U.S. relations became worse due to the nuclear issue and economic sanctions on Iran have affected regional cooperation in a negative way¹⁰³. By cultivating Afghanistan governance, Tehran thought that they could achieve a national security priority in regional terms and the shortest route for promoting a rapprochement with Washington¹⁰⁴. To do so, Iran joined the Bonn conference in 2001 and expanded its dialogue with the State Department. By using an effective influence over the Northern Alliance to shape the interim government, Iran pushed Mohammad Younus Qanooni, the Northern Alliance members came to sixteen of 26 cabinet positions in the new Afghan government¹⁰⁵.

Iran used soft power to expand its influence, leveraging trade and cultural ties with Afghanistan to counter the influence of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan investing heavily in programs targeting the largely Shia Hazaras. The Imam Khomeini Relief Committee, its largest charity, has spent \$32 million to assist thousands of Afghan families and students.¹⁰⁶ Educational exchange with around 300,000 Afghan students

¹⁰¹ James Dobbins, *"Negotiating with Iran: Reflections from Personal Experience"*, The Washington Quarterly, January 2010, p. 156.

¹⁰² Kristian Berg Harpviken, *"Afghanistan in a Neighborhood Perspective"*, Peace Research Institute Oslo, 2010, pp. 17-18.

¹⁰³ For background on U.S. policies on Iran and sanctions, see Crisis Group Middle East and Europe Report N°116, *In Heavy Waters: Iran's Nuclear Program, the Risk of War and Lessons from Turkey*, 23 February 2012; and Kenneth Katzman, "Iran Sanctions", CRS, 12 September 2011.

¹⁰⁴ Mohsen M. Milani, *"Iran's Policy Towards Afghanistan"*, *The Middle East Journal*, vol. 60, no. 2, spring 2006, pp. 246-249.

¹⁰⁵ Dobbins, op. cit., pp. 154-156.

¹⁰⁶ Feda Hossain Maleki, *"Imam Khomeini Relief Committee covered 12 thousand students"*, Afghan Voice News Agency, 22 April 2011.

study at Iran's secondary and elementary schools and 7,000 Afghans enrolled in its universities.¹⁰⁷

Iran's investment in the U.S.-led effort to stabilise Afghanistan was deteriorated under the Bush administration when CIA officials had in 2002 offered to help insurgent Iranian groups topple the government due to announcing Iran as a pillar in the "axis of evil". Until recently, the Obama administration continued to seek Iranian cooperation on regional efforts to stabilise Afghanistan but, as the bilateral relationship has deteriorated, there are concerns for such a role.

Iran has regional rivalries, particularly with Pakistan as cost-prohibitive from a national security point of view¹⁰⁸. To balance between the need for financial and military support from Iran's regional and global rivals, Iran may share power arrangement with the Taliban and more suspicious of a Taliban-dominated government against Sunni fundamentalism¹⁰⁹. With regard to a post-2014 Afghanistan, Iran is increasing its low-level support for the Taliban, supporting for training camps at the borders and serving as a way-station for a select group of Taliban leaders.¹¹⁰

Central Asian neighbours share similar anxieties about the insurgency's advance toward its northern borders. Former Soviet states, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan share some historical, cultural and economic links. The Caucasus and Central Asia support coalition operations¹¹¹. U.S. and NATO troops have increased

¹⁰⁷ "Iran's investment in Afghan projects surged to \$600 million", Moj News Agency, 31 November 2011.

¹⁰⁸ Christensen, op. cit., pp. 9-13.

¹⁰⁹ Crisis Group interview, New York, 25 May 2011.

¹¹⁰ "Fact Sheet: U.S. Treasury Department Targets Iran's Support for Terrorism: Treasury Announces New Sanctions Against Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps-Qods Force Leadership", p. 1, 8 March 2010.

¹¹¹ "Central Asia and the Transition in Afghanistan", U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 19 December 2011.

to about 75 per cent of the total.¹¹² In northern Afghanistan is also rich in minerals and oil and gas reserves. U.S. has thus sought to maintain regional engagement on Afghanistan among Central Asian states with its New Silk Road initiative. The growth of drug and mineral trafficking routes in the north and north east, increased the competition between armed actors along Afghanistan's northern border. The militant insurgents operations in northern provinces have correspondingly increased since 2009.¹¹³

Central Asian countries are concerned about security conditions in the south and increased militant activity along the border, but they are not well equipped to confront the threat. For instance, Uzbekistan tries to maintain control over its borders. The security is in danger in many areas along the Afghanistan-Tajikistan border because of the drug flow from Afghanistan to Russia is through Tajikistan at nearly 30 per cent.¹¹⁴ Also, the corruption and poor governance in Afghanistan affects the trade relations of the countries in which it is very difficult to implement effective counter-terrorism measures. As it is seen, Central Asian states which they has poorly-policed borders, could have been affected by a breakdown in security in Afghanistan. So, they who have serious concern to the north and east of the Central Asian corridor, pay attention to the increasing radical Islamic movements, growing narcotics trafficking emanating from Afghanistan. For them, the competition over the energy resources through the pipeline from Afghanistan to the Indian Ocean transportation, is seen as a chance for a communication path with the world. Therefore, Central Asian Republics follow the policy of creating a stable Afghanistan.¹¹⁵

Uzbekistan Afghanistan's Northern provinces have ethnic ties like seven percent of all Afghans are ethnic Uzbeks. Al Qaeda was asserted as the responsible from the

¹¹² According to official U.S. government estimates, about 40 percent of NATO supplies go by land across the NDN, 31 percent by air, primarily through the Manas air base in Uzbekistan, and 29 percent through Pakistan.

¹¹³ Crisis Group Asia Report N°205, *Tajikistan: The Changing Insurgent Threats*, 24 May 2011.

¹¹⁴ "Central Asia and the Transition in Afghanistan", op. cit., p. 4

¹¹⁵ Raşid, Ahmed, a.g.e., s. 255.

February 1999 bombings in Tashkent.¹¹⁶ Uzbekistan supported Uzbek leader Abdul Rashid Dostam. It helped as an influential partner for the stabilization of Afghanistan, and hosts an air base of the German Bundeswehr in Termez and worked diplomatically for a regional approach, recalling the close six-party cooperation in the early phase of the recent Afghan war. Uzbekistan and Russia have signed a military alliance pact in 2005, fostering Moscow's influence in Uzbekistan. In fact, the US increased its powers in Afghanistan as the global super-power and deployed in military quarters of neighboring states such as the Hanabad Base in Uzbekistan and Manas Base in Kyrgyzstan¹¹⁷ and the so-called Northern Distribution line with these countries in the context of America's NATO military exercises and the bilateral agreements.

Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan do not directly border Afghanistan, they supported the Northern Alliance against the Taliban. Tajikistan was struggled with a civil war in the early 1990s with support from Afghanistan for Islamic militants. In 1996, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization including China, Russia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan was established to discuss the Taliban threat. Russian and Chinese efforts to limit U.S. influence in the region, the group reiterated by a top official of the group in October 2005. Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan hold to their pledges of facility support to OEF. Tajikistan allows access primarily to French combat aircraft, and Kazakhstan allows use of facilities in case of emergency. Afghanistan and Tajikistan agreed that some Russian officers would train some Afghan military officers in Tajikistan in July 2003. Russia has troops in Tajikistan and was in charge of border controls until 2005. The country serves as a transit route for Afghanistan's heroin going to Russia and Europe and has the largest share of seized drugs in Central Asia. Also, Tajikistan has taken in numerous Afghan refugees in the past.

¹¹⁶ The IMU was named a foreign terrorist organization by the State Department in September 2000.

¹¹⁷ Lionel Beehner, "ASIA: U.S. Military Bases in Central Asia", Background, The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), July 26, 2005. [<http://www.cfr.org/publication/8440/>]. Accessed on June 18, 2009.

Only Turkmenistan developed close relations with the Taliban leadership when it was in power as a more effective means of preventing spillover of radical Islamic activity from Afghanistan. Turkmenistan saw Taliban control as possible route for exporting energy reserves and as facilitating construction of a natural gas pipeline from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan. The 11 September attacks increased Turkmenistan's fears of the Taliban and its Al Qaeda guests and the country publicly supported the U.S.-led war. No U.S. forces have been based in Turkmenistan which is rich in oil and gas. In March 2012, after twenty years of negotiation, the state company Turkmen gas signed deals for gas transfers with its counterparts in India and Pakistan, through a pipeline yet to be built, running partly through Afghanistan (TAPI Pipeline). Turkmenistan has followed a position of neutrality. However, after following the death of President Saparmyrat Niyazov in 2006, the new government renewed contacts to NATO by allowing the use of military bases. About one million Turkmen live on the Afghan side. Turkmenistan has the largest share of drug trade going to the North.

Russia is influenced from the immense flow of the insurgency in its traditional sphere of the south, while opposing a U.S.-led negotiation process. Although its diplomacy is lower profile than that of Iran and Pakistan, Russia invested substantially in political and economic engagement with Kabul. Russia has placed more emphasis on soft power, underwriting major infrastructure projects in the north such as a \$1 billion refurbishment of the Salang tunnel.¹¹⁸ India and Iran, Moscow has expressed support for negotiations with the insurgency but remained sceptical about current government lacks the capacity to broker a lasting deal. The political space to challenge proffers of reconciliation from key Afghan actors, such as Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, whom the Kremlin still views with great suspicion.¹¹⁹ Under Vladimir Putin, Moscow has adopted a policy of tactical resistance on the Security

¹¹⁸ Crisis Group interview, senior Russian official, Kabul, November 2010.

¹¹⁹ Talatbek Masadykov, Antonio Giustozzi, James Michael Page, *Negotiating with the Taliban: Toward a Solution for the Afghan Conflict*, Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics, January 2010, p. 11.

Council over delisting Taliban members.¹²⁰ There are general concerns over the potential for delisted insurgents to return to the fight, Russians express fear lifting sanctions against individuals could be benefit from the transnational terrorism to use financial resources again.

As a former occupier of Afghanistan, Russia is trying to build up its influence in Central Asia. During the 1990s, Russia supported the Northern Alliance against the Taliban with some military equipment and technical assistance in order to blunt Islamic militancy emanating from Afghanistan.¹²¹ Russian fears of Islamic activism emanating from Afghanistan. The Taliban government was the only one in the world to recognize Chechnya's independence, and some Chechen fighters fighting alongside Taliban/Al Qaeda forces have been captured or killed. Many Russians have seen the build-up of Western military deployment in Central Asia as an attempt to create a bridgehead in the energy-rich region, limiting Russia's space of influence at the same time. The U.S. presence in the region is not welcomed by Russia too due to the duplication of power lines and trade routes in promoting. Russia is questioning how transition will be possible with the permanent bases and argues that they would violate international rules. Although there was cooperation between the US and Russia against terror in the region, it was merely a short honeymoon¹²². US looks Afghanistan as a gateway for Central Asia. Central Asia's Russian-built railway has become an unlikely focus of new US military strategy for Afghanistan.¹²³

China's Afghanistan policies have been influenced by both strong relations with Islamabad and its position vis-à-vis the Russia, Iran and India. China concerned about the potential for Al Qaeda to promote Islamic fundamentalism among Muslims (Uighurs) in northwestern China. Chinese, Kyrgyz and Tajik security forces held

¹²⁰ Crisis Group interview, New York, 25 May 2011.

¹²¹ Risen, James. "Russians Are Back in Afghanistan, Aiding Rebels." *New York Times*, July 27, 1998.

¹²² Kuniharu Kakihara, "The Post-9/11 Paradigm Shift and Its Effects on East Asia", IIPS Policy Paper 292E, The Institute for International Policy Studies, pp. 1–15, p. 9–10, January 2003. <http://www.iips.org/bp292e.pdf>. Accessed on June 18, 2009.

¹²³ Coleman, 2009, March 2

joint counter-terrorism exercises in Xinjiang In May 2011.¹²⁴ China is unwilling to support the U.S. military intervention against the Taliban because China does not want the U.S too much near while US wants to limit China's potential power in the region.

China's economic interests are based on the energy resources and to have better access to Central Asian fossil deposits and other resources, increasingly exporting goods to Afghanistan and its support for the Afghan reconstruction. Beijing also has an interest to secure the position of Pakistan, its prime ally in South Asia and a transit country for energy and trade. In the meanwhile, USA is the greatest commercial partner of China. US existence and activity in the region even paved the way for a Russian-Chinese solidarity and strategic co-operations. As a result, both states issued a resolution through the Shangai Cooperation Organization (SCO) to make the US withdraw from the region¹²⁵. China is a major organizer of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization "Wakhan corridor". Afghanistan now has observer status in the SCO.

The potential competitors comes together with the SCO, and China gets closer with Russia affects the U.S. in such country like Zbigniew Brzezinski says US will have the opportunity to be close to the axis shifted to Asia.¹²⁶ However, the US's fading influence in the region and the tension between Russia and China in the Pacific Ocean resulted into rivalry¹²⁷ soon where both China and Russia want to establish their own hegemony in the region. Especially in recent years, beginning in US-India strategic rapprochement shows that the U.S. tries to balance China in Asia by creating an alternative. So, the India-Pakistan-Afghanistan tripartite alliance would be the most significant gains for the United States. So, the population of Asia's rising

¹²⁴ Crisis Group Report, *Tajikistan*, op. cit., 24 May 2011, p. 14.

¹²⁵http://www.sectsc.org/news_detail.asp?id=1848&LanguageID=3. Accessed on June 18, 2009.

¹²⁶ Zbigniew Brzezinski, "An Agenda for NATO: Toward a Global Security Web" *Foreign Affairs*, Cilt 88. Sayı 5. 2009. s. 2-20.

¹²⁷ Marcel de Haas, "Russia-China Security Cooperation", 27.09.2006, PINR, Accessed on June 18, 2009. http://www.pinr.com/report.php?ac=view_report&report_id=588&language_id=1

power would be balanced in terms of military and economy. India's favourites in Afghan political scene are Hamid Karzai and Rashid Dostam. Karzai has close relationship with Iran, Russia, and with India.

Saudi Arabia supported the Mujahedeen fighters against the Russian occupation recognized the Taliban government primarily the Hikmatyar and Sayyaf factions which practice Wahhabi brand of Islam like Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia followed to balance Iranian power ebbed as a factor in Saudi policy toward Afghanistan. However, diplomatic relations between the Taliban are cut in late September 2001 and a base for command was used by U.S. air operations over Afghanistan, but U.S. aircraft was not allowed to attack in Afghanistan from Saudi bases. Saudis improved close alliance with Pakistan to hedge against Iranian influence and to be the central power in the Muslim world.

Pakistan and Afghanistan, as neighbouring countries, have historical, cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious proximities goes beyond the partition of the subcontinent. However, their relationship is not so much friendly due to the inner divisions and external influences shaped by mutual suspicion. Pakistan's border with Afghanistan on the western side, Durand Line is the most important source for trouble and instability in the region since 1947.¹²⁸ Seeing itself as a successor of British imperial rule, the Pakistan military is also bent on promoting Islamabad's political and economic predominance over its Afghan neighbour, which is perceived as within its primary sphere of influence. Despite their difference over the control of the Pashtun tribal belt, close economic ties have cemented the interdependency between the two countries.

Pakistan's basic objective was to weaken the Afghan state. After supporting mujahedeen and Taliban groups against the Soviet occupation, Pakistan recognized the Taliban regime in 1990s. Pakistan has serious concerns on India's role in Afghanistan since 1947 when both countries got independence from British rule and

¹²⁸ Syed Abdul Quddus, "Why Pakhtoonistan", Afghanistan and Pakistan: A Geopolitical Study, Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd.,1982, p.136.

were greatly intensified by the Soviet Union's policy of encouraging Daoud government to lay claim to Pakistan's territory. Indian support for communist regime in Kabul in the decade of 1980s was a continuation of the same policy to encircle Pakistan¹²⁹.

Pakistan also became America's non-NATO ally in fighting them in a war against terrorism providing the Pakistani airspace, some ports, and some airfields for OEF against Taliban to US in the post-9/11 situation but US is sometimes accusing Pakistan of providing safe havens to insurgents. Lately, Both sides work together in cooperation rather than continue with confrontation, so Pakistan and Afghanistan cooperated in persuading the insurgents to accept peace through reconciliatory process.

According to Obama, the main target would be to disrupt, dismantle and defeat Al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan and prevent their return¹³⁰ to attack in the international arena, creating a local state administration, national military and police force based on more competent, transparent environment. Obama's foreign policy or "Af-Pak strategy" is seen as an exit strategy on March 27, 2009¹³¹ in "the war of necessity". Pakistan has a crucial role to play in the new American policy and that is stated in the end of the NATO Summit in 2009,

I informed our allies that despite difficult circumstances, we are going to put more money into Pakistan, conditional on action to meet the terrorist threat... We want to bring all of our diplomatic and development skills to bear towards strengthening Pakistan in part because they have to have the capacity to take on Al Qaeda with in their borders.¹³²

Americans want to benefit from Pakistan's geo-strategic position in the region by putting in the centre for monitoring the regional players like China, Russia, and Iran.

¹²⁹ Ezdi, 2009, February 26.

¹³⁰ Lodhi, 2009, April 4 & Noorani, 2009, April 4.

¹³¹ Yusafzai, 2009, April 4.

¹³² The News International, April 5, 2009.

Otherwise, Pakistan will continue to be named as the nuclear-armed nation posed a mortal threat to world security and as a bastion of terrorism, which is expressed by the US and UK frequently.¹³³

Pakistan is and the Pakistani Government is basically abdicating to the Taliban and to the extremists¹³⁴. Strategically, Pakistan is in need of saving its borders both from North and West though not having geographical depth against India. The strategic importance of Pakistan gives the easiest route for NATO and American supplies at Karachi and find way to Afghanistan through Chaman and Landi kotal. Also, the US needs support from Pakistan Army to deny the Afghan Taliban sanctuary on Pakistani territory. In this regard, the US Defence Secretary, Robert Gates¹³⁵ states that the US war is continued towards Al Qaeda and Taliban proved to be a quagmire and now it has shifted to major cities of Pakistan along with its tribal areas from 2 to 3 %¹³⁶.

The US Central Command is expected to say that nuclear armed Pakistan, not Iraq, Afghanistan or Iran, is the most urgent foreign policy challenge facing Obama.¹³⁷ Obama is concerned about extremists and terrorists who have made camps in border regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan¹³⁸. Today Pakistan has been declared as safe heavens¹³⁹ for terrorists and America is stressing repeatedly that if Pakistan is not going to take action against those, then America has the option to do it by itself. It might lead Pakistan towards an enlarged state of war into western border. The situation in FATA is the ultimate repercussion of the security collapse in

¹³³ Cooper, Helene, "Us Military Says Its Force In Afghanistan Is Insufficient", New York Times, 24.08.2009.

¹³⁴ The News International, 2009, April 23.

¹³⁵ Hussain, 2009, April 23.

¹³⁶ Daily Jang, 2009, April 11.

¹³⁷ Ezdi, 2009, February 26.

¹³⁸ The News International, 2009, April 3.

¹³⁹ Lodhi, 2009, April 4.

Afghanistan. What is happening in Boneer, Swat, is threat to the integrity of Pakistan and its survival. Apparently, American president's approach towards Pakistan seems positive whose performance against the terrorists in Afghanistan and the safety of International community.¹⁴⁰

Taliban and affiliated Afghan insurgent groups remain fragile and reversible in 2010. After Osama's death on May 1, 2011, Obama Administration has made greater emphasis on a regional strategy for Afghanistan and announced the Af-Pak strategy with the creation of a new strategic alignment. While the oil company, UNOCAL pipeline has developed a project stretching from Afghanistan into Pakistan, Karzai and the new ambassador of United States established a close relationship with these companies¹⁴¹.

U.S. getting closer relations with India would mean a long-lasting alliance with the Pakistan. Pakistan with disruptions in U.S. relations increased the historical affinity with China. Pakistan would defeat to control Afghanistan against India with the defeat of the Taliban in Afghanistan. Taliban's literally come back to Pakistan renewing destabilization in the country. And Pakistani Asif Ali Zardari manages operations against the Taliban with and seeks to improve relations with India and so to solve the Kashmir issue with India. The United States tries to increase their ties.

The Af-Pak strategy can reduce tension with Pakistan by disarmingb Afghanistan into a stable country, and India can be added to this line. Central Asia output to the warm seas of, excluding Iran, will be almost completely closed. However, at this point, there is no desired establishment of an alliance or mutual trust. Because Pakistan is still thinking of the problem of the Pashtun in Afghanistan, so they pressure Pakistan by the India card.¹⁴² Pakistan's Afghan policy is primarily

¹⁴⁰ Curtis, 2009, March 28

¹⁴¹ Ataöv, op.cit.ss.132-133; Griffin,loc.cit.;William Blum, *Freeing the World to death : Essays on Amerikan Empire*, (Monroe Common Courage Press, 2005),s.115.

¹⁴² Syed Talat Hussain, "Londra Konferansı Afganistan'a Yenilikler Getirmeyecek", Daily Times,28 January 2010.

determined by India's role in Afghanistan.¹⁴³ The competition between Islamabad and New Delhi, which is likely to intensify as the NATO leave the country completely. Pakistan is now closer to a Tajik leader in Afghanistan, Abdullah Abdullah this time. Pakistan is limited holding with the Haqqani group. The Northern Alliance is prepared for the after withdrawal of U.S. in Afghanistan¹⁴⁴ while Pakistan opens the living area to the Taliban in Quetta, against the separatist Baluchis.

Landlocked Afghanistan's economy is deeply dependent on Pakistan for the transit of exports and the import of essential commodities.¹⁴⁵ Pakistan is interested in access to Central Asia's resources through Afghan territory. After the U.S.-led intervention, Pakistan has continued its longstanding policy of supporting Afghan Pashtun Islamist proxies to ensure that Kabul is controlled by a friendly regime regardless of whether or not the international community likes Pakistan's centrality when it comes to solving the Afghan conflict¹⁴⁶.

The insurgency, with the Quetta Shura, the Haqqani network and the armed wing of Hizb-e Islami recruiting used Pakistani safe havens and they got fundraising and planning and conducting crossborder operations against the Afghan government and its NATO allies.¹⁴⁷ Pakistan aims to be close to its Afghan allies that would enable Pakistan to play a central role in shaping the post-transition political order. Since Pakistan's support for the Pashtun insurgents has strained relations with the Karzai

¹⁴³ Crisis Group interview, Islamabad, 12 December 2011 A former ISI chief, Asad Durrani, 3 November 2011.

¹⁴⁴ Jones, s. 55.

¹⁴⁵ *"Trade and Regional Cooperation Between Afghanistan and Its Neighbours"*, World Bank, report no. 26769, 18 February 2004, p. 12.

¹⁴⁶ Crisis Group interview, Lt. General (retired) Kamal Matinuddin, Talat Masood; Islamabad, 1 December 2011.

¹⁴⁷ Katzman, *"Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security and U.S. Policy"*, CRS, 21 December 2011, p. 16.

administration and with the U.S.-led coalition in Afghanistan and then providing safe haven and support to the insurgents went unchallenged at first.

Through the AF-PAK in order to underline the fact that Afghanistan and Pakistan are part of the same problem, NATO and the United States are engaging Pakistan in the pacification of the Taliban and insurgents and the failure in Afghanistan would mean losing Pakistan and a strategic failure because of Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Therefore, that success in Afghanistan is determined in the southern Pashtun belt on the border with Pakistan and that NATO forces desperately need the cooperation of Pakistan's army to fight the Taliban and al-Qaeda effectively. So, Turkey's contribution to the war effort is analyzed by criteria other than a mere contribution of troops.

Having historical ties to both the Mujaheddin groups and to the Taliban, and with a border the tribal regions of Waziristan and the fear generated by its own terrorist problems, Pakistan's support has been needed for cooperating with NATO for the stabilization of Afghanistan. US exit strategy both Afghan and Pakistani governments are holding peace negotiations with the Taliban but other regional actors, however, are not part of the extended coalition.

The US and Afghan governments have decided to open the Taliban representation in Doha, Qatar¹⁴⁸ and Taliban opened a political office in Doha in January 2012.¹⁴⁹ Even though it is not an internationally recognised representation of the Afghan Taliban, Doha has unofficially been the stage for attempts at confidence building between the US and the Taliban representatives on reconciliation where

¹⁴⁸Thomas Ruttig, "Qatar, Islamabad, Chantilly, Ashgabad: Taleban Talks Season Again?", Afghanistan Analysts Network blog post, 31 December 2012, <http://afghanistan.com/index.asp?id=3169> (retrieved 22 January 2013).

¹⁴⁹ Chris Zambelis, "Negotiating an Endgame in Afghanistan: Qatar Hosts the Taliban", Terrorism Monitor, 2012.

representatives of the Mullah Omar-led Quetta Shura have shown willingness/openness to negotiation.¹⁵⁰

With former ISI chief General Shuja Pasha holding secret talks with American counterparts in Qatar, the military is assisting the U.S. in talks with the Taliban by allowing delegates to travel there¹⁵¹ like several senior representatives, former Taliban ambassador to Saudi Arabia, and Sher Mohammad Abbas Stanekzai, Taliban deputy foreign minister have gone to Qatar to open a Quetta Shura office.¹⁵² Pakistani institutions support for the dialogue between Kabul and Islamabad with the Afghan insurgency. Mullah Omar's Shura agrees in the near future on a negotiated peace, other insurgent factions, particularly the Haqqani network, are more than capable of derailing the Afghan peace.¹⁵³

US strategy was to provide financial assistance for the lower-ranking Taliban loyalists and fighters to disarm¹⁵⁴ but then, they tried to reintegrate Taliban as a side of peace initiative. Thus, the US focused from reintegration of foot soldiers to reconciliation with the Taliban leadership 2010–11¹⁵⁵ Reintegration designates an

¹⁵⁰ Michael Semple et al. "Taliban Perspectives on Reconciliation", Royal United Services Institute Briefing Paper, September 2012, http://www.rusi.org/downloads/assets/Taliban_Perspectives_on_Reconciliation.pdf, retrieved 22 January 2013.

¹⁵¹ "Taliban negotiations: PM to discuss Afghan peace in Qatar", *The Express Tribune*, 5 February 2012. Alissa J. Rubin, "Former Taliban officials say U.S. talks started", *The New York Times*, 28 January 2012.

¹⁵² Rob Taylor and Hamid Sahlizi, "Taliban willing to compromise, Afghan negotiators say", *Reuters*, January 2012.

¹⁵³ Ahmed Rashid, "The U.S.-Pakistan relationship in the year ahead", *CTC Sentinel*, vol. 5, no. 1, January 2012. See also Karen DeYoung, "Obama administration's Afghanistan endgame gets off to bumpy start", *The Washington Post*, 6 February 2012.

¹⁵⁴ C. Christine Fair, "Obama's New 'Af-Pak' Strategy: Can 'Clear, Hold, Build, Transfer' Work?", *The Afghanistan Papers* no. 6, The Centre for International Governance Innovation, 2010, http://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/Afghanistan_Paper_6.pdf, retrieved 22 January 2013.

¹⁵⁵ "President Obama Goes All In on The Taliban", *US News*, 2 May 2012, <http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2012/05/02/president-obama-goes-all-in-on-the-taliban>, retrieved 22 January 2013.

attempt to make the Taliban foot soldiers lay down arms by giving them financial incentives to do so. Negotiation means compromise from both sides and, until now, there have been no real negotiations between the US and the Taliban, only attempts at confidence-building measures.

The reconciliation refers to the national reconciliation process within Afghanistan. There is the understanding of national reconciliation to include a broader array of social and political actors in Afghanistan than just the government of Afghanistan on one side and the Taliban on the other. Nevertheless, the term typically refers to the contacts between the Karzai-led government and the Taliban. Reconciliation sometimes also refers to a peace process that involves the Taliban on one side and the US. For the US, a political agreement with the Taliban is part of an exit strategy that would allow the pullout of the military forces in 2014 by providing a settlement.

Peace deals is mostly applied in the Pakistani context, the Pakistani government on one side and the Pakistani Taliban. The negotiation and agreement between the Taliban and the government are focused on the short-term ceasefires.¹⁵⁶

Although the Afghan Taliban and the Pakistani Taliban are two different movements that share religio-political interpretations of divine law, the latter rather a conglomeration of movements. There are some challenges for Pakistan in balancing the new threat from the Pakistani Taliban and its old friendship with the Afghan Taliban. The instability in Pakistan may have an impact on the stability of Afghanistan in the future. Pakistan's biggest challenge has been a threat from the Pakistani Taliban, for the Afghan government avoiding a new civil war when the foreign forces pull out in 2014 so U.S. looks for leaving Afghanistan with a relatively successful narrative.

¹⁵⁶ "Afghanistan's Taliban suspend peace talks with US" *BBC News*, March 15, 2012. Accessed March 15, 2012. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-17379163>. CIA World Factbook. Accessed March 4, 2012.

In the peace process in Afghanistan, Pakistan started talks towards peace with the Pakistani Taliban in 2004. Afghanistan started with reintegration initiatives towards Taliban fighters on the ground in 2005. The US showed willingness to talk with Taliban leadership in March 2009, a few months after Barack Obama came to power as US president.¹⁵⁷

In this process, Taliban are trying to separate the issue of negotiations into two different level like relations with the US, and relations to the present Afghan government and other political groups in Afghanistan. However, The Taliban suspended the talks and Doha process was suspended because US put a condition on the trust building measures around the question of prisoner exchange and wanted the participation of the Karzai government. Taliban mostly are unwilling to manage a dialogue with the Karzai-led government and other parties in Afghanistan¹⁵⁸.

The US claims that Pakistan's half-hearted facilitation of US interests, of playing a 'double game' in its counter terrorism initiatives while Pakistan accuses the US of violating Pakistan's sovereignty among others through the continued drone attacks in the Tribal Areas (FATA). Also, the lack of transparency about Pakistan's relationship with the Haqqani Network (based in North Waziristan) attacking US soldiers in Afghanistan, and with the Mullah Omar-led Quetta Shura has been the main reasons for these accusations.

General Pervez Musharraf was replaced with a democratically elected civilian government in 2008 but the discussions continued. The Bonn conference that was supposed to facilitate a common standpoint between the US, Afghanistan and Pakistan in December 2011 was boycotted by Pakistan because of the "Salala

¹⁵⁷ Helene Cooper and Sheryl Gay Stolberg, "Obama Ponders Outreach to Elements of Taliban", *New York Times*, 7 March 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/08/us/politics/08obama.html?pagewanted=all>, retrieved 22 January 2013.

¹⁵⁸ "Peace deal hopes after talks with the Taliban", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 November 2012, <http://www.smh.com.au/world/peace-deal-hopes-after-talks-with-the-taliban-20120910-25of6.html>. retrieved 22 January 2013.

incident”, where US-led NATO airstrikes killed 24 Pakistani soldiers at two military checkpoints on the Pakistani side of the Afghanistan–Pakistan border.

The direct dialog between the US and the Taliban is known by the public that began in November 2010 when US officials met Tayyab Agha, a representative of Mullah Omar in Munich. The then secretive talks were brokered by German officials and the Qatari royal family. Subsequently, in 2011 two rounds of preliminary meetings were held in Doha and in Germany before the Taliban’s political office was unofficially established in Doha in January 2012¹⁵⁹.

The talks were about prisoner exchange like the five Guantanamo detainees in exchange for one American soldier¹⁶⁰. Even though the U.S. is reportedly keen on re-opening the negotiations with the Doha office of the Taliban, they continue to offer 10 million dollars as reward for information leading to the capture or killing of Mullah Omar.¹⁶¹

Pakistan is envisioned as a facilitator of direct contact between the High Peace Commission/Afghan Government and the Taliban leaders according to the the Afghan government’s strategies towards Peace Process Roadmap to 2015. Additionally, the negotiations between the central government and the Taliban is supported by the international community in the coming period of Afghanistan directly or indirectly.

¹⁵⁹ Omar Samad, “Afghanistan’s Track II rally”, *Foreign Policy*, 28 June 2012, http://afpak.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/06/28/afghanistans_track_ii_rally. retrieved 22 January 2013.

¹⁶⁰ ‘US–Taliban talks collapsed over Guantánamo deal’, says official”, *The Guardian*, 8 October 2012, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/oct/08/us-taliban-talks-guantanamo>, retrieved 22 January 2013.

¹⁶¹ About the Taliban divisions on the issue of talks see “How Afghan Peace Talks Are Splintering the Taliban”, *The Daily Beast*, 13 February 2012.

CHAPTER 3

TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS AFGHANISTAN

3.1. Turkey-Afghanistan Relations in the pre-September Era

The official foundations of the relations between the two states started with signing of the Turkey-Afghanistan Treaty in Moscow in 1921. The most important aspect of this treaty is Afghanistan's being the first state to recognize Turkey and its national struggle in the international arena and also for it's being the first international treaty of the Ankara government. According to this treaty, Turkey was recognizing the independency of Afghanistan. If one side would be under attack, other side would also consider itself was treated in the same negative way. Turkey would support the modernization of administrative field of Afghanistan by providing military, training. Hundreds of young Afghans were especially sent to Europe and Turkey for education at that time.

After that, the relations between the two states gained a strategic depth with the Turkish-Afghani Treaty of Eternal Amity, which was signed in Ankara on May 25, 1928. That required that Afghanistan to recognize Turkey as the leader of the Islamic world. Turkey supported the young Afghan state, by sending advisors and assisting the formation of state institutions. And relationships have been so friendly, they decided to change from consultates to embassy. When there is no diplomatic mission of Afghanistan in the world, Turkish embassies were supporting the interests of Afghanistan. When Amanullah Khan returned back, faced with various internal confusion and was forced to leave the country.¹⁶²

On July 8, 1937, the Saadabad Pact was signed among Afghanistan, Iraq, Turkey, and then joined Iraq. So, The idea father of Sadabat Pact is Atatürk. Saadabad Pact was also known as the "Pact of The Eastern Alliance", "The Four Eastern Policy",

¹⁶² <http://www.goftaman.com/daten/en/articles/article47.html>

"Eastern Pact" and "Near Eastern Pact", "pre-Asian bloc", "Asian Pact". It were held in Tehran and summer palace of Shah and took the name from this. The official name is "The Treaty of decentralization Rape among Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran". This Pact provided that Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan act together and to support one another in the critical period of pre-World War II.

Saadabad is the first multilateral agreement for the solidarity in the Middle East. The contracting States accepted that non-interference in each other's internal affairs; respect each other's boundaries; Not attacking each other and other states; not to take provocative actions against each other and not to provide confidential support and facilitates organizations and facilities.¹⁶³ Thus, these four countries in the region, acted together and support each other in difficult times before World War II. Soviets perceived Saadabat Pact as a threat to itself. So, Turkish Foreign Minister Rust Aras went to Soviet Union to explain this pact is not a front against the Soviets in Moscow but pact of friendship and cooperation between the Islamic nation. However, in a subsequent period, close political choice and the communist revolution in the country, interrupted Afghanistan's relations with Turkey. However, in a subsequent period, close political choice and the communist revolution in the country, interrupted Afghanistan's relations with Turkey.

In this period, Turkey's support for the Afghan government is extremely important in terms of preventing a foreign (especially the Soviet Union) intervention of Afghanistan. However, after World War II, the Soviet threat increased even more. In contrast, the U.S. emerged as a deterrent force against the possibility of Soviet Union spreading, and provided Afghanistan giving the support of credit, technical support and staff to meet the country needs. But, due to the developments in the region, United States's support would not support the country any more in hingh level and Afghanistan would enter the influence of the Soviet slowly. Saadabad Pact continued to until the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979, and then the agreement has terminated.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ http://www.unodc.org/documents/frontpage/Use_of_Internet_for_Terrorist_Purposes.pdf

¹⁶⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_relations_of_Afghanistan

Turkey continued to help friendly Afghanistan in the next few years. Turkey also worked for Afghanistan's membership to League of Nations to provide Afghanistan's part of international arena not to stay alone.¹⁶⁵ In the 1930s, the Turkish ambassador Mahmoud Sevket Esendal successfully implemented the directives of Atatürk, and Turkish government has increased its influence in Afghanistan. Also thanks to sympathetic personality, became the Afghan government's chief adviser to the king. Turkish experts in Afghanistan exhibited a remarkable effort.¹⁶⁶ Turkey helped Afghanistan to join Baghdad Pact, CENTO in short name. However, international conditions, the Afghan leaders of that day, and their policy led the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan step by step.

After Atatürk period and the World War II, the relations are shaped by Turkish-Soviet-US relations. Turkey had struggle with the threat of the Soviet Union in the North East of Turkey's territory. So, Turkey entered NATO to guarantee its own security. Turkey's this policy pushed Afghanistan distress and re-bitten loneliness inside as well as outside. Under the influence of Russia, Afghanistan established a close relationship with India, which is a rival for Pakistan. Then Afghanistan did not get modern weapons by ignoring American's demand, and Afghanistan was under the air force attack by Pakistan led it closer to the Soviets. Also the exclusion of Afghanistan by US during the largest military aid to Iran and Pakistan in 1953, is another factor that precipitated rapprochement between Afghanistan and Soviets. Faced with this situation, Turkey stayed silent.

In 1950s Turkey's assistance for Afghanistan continued. However Afghanistan turned a deaf ear to Turkey's warnings about the upcoming Soviet invasion. In 1978-1979, Afghanistan had to deal with hardest times before the Soviet occupation. Because nearly 17.000 intelligential and academic people were killed and still Afghanistan's one of the most critical problems is the low level of education in the society. Russian's invasion came over these events. That affected negatively

¹⁶⁵ Mehmet Saray, *Afganistan ve Türkler*, ASAM Yayınları, 3ncü Baskı, Ankara,2002.s. 202-204.

¹⁶⁶ Saray, a.g.e s. 210.

situation in the country because others who remain in the country could not manage to rule the country by excluding external powers. Turkey played an active role during the invasion through not closing the health services.¹⁶⁷

Afghan and Turkish people have shared history, language, culture and faith, and lived in the basin of the route of the historical Silk Road, Almost 12 percent of the Afghanistan population, which is 25 million overall, is ethnic Turkic. The civil war situation continued after the withdrawal of the Soviet army¹⁶⁸.

Although many ethnic Uzbek, Turkmen, and other Turkic communities live in Afghanistan, Turkey refrained from taking a clear side in the civil war. Turkey's non-interference policy and the emphasis on national reconciliation created positive image and sympathy among the Afghan groups in the following years. All of the ethnic groups in Afghanistan set up their own organizations and soon crossed the national resistance against the Soviet occupation in the early 1980s. One of them is the "Islamic Union of the Provinces of Northern Afghanistan" has Turkish identity.

Turkey's Afghan policy was shaped based on the support of the Northern Alliance by having a defensive interest in containing an Islamist subversion, and an offensive interest in propagating the Turkish secular social model among the 'brother states' of the Turkic peoples in the Central Asian region. In mid-1980, this organization was established in Peshawar, Afghanistan, based on the treated as second-class citizens to Turks with the lack of benefit from external sources. Afghans were supported against Soviet invasion as part of this responsibility and solidarity. Turkey worked for the national reconciliation when the civil war was erupted after the withdrawal of Soviet forces.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Beg, a.g.e., s. 147-148.

¹⁶⁸ LTC David Fivecoat. "Leaving the Graveyard: The Soviet Union's Withdrawal from Afghanistan". Parameters. Summer, 2012. P. 47.

¹⁶⁹ <http://turkishpolicy.com/dosyalar/files/2012-02balcer.pdf>

The idea of Pan-Turkism spreaded in the northern of Afghanistan among the Turkic ethnic groups like Turkmen, Uzbek and Hazara in this year because these newly established Central Asian Republics took Turkey as an example for starting point. Turkey has been assisting to Turks in northern Afghanistan under the leadership of General Rasid Dostam in order to create an autonomous government¹⁷⁰. For Turks, General Dostum installed the regular army from Turkish mujahideen as soon as possible and sought to preserve the rights of them in Afghanistan.¹⁷¹

However, the civil wars in the country and Taliban's policies decreased the importance of Afghanistan in Turkish Foreign Policy again.¹⁷² In a very short time, Taliban which used the strict islamist rules forced Turkey, India, Russia, Central Asian States to help any assistance Northern Alliance that had the ability to stop the increase of Taliban's rule.¹⁷³ As the only democratic-secular muslim country, Turkey who did not lose its presence and effectiveness in Central Asia was disturbed with some fundamentalist organizations like Hizbu'l Tahrir and the Uzbekistan Islamic Movement in Afghanistan probability in the region.¹⁷⁴ Indeed, Turkey opened immediatley Consulate in Mazar-e Sharif, and Afghanistan-Turkey Friendship School.¹⁷⁵

General Dostam's the asylum request is rejected by Uzbekistan government, the acceptance of the Republic of Turkey, General Dostam and with his 18 members delegation had come to Ankara on 25 May 1997. People Foreign Ministry officials and President Suleyman Demirel welcomed Dostam. Afghanistan and Turkey

¹⁷⁰ Mehmet Seyfettin Erol, Fırsatlar Zorluklar İkileminde Türkiye-Afganistan İlişkilerinde Yeni Bir Donem, Stratejik Analiz, Cilt:2, Sayı:23, Ankara, ASAM Yayınları, Mart 2002, s. 81.

¹⁷¹ Sezerler, 1997

¹⁷²Burget Fazıl Ahmed, Afganistan'da Başlayan Yeni Dönemde Türkiye'nin Yeri, www.avsam.org/tr/a273.html, Erişim, Tarihi: 01 Nisan 2010.

¹⁷³ Murat Büyükbaş, a.g.e, s.70.

¹⁷⁴ Kalfa, a.g.e.,s.139.

¹⁷⁵ Mehmet Seyfettin Erol, Afganistan Ozbekleri, Avrasya Dosyası, Cilt: 7 Sayı: 3, Ankara, ASAM Yayınları, 2001, s. 133.

relations has been temporarily suspended due to Republic of Turkey's officially non-recognition of Taliban. After the National Security Council meeting on 28 February 1997¹⁷⁶ in the the process of entering a fight with reactionary organizations, Turkey's attitude towards the Taliban became more strict. Taliban was recognized as a sole community that did not like the secular Republic of Turkey which made great assistance for the modernization of Afghanistan.¹⁷⁷ However, the asistance was limited with only north of Afghanistan. After 1997 Northern Afghanistan was controlled by Taliban, so this part of the aid for activities in Afghanistan was interrupted.

What is something unchanged in Afghanistan is that outside assistance. Until 1992, there is no compile data regarding the content and the amount of Turkey's foreign aid to Afghanistan. In Official sources¹⁷⁸, Turkey's aid are more based on the humanitarian aid to Afghanistan such as basic needs between 1992-1996. The amount of humanitarian aid to Afghanistan is totally 9 million 580 thousand dollars. And it corresponds to 3.6 percent among the 264,129,000 U.S. dollars of humanitarian aid to 43 countries. Turkey's reach has been possible from Istanbul to Caucasus, Central Asia and the East Turkestan in the region.¹⁷⁹ Between the years 1992-1998, investing \$ 1.5 billion, Turkish companies have enabled Turkish government to be one of the most important investor in the region.¹⁸⁰

Besides, nearly 6 million Turks living in Afghanistan formed a separate group under the name of "Muslims League". Kenan Even invited almost 4000 Afghans of Turkish origin back to Turkey in 1982.¹⁸¹ Uzbek, Turkmen Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Tajik born

¹⁷⁶ "MGK'da Hersey Konusuldu...", Milliyet, 1 Mart 1997.

¹⁷⁷ Saray, a.g.e., s. 2.

¹⁷⁸ DPT,1998:15

¹⁷⁹ Kalfa, a.g.e., s. 138.

¹⁸⁰ Ahmed Rashid, Taliban, Islamiyet, Petrol, ve Orta Asya'da Yeni Buyuk Oyun, Đstanbul, Everest ve Mozaika Yayınları, 2002, s. 249-251.

¹⁸¹http://clandestino.eliamep.gr/wpcontent/uploads/2009/10/clandestino_report_turkey_final_.pdf

4500 Afghan migrants were brought from Pakistan and to Turkey under the leadership of Turkish Abdulkarim Makhdoom. About three thousand Afghan immigrants were placed in Tokat, Yesilyurt, Hatay Ovakent, Ceylanpınar, Istanbul, Kayseri, Gaziantep, Van and Kirsehir¹⁸² escaping from the strict Sharia law of Taleban, the religious extremists.¹⁸³ Most of them were even provided Turkish citizenship in 1980s. Turkey, which began to support the formation and development of Afghanistan's government agencies, has continued this support until today and this situation has become customary¹⁸⁴.

3.2. Turkey-Afghanistan Relations in the post-September Era

In the post September era, Turkey aims to protect of the country's independence and its territorial integrity and the provide security and stability, saving the country from being the source of radical and fundamentalist trends, terrorism and drug smuggling. Turkey believes that the establishment of a strong national army and an effective national police force in Afghanistan is necessary for the country's long-term the safety, and national unity and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. Already providing development assistance to Afghanistan from the beginning of the Republic, Turkey has limited its military contributions for non-combat forces and focused on the training of Afghan security personnel ensuring security in its area of responsibility, providing logistical assistance to other international forces since its involvement in the international operations in Afghanistan from 2001¹⁸⁵. Ankara shared intelligence on the region as part of their broader cooperation with Washington to combat terrorism.

¹⁸²<http://gunturkbetikevi.wordpress.com/2011/05/12/hasir-izi-afganistandan-anadoluya-son-gocun-hikayesi/>

¹⁸³ <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/1999/10/05/g05.html>

¹⁸⁴ Turkey's Political Relations with Afghanistan", Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-political-relations-with-afghanistan.en.mfa, Accessed on February 03, 2009. 76

¹⁸⁵ Armagan Kuloglu, "Afganistan'a Operasyon icin Türk Askeri Gider mi?", <http://www.orsam.org.tr/tr/yazigoster.aspx?ID=45>.last visited 4 February 2010.

3.2.1. Turkey's Contributions in the Security Field

Appreciating the international cooperation under the fifth article of NATO, Turkey condemned the international terrorism and became willing to cooperate with other powers specifically United States for the fight against terrorists in the case of necessity.¹⁸⁶ After the meeting of the Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit¹⁸⁷ was stressing the importance of the strategic partnership between Turkey and the United States¹⁸⁸, and if necessary, Incirlik air base and other facilities in Turkey have served as important transit centers for helping transport NATO troops and other items to Afghanistan.

Turkey showed a positive attitude towards the American requests to send Turkish troops by deciding to dispatch a special operations team of 60 soldiers on October 31¹⁸⁹ for the northern region of Afghanistan under the control of Northern Alliance forces. However, Turkey stated that if a military operation were to happen, instead of providing troops, it would provide military education and intelligence aid to the Northern Alliance forces.¹⁹⁰ Turkey has been clearly emphasized the basic principles of insistence to operate in accordance with Article 5 of NATO, supporting international cooperation, not taking part in armed conflicts, protection of civilians and acting in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions by since the launch of the operation. After a very short period of time the government asked the permission of the Turkish Parliament to send troops abroad. Turkey also expressed

¹⁸⁶“2001 Yılı Eylül Ayı Gelişmeleri”, *Dışişleri Güncesi*. 5 October 2001.

¹⁸⁷ For official statements see “Başbakan Bülent Ecevit’in ABD’de Meydana Gelen Terörist Saldırlara İlişkin Olarak Yaptıkları Açıklama”, *Dışişleri Güncesi*, 12 September 2001; “Dışişleri Bakanı İsmail Cem’in, ABD’ye Yönelik Terörist Saldırıları Hakkında Basın Mensuplarına Yaptığı Açıklama”, *Dışişleri Güncesi*, 13 September 2001.

¹⁸⁸ “Dışişleri Bakanı İsmail Cem’in TV-8 Televizyonuna Verdiği Mülakat”, *Dışişleri Güncesi*, 20 September 2001.

¹⁸⁹ “Ders Vermeye Gidiyorlar”, *Milliyet*, 1 November 2001.

¹⁹⁰ Bulent Aras and Sule Toktas, “Al-Qaida, ‘War on Terror’ and Turkey”, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No.5, 2007, p. 10-40.

its concerns about the protection of civilians during the operation.¹⁹¹As the Parliament of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey allowed to send the Turkish Armed Forces in Afghanistan through the article 92 and UN Security Council Resolution 1386 on 10 October 2001 but they would not take part in combat operations..¹⁹²

Turkey ran the Kabul International Airport and the Multinational Headquarters under the mandate of the ISAF. Turkey has twice led the Kabul Regional Command between June 2002 and February 2003. Turkey has a battalion-sized task force with approximately 1,350 troops during ISAF-II period.

Afghan President Hamid Karzai expressed his inauguration in the speech of Turkey's command of Afghanistan¹⁹³ in Loya Jirga on June 20. The other allies acknowledge that Turkey has unique¹⁹⁴ assets and contributions. Turkey's so far peacekeeping activities in Afghanistan and being the only Muslim country in NATO are determining factors for the decision of giving the Kabul Central Command of ISAF for the second time in November 2009. The local community, and then the Afghanistan administration, NATO and the US wanted Turkey would undertake the command¹⁹⁵. Also, The NATO senior civilian representative in Afghanistan was the former Turkish foreign minister, Hikmet Cetin¹⁹⁶, between January 2004 and August 2006 thanks to historical and cultural ties.

¹⁹¹ "Cumhurbaşkanı Ahmet Necdet Sezer Başkanlığında, ABD'nin Afganistan'a Yönelik Askeri Operasyonu Konusunda Yapılan Değerlendirme Toplantısına İlişkin Açıklama", *Dışişleri Güncesi*, 8 October 2001.

¹⁹² Temizer Aydın, a.g.m.

¹⁹³ Devlet, Nadir, "Türkiye Afganistan'dan çekiliyor", *Jeopolitik*, 2002, s. 41.

¹⁹⁴ Minhar Celik, "Turkey's Role in Afghanistan Unique, NATO Spokesman Says", *Today's Zaman*, 27 January 2010, <http://www.todayszaman.com/news-1999796turkeys-role-in-afghanistan-unique-nato-spokesman-says.html>.

¹⁹⁵ Turkish Contributions to Security and Development in Afghanistan", *The UN*, 22 March 2007, <http://www.un.int/turkey/page167.html>. accessed on June 05, 2009.

¹⁹⁶ Cetin, Hikmet, Former NATO Envoy, "Turkey can do more in Afghanistan", *Today's Zaman*, 11 December 2009, <http://www.todayszaman.com/tzweb/news-195209-100-former-nato-envoy-cetin-turkey-can-do-more-in-afghanistan>

Turkey is the eighth country force that give the most support stuff in ISAF which includes 46 countries, with 1795 personnel. The trained Afghan policemen and soldiers by Turks are about 6,289. Turkey seems successful to ensure the security of Kabul inside other ISAF troops.

Under the the framework of American strategy announced by Obama, to send 30,000 more troops to Afghanistan, NATO demanded 5,000-7,000 more troops from all NATO member countries and Turkey was asked 1,000¹⁹⁷ to take part in armed conflict under. But Turkey repeated again that Turkey was determined not to send combat troops and 1,750 Turkish troops were already deployed in Afghanistan¹⁹⁸.

3.2.2. Turkey's Contributions on Socio- Economic Field

3.2.2.1. Turkish Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan (PRTs)

Turkey's a civilian-based approach to ensure maximum degree of communication with the local communities, Turkey's dialogue with public of Turkish origin in northern Afghanistan like Uzbeks and Turkmen has a huge advantage in terms of Turkey's activity in the region. NATO put a senior civilian representative in Afghanistan to work the political issues, alongside the military commander¹⁹⁹ for the first time in its history.

Turkey established NATO's first led civilian PRT and currently lead two PRTs for reconstruction and economic development.²⁰⁰ They aim to raise the quality of life of the local population, so they provide improve judicial administration, develop infrastructure, and support projects such as education and health, train the Afghan

¹⁹⁷ "Türkiye Afganistan'a Bin Asker Gönderecek", Zaman, 11 April 2009.

¹⁹⁸ "Davutoglu Net Konustu: Turkiye Afganistan'a Savasci Yollamaz", Euractiv, 4 December 2009, <http://www.euractiv.com.tr/abnin-gelecegi/article/davutoglu-net-konustu-turkiye-afganistanasavasciyollamaz-007998>.

¹⁹⁹ ISAF official website, <http://www.isaf.nato.int/>.

²⁰⁰ The official website of the Wardak PRT, at <http://www.vardakprt.org/>.

Police²⁰¹. The first PRT is in the central province of Wardak. Building on the model developed in Wardak, Turkey opened a second PRT in the northern province of Jowzjan.²⁰² Turkish programs and Turkish soldiers in missions are very much receptive and acceptable to Afghans because they work within the Afghan culture and values²⁰³ mindful of local religious and cultural sensitivities and needs by showing more empathy towards civilians in Afghanistan than those from other European countries.

Abdullah Gül stated that;

extending from Asia to Africa, Turkey is an appreciated country in terms of the humanitarian and technical aid it provides. I just want you to note that once Turkey was the recipient country. I would like to remind you that today Turkey is in the club of aiders and has made donations totaling one billion dollars just in terms of humanitarian aid.²⁰⁴

It is understood that achieving a sustainable transition, obtaining confidence of the people, a strategic political and development process, and the reintegration of Afghan civilians into leadership roles. These PRTs have managed to develop quality and strong in local partnerships while they are transferring of management and transitioning processes by building Afghani civilian leadership for the sustainability, local governance, and community ownership.

The Turkish worked as part the election monitoring efforts in the new PRT populated by ethnic Uzbeks and Tajiks in Mezar-i Sherif. This PRT coincided with the Kabul

²⁰¹ Sevinç Özcan, "Türk Dış Politikasında Afganistan", in Burhanettin Duran, Kemal İnat, and Muhittin Ataman (eds.), *Türk Dış Politikası Yıllığı 2009*, Ankara, SETA Yayınları, 2011, pp.699-714.

²⁰² The official website of the Jowzcan PRT, at <http://www.cevizcanprt.org/>

²⁰³ Cihan Medya Services, 2009.

²⁰⁴ Abdullah Gül. "Turkish Foreign Policy in the New Era", Lecture at USAK, 16 December 2009.

Conference²⁰⁵ and Turkish authorities underlined that the project was initiated upon the invitation by Afghan authorities²⁰⁶.

Turkish military works to reach out to civilians including providing medical facilities, etc. Moreover, former President Demirel and former Prime Minister Ecevit were perceived as attempting to communicate far more with local populations and authorities in their visits in Afghanistan than European counterparts.²⁰⁷

The PRT in Wardak assisted Afghan authorities with reconstruction efforts and enhanced development and stability within the province. It focused on providing health care, education, police training and agricultural alternatives to local farmers. Turkey has also been providing a variety of training programs such as training of judges and prosecutors, agricultural training courses, carpet weaving courses, and various courses for women, including literacy courses. Ten Turkish police officers were involved in police training at Wardak PRT in a Police Training and Education Center constructed there.²⁰⁸ Also, Turkish agricultural programs have resulted in the cultivation of vegetables, fruits, which are stored in the cold storage unit that Turkey has built, before being sent to the rest of the country.²⁰⁹ Afghan officials in Wardak claim that Turkish programs in agriculture have resulted in the termination of opium cultivation.²¹⁰

²⁰⁵ "Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's address at the Kabul Ministerial Conference of the Istanbul Process", The Diplomatic News, 14 June 2012, at http://www.diplonews.com/feeds/free/14_June_2012_288.php, last visited 9 April 2013.

²⁰⁶ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Press Release Regarding the Kabul Conference-(No. 162, 2010)". Perhaps, the return of Uzbek leader Rashid Dostum to Afghanistan as part of a deal with Karzai might have removed possible objections to Turkey's involvement in the region.

²⁰⁷ Soeters et al., 2006.

²⁰⁸ RTMFA, 2010.

²⁰⁹ Cihan Medya Services, 2009.

²¹⁰ "Büyükanıt: Bir Tek Asker Bile Afganistan'a Gidemez", Milliyet, 08 September 2006.

Turkey's PRT is the only PRT operational staff that is composed of civilians as being successful and objective²¹¹. The chief executive of ministry and diplomats are appointed as civilian coordinator. Experts and trainers are employed from Turkey's various institutions, go to PRT for one year. The Jawzjan PRT is led by a Civilian Head (senior diplomat) and a Civilian Deputy Head (diplomatic staff) from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There are administrative personnel, experts and advisors who represent the Turkish Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Interior, TIKA, Presidency of Religious Affairs, several universities, and a Police Special Operations Team. Afghan Mohammad Asif Rahimi, Minister of Agriculture, Irrigation and Livestock says that "Recent changes in Afghanistan may finally bring peace and stability, and Turkey is playing a leading role".²¹² However, it is not easy to achieve this.

3.2.2.2. The Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA)

TIKA officially established in 1992 to provide technical and cultural support to newly independent Turkic republics, focus on Turkic solidarity in substantive and symbolic ways, and to collect and report Official Development Assistance (ODA) statistics of Turkey to the OECD. The initial active role of TIKA was seen in the transformation of post-Soviet space was limited to the countries where Turkey had an ethnic, cultural, religious, and historical appeal because Turkey has used TIKA's development diplomacy efforts as its most effective soft power tools. Turkey was to present itself as a "secular role model" for these new republics by offering its development cooperation efforts as a way to also exercise its political and economic influence. TIKA acted as a bridge between the activities of businessmen and others to develop closer links with the Turkic states for strategic and political considerations, trade concerns.

²¹¹ TIKA, "Türkiye Kalkınma Yardımları Raporu 2011", at <http://store.tika.gov.tr/yayinlar/kalkinma-yardimi/KalkinmaYardimlari-Raporu2011.pdf>, last visited 9 April 2013.

²¹² Rahimi, 2012

TIKA defined development cooperation efforts as an instrument for new avenues for classical diplomacy in economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian fields. Highest priority was given to the areas of culture, economy, and energy. Turkey's cooperation with international organizations is enlarged with participation in UNDP South-South Cooperation, and Least Developed Countries (LDCs) initiatives, Opening Up to Africa policy in 2005 to de-stabilized regions in sub-Saharan Africa.

In Afghanistan case, TIKa opened its first programme coordination office in Kabul in October 2004 and its operations officially started in January 2005. Today, it has three operational field offices in Kabul, Wardak and Mazar-i Sharif, which have been instrumental in streamlining the growing volume of Turkish aid flowing into this country working in close cooperation with the Turkish Embassy in Afghanistan. TIKa has leadership in several countries to generate Master Development Plans as long term strategies for infusing local economies and empowering citizens through sustainable capacity building in a wide range of areas from education of bureaucrats to building and managing hospitals. A substantial part of In terms of a percentage of its national income, Turkey is the country providing the most financial aid to Afghanistan.

Turkey addresses the importance of Afghan security forces's power through joint programs and help their education in Turkey and Afghanistan. Turkey's scholarship program for foreign students goes to Afghan citizens who attend universities in Turkey at the graduate and postgraduate levels²¹³. TIKa's activities were focused on education, medical services, water purification and transportation infrastructure, as well as projects aiming capacity building in public administration. TIKa aimed to improve the quality of life in Afghanistan through the re-construction of its sorely needed civil infrastructure. In Kabul and Sharif Tomb, the TIKa Programme Coordination Offices initiated civilian projects on political reforms, democratization, ensuring basic government functionality and jump-starting their economies.

The Turkish government, with funds from TIKa, has constructed dozens of schools, nursing and midwifery education centers for women, 250 tons of humanitarian aid,

²¹³ Saban Kardas, Turkey's Regional Approach in Afghanistan: A Civilian Power in Action.

thousands of Afghan police officers and soldiers trained; education programs for judges, prosecutors and district governors, and several roads, bridges and dig wells. Turkey has implemented projects of basic services for a functioning, stable system respectful of basic rights and freedoms in the country. Turkey's Southern Anatolian Project(GAP) has supported research to improve irrigation in the Afghan city of Jalalabad. Turkey's historical and cultural ties with the Afghan people and Turkey's sincere efforts help in the realization of Turkey's projects to engage in a dialogue with the public and contributions towards the development of Afghanistan. TIKA staff could go easily to even areas which have security problems.

Balkh Governor Ata Mohammad Nur and the former Foreign Minister Ali Babacan went on 27 October 2008 within the framework of the project prepared by TIKA. At the beginning of 27 April 2010, completed in June, the Afghan-Turkish Friendship Park in Mazar-i-Sharif was opened in 27 July of 2011. There are 100 km road, bridge construction in Near Kabul and northern Afghanistan. The internet system has been established in University of Jawizcan through Provincial Reconstruction provided support from NATO Fund. The Project Manager expressed that the project is among the best projects in Afghanistan in terms of cost and implementation. PRT's of material aid, repair, renovation projects as well as short-term impact projects are to prevent the public discontent caused by the delay in projects from time to time. Due to the flood and drought disasters, humanitarian aid activities are held regularly every year. The Department of Religious Affairs in the feast of sacrifice, meat were distributed to families and more than 500 thousand people in the last eight years. The restoration project is still ongoing in Mevlana's born house in Balkh.

3.2.2.3. Foreign Aid

Thanks to its increasing economic and military expertise, Turkey might possess the necessary capabilities to play a bigger role in global issues, and the country is willing to do so.²¹⁴ The proactive foreign policy initiatives driving force for evolution from

²¹⁴ Aydin, S. and E. F. Keyman. "European Integration and the Transformation of Turkish Democracy". EU-Turkey Working Papers, no. 2. Brussels: CEPS, August 2004.

being an aid recipient country to donor country in the international community²¹⁵. Turkey is a regional power which dispenses about \$2 billion in aid and contributes to international peace and stability.²¹⁶ Turkish Afghanistan policies are detailed in the Bonn Process in 200 in terms of security, economy and diplomacy.

TIKA's development program is the largest foreign aid program carried out by Turkey ever in Afghanistan since September 2004. According to data of Afghanistan Investment Support Agency(AISA), the amount of foreign investment is 758.4 \$ million in Afghanistan since 2002. Turkish entrepreneurs completed projects worth nearly \$2 billion USD. TIKA appropriated approximately \$30 million USD development and capacity building efforts. Also, Turkey is the largest investor country with 120 million, followed by Germany, India and Pakistan after the fall of the Taliban regime²¹⁷. Turkey channeled over US \$ 130 million of development assistance to Afghanistan until the end of 2011²¹⁸. Turkey's support to Afghanistan is composed of military assistance, state assistance and private sector activities in the form of contracting services.

Afghanistan is the one of the most benefited countries from Turkish foreign aid in terms of the PRTs in Afghanistan which is realized within the planned program in high professional scale which was not implemented earlier. Afghanistan have weakened the economic activity, the livelihood of the people, and the construction of public services for many years. Afghanistan's basic economic policy aims to ensure foreign aid and foreign investment, most efficient use of this assistance and the investment, and to develop private sector.

Turkey's reconstruction and development assistance projects implementing for Afghanistan, are the most comprehensive sustainable development assistance

²¹⁵ Teri Murphy, Onur Sazak, Turkey's Civilian Capacity In Post-Conflict Reconstruction.

²¹⁶ <http://www.eurasiareview.com/03052012-why-is-turkey-in-afghanistan-oped/>

²¹⁷ Konya Ticaret Odası, www.kto.org.tr/tr/dergi/dergiyazioku.asp?yno=1319&ano=83, Erişim Tarihi: 07 Nisan 2010.

²¹⁸ TİKA, "Türkiye Kalkınma Yardımları Raporu 2011", at <http://store.tika.gov.tr/yayinlar/kalkinmayardimi/KalkinmaYardimlari-Raporu2011>

program. Ihsan Bal said that Turkey's international commitments to resolve global problems, the historical responsibility, the principle of *pacta sunt servanda* and the reconstruction of Afghanistan become obligatory for Turkey's presence in Afghanistan.²¹⁹

Turkey who joint to Tokyo Conference on Afghanistan held in 2004 committed to give assistance \$ 1 million to Afghanistan Reconstruction Fund. The total value of projects and other works carried out since 2001 is known to be above \$307 million. Turkey has engaged in a series of development programs in 24 out of 27 provinces of Afghanistan. These include pledges of US\$100 million at the London Donor's Conference in January 2006 and another US \$ 100 million in Paris in 2008²²⁰. The amount of aid is increased to U.S. \$ 200 million in June 2008 at the Paris Conference until the end of 2011. Also the Tokyo Conference was held in July 2012 in Japan. Turkey stated 150 million dollars assistance for the future of the country and for development projects in Afghanistan between the years 2015-2017.²²¹ Overall the price paid for a hundred thousand years in Afghanistan, the figure has reached billions of dollars.

As being a bridge among Central Asia, the Middle East and Southeast Asian countries, the current developments in Afghanistan within the framework of regional competition seems to gain more and more importance. A stable Afghanistan could promote economic development and social stability by enhancing the security of the entire region according to Turkish understanding. The continued fighting has prevented Afghanistan from joining with Turkey and other countries in providing a Eurasian east-west land route for Central Asian exports to European markets. Turkey aims to become a major transit country for trade between Asia and Europe, but regional insecurity has discouraged foreign investment in east-west railroad, highway, and pipeline projects. Turkey does not want insecurity in Afghanistan due

²¹⁹ Ihsan Bal, Head of USAK Science Committee, Why is Turkey in Afghanistan? Ihsan Bal Head of USAK Science Committee 2 May 2012 <http://www.turkishweekly.net/columnist/3616/why-is-turkey-in-afghanistan.html>

²²⁰ Yeni Safak, 2008.

²²¹ "Afganistan'a 150 Milyon Dolar," *Hürriyet*, 09 Temmuz 2012.

to the risks of the growing regional rivalries. So, Turkey highly seeks diplomatic efforts politically and economically stabilized Afghanistan in the recent-years for reconstruction.

Afghanistan has many advantages in terms of trade and investment but along with improvement of the security environment. For this reason, a lot of the products can be reduced to very poor condition from a few years due to overuse and lack of maintenance such as schools, clinics and hospitals,etc. The solution is to teach the Afghan people how to fish and so to increase the sources of income. Examples are the farm projects, agricultural projects, educational projects and promoting the establishment of small businesses for the public in general. Nevertheless, these projects are also insufficient. There are drought problems so that the Afghan side is a desert while Uzbekistan side of the border is lush. Afghanistan is not just consisted of only a land mine in as part of development. Although the Government of Afghanistan in an effort to attract investment in this regard, it is necessary to care about agriculture and industry. China, India, the United States are showing interest in mining operations. Afghanistan, the source of billions of dollars should be spent on infrastructure and institutional expenditure of the country, less on non- military zone and more on the civilian projects like education is crucial.

In addition, high-level visits between Turkey and Afghanistan continues. It has been confirmed that Turkey will continue to contribute towards the country's economic development, reconstruction, security and stability through solidarity with Afghanistan²²².

After the Bonn Agreement, former Foreign Minister Ismail Cem visited to Afghanistan on 17 December 2001, and so it is the second representative in a foreign country, after the overthrow of the Taliban in Afghanistan, and the first visit of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Dr. Abdullah Abdullah who was the interim Foreign Minister of Afghanistan visited Turkey on the occasion of IKO-EU Joint Forum organized between 12-13 February 2002. State Minister Professor. Dr. Sukru Sina

²²² Dışişleri Bakanlığı, [www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-afganistan_siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa.](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-afganistan_siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa.erişim tarihi:05 Nisan 2010), erişim tarihi:05 Nisan 2010.

Gurel visited Afghanistan in 2002, between 17 to 20 March. They contact to make observations about the scope of reconstruction projects in Afghanistan. Interim Government of Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai, upon the invitation of Bulent Ecevit, made an official visit to Turkey in 2002, between April 4 to 5. During his visit, Karzai has been accepted by Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer. The Afghan Foreign Minister Dr Abdullah Abdullah who accompany in delegation of Karzai, Muhammad Rahim Serif, Minister of Higher Education and Sayed Makhdoom, Information and Culture Minister Turkish also have met with Turkish opposite side.

Mehmet Kececiler, the state minister and co-chair of Turkey-Afghanistan KEK, went to Afghanistan with businessmen on the Turkey's contribution to the work of reconstruction in Afghanistan with the bilateral trade on consistency with a permanent mechanism in 2002. Hamid Karzai, Interim President of Afghanistan visited to Turkey for 7th Economic Cooperation Organization for Summit of Heads of State and for the occasion of the NATO Summit held in Istanbul on 28-29 June 2004.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, accompanied by a delegation involving Minister of National Defence and Minister of Health, Prof. Gonul. Dr. Recep Akdağ paid an official visit to Afghanistan 20 to 21 April 2005. During the visit of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan committed to provide assistance five million U.S. dollars for this five-year period to Afghanistan. Also, Afghans paid high attention to this visit because that was first night residency of senior foreign delegation. Afghan President Hamid Karzai, officially visited to Turkey on 4-7, January 2006. During the visit, his six ministers and the minister-level National Security Adviser accompanied Karzai. During the visit, they signed an agreement on co-operation between the Ministries of Education and a protocol relating to TIKA to open a program coordination office in Kabul. Also, another important condition for peace and stability in Afghanistan, the rapid realization of reconstruction projects, especially for health, education and agricultural areas is needed to take an active stance. After 2001, many bilateral agreements have been made between Turkey and Afghanistan in the context of rapidly evolving relations.

Agreements between Afghanistan and Turkey²²³ are listed. Turkey and Afghanistan Transition Management of Military Training, Technical and Scientific Cooperation Agreement was signed on 16 January 2003.²²⁴ Agreement on Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investments was signed in 10 April 2004. Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement was signed on 10 June 2004. Agricultural techniques in the field of Scientific and Economic Cooperation Protocol was signed on 06 December 2004. Cooperation Agreement in the Field of Health was signed on 20 April 2005. Agreement on mutual assistance in customs matters Cooperation was signed on 26 April 2005. International Road Transport Agreement was signed on 27 April 2005. Agreement on the activities of the Office of Programme Coordination TİKA was signed on 05 January 2006²²⁵.

Trade and Economic Agreements are signed between Turkey and Afghanistan. Transport Agreement between the two countries was signed on 18 May 1969. Trade Agreement was signed on 11 May 1975. Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement was signed on 11 January 1976. Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement was signed on 10 June 2004. Agreement on Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investments was signed on 10 June 2004. Customs Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Agreement was signed on 26 April 2005. International Road Transport Agreement was signed on 4 April 2005. Turkish-Afghan Joint Economic Commission First Memorandum of Understanding was signed on 27 April 2005.

The corporate basis was laid to develop the economy between two countries with the foundation of the Mixed Economy. There are mechanisms the first of which was organized in Ankara in April 2005 Joint Economic Committee (JEC) (the first period meeting was held on 26-27 of April 2005 in Ankara), and the Council of Work as well as this agreement between the two countries. Furthermore, the economic field was included in the process of the "Turkey-Afghanistan- Pakistan

²²³ TİKA, Afganistanın Yeniden İmarı,Proje ve Faaliyetlerimiz, www.tika.gov.tr.,2005.

²²⁴ Geçmişten Günümüze Türk-Afghan İlişkileri,Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı Yayınları,Ankara,2009, s.99.

²²⁵ www.disisleri.gov.tr/mfa_tr/printerfrindly/printerfrindly.aspx.

Trilateral Summit" meetings have been held by the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey, Chamber of Trade of Afghanistan, Chamber of Trade of Pakistan and the Federation of Chambers of Industry.²²⁶ And and the economic cooperation platform that the chamber of commerce and industry representatives of these three countries could participate in was formed.

TIKA also committed to open new schools as part of an agreement to further cooperation in education. TOBB decided to undertake projects with its counterparts from Afghanistan and Pakistan in order to deepen economic exchanges between private sectors of the three countries. Meanwhile, the bilateral trade volume between Turkey and Afghanistan stood at around US \$ 260 million in 2010, with Turkey ranking in Afghanistan's top ten foreign trade partners. Turkish constructors also undertook infrastructure projects in the country, the total value of which exceeded US \$ 3 billion in 2010.²²⁷ It was decided that in order to enable the Taliban militants to participate in the political process, a fund of \$140 million will be created by the participant countries. Afghan President Karzai promised to fight against corruption effectively.

The highest volume of trade before 2001 reached a value of \$ 26 million in 1993, while it subsequently decreased to \$ 1.3 million in 1999, and it has been identified as \$ 8.6 million in 2000. In 1996, the Taliban regime's coming to power in Afghanistan affected Turkey and Afghan relations. Balance of trade between the two countries, except for 1999, has resulted in Turkey's favor. The bilateral trade volume reached \$ 7 million between Turkey and Afghanistan in 2001. In particular, the volume of trade between the two countries showed a rapid increase after 2001. That actual trade between Afghanistan and Turkey is relatively small, with total trade being US\$121 million in 2007 with few direct commercial or institutional interests between the two nations.²²⁸ The trade volume between Turkey and Afghanistan has grown 36-fold

²²⁶ Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği, www.tobb.org.tr/haber_arsiv2.php?haberid=2731, Erişim Tarihi: 06 Nisan 2010.

²²⁷ Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK), Afganistan Ülke Bülteni, June 2011.

²²⁸ RTMFA, 2010.

and reached 145 million dollars by 2008, and also Turkey became the biggest investor in Afghanistan with her 200 million dollars in investments. The trade continued to expand in 2009, despite the negative effects of the global economic crisis and reached to 264 million \$ in 2010, with an increase by 11%.

Apart from this, 63 Turkish companies invested 1.6 billion dollars by undertaking 157 projects in the field of the Afghan private sector.²²⁹ On the other hand, the corporate basis was laid to develop the economy between two countries with the foundation of the Mixed Economy. The Commission the first period meeting was held on 26-27 of April 2005 in Ankara. Furthermore, the economic field was included in the process of the triple summit and the economic cooperation platform that the chamber of commerce and industry representatives of these three countries could participate in was formed. Therefore, economic relations in this period could not be developed. However, after 2001, following the fall of the Taliban regime, a period of stagnation changed and relations are strengthen again. This indicates especially after 2001 that further economic relations with Turkey increases and Afghanistan 's economy thanks to foreign aid in the process of recovery.

In this context, the Turkish companies are contributing greatly to the development of Afghanistan by getting the tenders directly, or giving procurement outsourcing to companies of other countries. 75% of the revise of the road and new construction of roads in Afghanistan is still carried out by Turkish firms.²³⁰ Turkish companies operating in Afghanistan is working mostly in the sector of construction industry. From 2002 until the end of 2009, according to the records of Business Receipt and certificate of completion, the total amount of construction is exceeded to 2 billion 555 million dollar by medium and large firms. Turkish contracting companies are registered among first of 60 foreign investors in the field and construction. The number of Turkish personnel exceeds 3000 working in Afghanistan.²³¹

²²⁹ "Turkey's Commercial and Economic Relations with Afghanistan", Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-commercial-andeconomic-relations-withafghanistan.en.mfa,

²³⁰ TİKA, Afganistan İslam Devleti, s.17. www.avim.org.tr/icerik/afganistan-ulke-raporu-tika.pdf.Erişim Tarihi: 15 Mart 2010.

²³¹ www.musavirlikler.gov.tr/, erişim tarihi: 09 Nisan 2010.

In Afghanistan, there is request for all kinds of products and services to rise steadily in the period. Therefore, the Afghan government is making great efforts to develop the private industry. Turkish exports are comprising more than 90 % of the total volume of trade. Turkey's principal export products to Afghanistan are prefabricated buildings, electrical conductors, diesel engine vehicles, iron-steel building material, medicine, non-woven textiles. Turkey's main imports are sesame seeds, unshelled walnut, raisin, vegetable dyes. Afghanistan is dependent on imports of many goods for reconstruction process.

This situation is to create significant opportunities for Turkish exporters. Turkish initiatives relating to enter the Afghan market will increase economic and trade relations between the two countries. Turkey's long struggle against separatist terrorism, as well as its own experience with fighting drug production, has also given it lessons on how to approach situations as in Afghanistan where it has engaged in services such as building a cold storage facility. Turkey was in the past not considered a primary international actor despite although its well established regional NATO role. However, as a agent of commercial and economic globalization, and as a new model for development and modernity²³², Turkey is of interest due to its rapidly ascendant profile.

3.2.3. The Triple Summit Initiative of Turkey-Pakistan-Afghanistan

Turkey's Afghan policy is to facilitate peace and security in Afghanistan. This is achievable within the international system according to Turkish officials. Without the cooperation of neighbouring countries, it is impossible to maintain security and stability in Afghanistan. Turkish strategy accepts that regional cooperation starts from the region. Turkey wants to promote peace in a wide region considering that there cannot be any economic development, cooperation or welfare in any region

²³² Turkey contribution in Afghanistan important: US", ReliefWeb, 01 July 2008, <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/KKAA-7G55LL>, Accessed on June 02, 2009. 82

without stability and security.²³³ Pakistan also knows that there is need for a broad regional coalition of nations to help Afghanistan.

The US had failed in uniting Afghanistan and Pakistan before. However, Turkey-Pakistan-Afghanistan Triple Summit conference and the Ankara process in April 2007 constitutes the regional dimension of Turkey's policy on the socio-economic and security level.²³⁴ Turkey established the trilateral mechanism in the resolution of problems in the region by gathering Afghanistan and Pakistan together on the basis of the Ankara Declaration, announced after the Tripartite Summit held in Ankara on April 29-30 2007.²³⁵

The first trilateral summit was held in Ankara, April 29-30 2007 on "the dialogue". The Second Summit was held in Istanbul on "economic cooperation" 5 December 2008. Third Summit was held in Ankara on "security" April 1, 2009 and January 25 2010 on "education" in a joint co-operation. The fourth Summit was held in Istanbul on the "education" on 25 January 2010. The fifth summit meetings have been added on 25 December 2010. The Istanbul process, "the Istanbul Summit on Friendship and Cooperation in the Heart of Asia" has been held on January 26 2010. The "Sixth-Istanbul Conference for Afghanistan", Turkey-Afghanistan-Pakistan trilateral summit was held in Istanbul on 2 of November in 2011 and Istanbul to host 2nd Conference on Mediation. The seventh meeting, Tripartite Session took place in December 12, 2012. The conference was held under the motto of "Keys to Effective Mediation" on April 11 of 2013 in Ankara²³⁶.

²³³ Bülent Aras, "Turkey's Rise in the Greater Middle East: Peace-Building in the Periphery", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* Vol. 11, No. 1, March 2009, pp.29-41.

²³⁴ Rakshanda Khan Rakhsy, "Pakistan-Afghanistan-Turkey Summit", *Pakistan Observer*, April 1, 2009, <http://www.tobb.org.tr/eng/haber/010409pakistanobserver.pdf>. Accessed on 16 December 2009.

²³⁵ "Ankara's Role On The Af-Pak Front: Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Ankara, Turkey", *APS Diplomat News Service*, Vol. 71 Issue: 9, August 31, 2009, p. 6.

²³⁶ Presidency of Republic of Turkey, "The Statements from the Trilateral Summit", (24 December 2010), at <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/170/78467/istanbulda-turkiyefghanistanpakistanuclu-zirve-toplantisi.html>, last visited 9 April 2013.

The Ankara Declaration was the first summit held in Ankara on "dialogue" in 29-30 April 2007. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs, parliamentarians, chiefs of general staff and army staff and highest intelligence officials as well as the business community took part in the multidimensional work of Ankara. They talked about the political dialogue, security cooperation, fighting terrorism, development partnership, respecting each other's territorial integrity without interfering in domestic affairs, sharing more information with each other were issues mostly dealt with in the summit. These countries decided to establish a joint-working group in order to cope with contentious issues such as the return of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan.

The Second Summit was held in Istanbul about "economic cooperation" on 5 December 2008. Afghan President Hamid Karzai and Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari visited Istanbul after the invitation of Turkish President Abdullah Gül. They conducted friendly discussions on regional and international issues to move the trilateral Ankara Process to a further level. Afghani and Pakistani President expressed their satisfaction of increased contact and ongoing co-operation between governments and the peoples. They assumed to continue bilateral political dialogue in a structured and comprehensive manner by keeping a shared interests of the partnership of two brotherly countries to continue for structured and comprehensive dialogue at different levels such as military training, trilateral military and security cooperation against terrorism and drug; energy projects; transportation corridors; the establishment of organized industrial in both Afghanistan and Pakistan; education, health and socio-economic projects.

After President Obama announced new strategy for Pakistan and Afghanistan and preceded NATO's Summit and US President's visit to France, the Ankara Process, the third summit was held in Ankara about "security" on 1 April of 2009 one day after international efforts²³⁷ in International Conference at Netherlands²³⁸. Turkey along with Saudi Arabia and U.A.E acted the two neighbors to soften bilateral relations. this summit was seen as a success itself because the military intelligence

²³⁷ Hopkins, B. D. (2008). *The Making of Modern Afghanistan*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

²³⁸ The News International, 2009, April 2.

and chiefs of both the countries, jointly attended the summit to work in a smooth manner and emphasized for the elimination of extremism and terrorism collectively for the first time. Also, the “Ankara Process” was held to stabilize Pakistan and Afghanistan’s lawless western region by cooperating in intelligence sharing and military experiences in the borders and against the drug trafficking stemming from Afghanistan. In addition, the United States, Russia, and Iran's attempt to pass on the application like these tripartite summit meetings, illustrates that Turkey is a pioneer in the region.

The Forth Summit was held in Istanbul on the "education" on 25 January 2010²³⁹. Turkish President Abdullah Gül, Afghan President Hamid Karzai and Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari had reviewed the opportunities of trilateral collaboration to establish the peace, stability and security in the region through cooperation in the military training, intelligence, health, education, and other socioeconomic projects.²⁴⁰ Also, they decided to support the reconciliation and reintegration of Taliban members to cease fighting and engage in solely nonviolent activities.

The Fifth Summit was held on December 2010 while the Istanbul Process, the Friendship and Cooperation Summit in the Heart of Asia based on the regional security cooperation for a secure and stable Afghanistan was held on 26 January 2010. Presidents from the regional countries, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, China, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Russia, UK, US, Japan, UAE, OIC, UN, NATO and the EU also participated at the Summit²⁴¹. They decided to create a new mechanism to improve the cooperation between the two neighbors against challenges like terrorism, extremism and narcotic drugs. Also they agreed to form a dialogue platform on education between the ministries of the three countries. Turkish armed

²³⁹ Fikret Ertan, “Londra Konferansı”, *Zaman*, 28 January 2010.

²⁴⁰ Turkey-Afghanistan-Pakistan Trilateral Summit on the way towards institutionalisation" 25.01.2010

²⁴¹"Asya'ninKalbi'ndeDostlukveİşbirliğiİçinİstanbulBildirgesi",T.C.DisisleriBakanligi.
<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/asyanin-kalbinde-dostluk-ve-isbirligi-icin-istanbul-bildirisi>

forces and police would also train Afghan security personnel in Turkey in order to enhance their capabilities in counterterrorism²⁴².

The fourth meeting of the Regional Economic Cooperation Conference on Afghanistan (RECCA)²⁴³ was held in November 2010 in Istanbul. Turkey also organized a business meeting in the Istanbul Forum and an academic platform adopting a multidimensional approach for the resolution of the conflict. TOBB pledged to undertake major projects to develop transportation infrastructure by construction and upgrade of roads and railways, the modernization of customs gates, and the harmonization of legal transit regulations in line with global norms.

Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu expressed the importance of cessation of Afghanistan on its feet. Because the cornerstone of a functioning economy is long-term stability. Iran, Pakistan and especially within the framework of ECO as the regional countries agreed to cooperate for supporting Afghanistan for peace, security and prosperity by establishing a Mind Platform which would bring together members of academia, media and thinktanks.

Turkey also declares that they support complementary regional initiatives and mechanisms such as Iran's efforts for regional cooperation. President Karzai said that "I am greatly thankful to our brother country, the Republic of Turkey, for its persistent efforts to serve as a venue for our trilateral and regional talks"²⁴⁴

²⁴² Turkey later signed a protocol with Japan to jointly train Afghan police in Turkey. The first cohort of Afghan police started receiving their training in July 2011. "Afgan Polisleri Eğitim İçin Sivas'ta", Doğan Haber Ajansı, 14 July 2011.

²⁴³ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Istanbul Declaration following the 4th RECCA", 2-3 November 2010, at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/istanbul_declaration.pdf, last visited 9 April 2013.

²⁴⁴ "Statement by His Excellency Hamid Karzai President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan at the London International Conference on Afghanistan", Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Office of the President. 28 January 2010, http://www.president.gov.af/sroot_eng.aspx?id=72

US Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, Richard Holbrooke pointed out by saying:“Turkey is an important factor in Afghanistan since the very first years of the Republic, like the building of governmental institutions in Afghanistan”.²⁴⁵

As result of these efforts, despite Turkey’s not being a member, she was invited for the first time to the Afghanistan meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which was held in Moscow. As a term president of the UN Security Council, Turkey’s role in the problem-solving and reconstruction in Afghanistan would make Turkey a global actor²⁴⁶. Leading to regional cooperation, advocating broad-based national dialogue and accelerating regional dialogue facilitated the wider international community’s task of developing a new strategy in Turkish perspective²⁴⁷. The growing convergence between Turkey’s and other Western powers’ positions to ensure the success of the meeting, some themes discussed in the conference, such as the integration of moderate elements of Taliban into political processes, shows that Turkey’s positive image in way for the London conference in late January 2010 held only a few days after the regional meeting in Istanbul.

Turkey and Finland lead to the UN Friends of Mediation initiative for the adoption of two resolutions on mediation. Turkey announced that İstanbul is offered to be a regional UN mediation center in 2011 for the use of mediation in the peaceful settlement of disputes, conflict prevention and resolution.

The second Istanbul Conference on Mediation, which took place on April 11-12, aimed strengthen Turkey's position as a mediator in international conflicts. The theme was “Keys for Effective Mediation” and conflicts in Afghanistan, the Israeli-Palestinian, Somalia and Syria issues were discussed. As Afghanistan occupies a major place in NATO’s agenda, Turkey also used its role in that organization and contributions to Afghanistan to gain a larger say in the transatlantic security agenda,

²⁴⁵ "US Official Praises Turkey's Role in Afghanistan".*Today's Iaman*. 8 January 2010, <http://virwww.todayszaman.com/tz-web/news-197942-102-us-official-praises-turkeys-role-inafghanistan.html>.

²⁴⁶Abdulkadir Emin Önen, *The Changing Asian Dimension in Turkish Foreign Policy since*, master thesis, Fatih University March 2010.

²⁴⁷Interview with Turkey’s Ambassador to Afghanistan Başat Öztürk, “Afganlar Türkiye’yi Kılavuz Olarak Görüyor”, *Aksiyon*, 7 November 2011.

as was reflected in NATO's Chicago Summit in May 2012. Turkey became a non-permanent member of the U.N. Security Council(2009-2010) and is chairing three critical commissions concerning Afghanistan.

The Sixth Turkey-Afghanistan-Pakistan trilateral summit was held in November 2011. In close partnership with the UN, Turkey hosted the inaugural meeting of the Regional Cooperation Working Group on Afghanistan in June 2011 to study the best practices pertaining to regional cooperation, which brought together representatives from five international organizations and 31 countries. The Working Group also prepared the groundwork for "Istanbul Conference for Afghanistan" held in November 2011, at the outskirts of which the sixth tripartite meeting also took place. The Istanbul Conference worked to make contributions to the Bonn Conference (II) in December. They focused on enhancing participating armies' cooperation and interoperability in urban warfare. During these meetings, consultations on cooperation in intelligence and security affairs continued.

Turkey was able to facilitate a meeting between the leaders of Afghanistan and Pakistan, accompanied by their ministers and army chiefs, within days the head of Afghanistan's Intelligence Agency was wounded by a suicide bomber in Kabul. Turkey established a cooperative mechanism for investigating the death of head of Afghan High Peace Council, Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani. Afghanistan had pointed finger towards Pakistan. At the same time, in order to contribute toward the improvement of regional trade, closer attention was paid in these meetings on how to enhance transportation infrastructure between the two countries. Turkish officials stated that the two governments were looking for a mechanism to resume their direct dialogue rather than "talking to each other via the media" and other indirect means.

They signed agreements to cooperate in education, banking, and other areas, and also agreed to conduct more joint military exercises and to investigate the assassination attempt on National Security Director of Afghanistan. President Abdullah Gul and Zardari described the bombing as an attempt to derail the dialogue between the two countries. That was welcomed by both countries and the wider international community, thus contributing to the lessening of tensions. The summit helped dampen the tensions, as well as offering a platform for discussing how to proceed in

conducting the talks with Taliban. Turkey is always forthcoming to take the initiative for re-railing the process.²⁴⁸

The Seventh Meeting of Tripartite Session of Afghan, Turkish And Pakistani Leaders was held in 12 December 2012. Three countries are expanding toward new horizons each year serving a platform to make decisions and put them into action for the good of the three people and the greater region, and contributes to the stability in the region as well. This is appreciated by the international community indeed and the existing tripartite cooperation between the three countries will continue and that they will seek new areas of collaboration.

Also, gradually, Ankara, which has hosted talks aimed at building trust between Pakistan and Afghanistan, has assumed a more distanced stance on the idea, which was first floated in December 2010, during a trilateral summit between Turkey, Afghanistan and Pakistan in Istanbul, in which Afghan President Hamid Karzai said Kabul would welcome any offer by Turkey meant to facilitate talks with the Taliban. Turkey was offered as a possible venue, as the place to open an office for Taliban talks nowadays after Qatar office was closed. But, that idea did not materialize. The possibility of opening a liaison office in Turkey was brought to fore again in late 2012, but eventually, Taliban reached an agreement with Qatar to discuss opening a liaison office there. Turkey has been critical of the Taliban for its practices, including support of Al Qaeda and its treatment of people, but the Taliban appears to respect Turks and has allowed Turkish representatives to move freely and perform humanitarian work throughout Afghanistan.²⁴⁹

Turkish efforts for the reconstruction, peace deals among Afghanistan and Pakistan and reconciliation period started with Afghani Taliban and Pakistani Taliban. In that regard, while Turkey recognized the urgent need for creating a strong and sustainable central authority, hence supported the Karzai-led government in Kabul, it also

²⁴⁸ Khalid Iqbal, Turkey's Role in Resolving Afghan Conflict, Today's Zaman-11.11.2010.

²⁴⁹ Aydemir Erman, "How Turkey's Soft Power can Aid NATO in Afghanistan", *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 2010, p. 41.

underscored the necessity of including all major forces, even Taliban, into political processes. The Afghan government recently indicated it would be part of the peace process only if the Taliban office was in Turkey or Saudi Arabia, reiterating its position. Being a part of ISAF/NATO²⁵⁰, Turkey could effectively act as a link between the foreign forces and the Afghan political resistance groups. Turkey is most suitably placed to lodge a political office of Taliban and facilitate the process of reconciliation and reintegration in Afghanistan. Trilateral summit process stands unique amongst other Afghan related initiatives.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ http://www.tsk.mil.tr/uluslararasi/isaf_int/gorev.html

²⁵¹ Air Commodore Khalid Iqbal, Turkey's Role in Resolving Afghan Conflict, Today's Zaman-11.11.2010.

CHAPTER 4

TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY PARAMETERS IN THE POST-9/11 ERA

4.1. Turkish Foreign Policy in the Post-September 11

The Justice and Development Party (AK Party) came to power in 2002, and increased its influence after the second term leadership in 2007. Turkish foreign policy have been formulated by Professor Ahmet Davutoglu, the author of “Strategic Depth” through principles of the balance between security and democracy, zero problem policy toward neighbours, proactive and pre-emptive peace diplomacy, multidimensional foreign policy and rhythmic diplomacy.²⁵²

Davutoglu explains that the legitimacy of any political regime comes with its ability to provide security to its citizens but not at the expense of freedoms and human rights in the country.²⁵³ The matter of AK Party government in time became the “zero-problem policy” or its ability to talk to all parties.²⁵⁴ In this regard, Turkey pursued regular high level meetings with the neighboring countries in all aspects including socio-economic, political and cultural levels.²⁵⁵

Turkey places to the east of the traditional center of the Euro-Atlantic structures culturally and politically. Thus, the all conflicts in the Caucasus, Afghanistan, Iraq, Middle East, energy issues and the European Union’s prioritisation of the need for

²⁵² Ahmet Davutoglu, “Turkey’s Zero-Problems Foreign Policy”, *Foreign Policy Magazine*, 20 May 2010, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/05/20/turkeys_zero_problems_foreign_policy.

²⁵³ Ahmet Davutoglu. “Turkey’s Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007”, 79.

²⁵⁴ Bulent Aras, “Davutoglu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy”, May 2009, *SETA Policy Brief*, No. 32, p.130, <http://www.setav.org/ups/dosya/20875.pdf>

²⁵⁵ Kirişçi, Kemal, *Turkey’s Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times*, Institute for Security Studies European Union: Paris, 2006.

energy diversification, migration management, stability, and security in its wider neighbourhood has effects on Turkey. Turkey lies at the centre of those geopolitical areas that Turkey is a European, Middle Eastern, Balkan, Caucasian, Central Asian, Caspian, Mediterranean, Gulf, and Black Sea country²⁵⁶ by occupying a unique space in terms of geography and maneuvering in several regions simultaneously²⁵⁷.

According to Davutoglu's activism rather than caution and status quo²⁵⁸, Turkey is supposed to be closer with those countries that have historical and strategic depth for Turkey²⁵⁹ and so, Turkey should take more initiative in regional and global politics.²⁶⁰ In such multi-polarity of the post-Cold War era, Turkey needs a multidimensional approach. So, Turkey does not have anymore the "luxury to turn its back on or avoid certain areas as it once did."²⁶¹

Such understanding brings about the principle of rhythmic diplomacy provides that by "pushing for a sustained pro-activism in the field of diplomacy, trying to achieve a more active role in international organizations, and opening up to new areas where Turkish contacts have been limited in the past"²⁶². what Davutoglu means by this term is seen in the mediation efforts and attempts to establish multilateral platforms²⁶³.

²⁵⁶ Zalewski, op. cit., p.56-57.

²⁵⁷ Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 10, No.1, 2008, p.78.

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*

²⁵⁹ Bülent Aras, "Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy," *SETA Policy Brief*. Mayıs 2009.

²⁶⁰ Ahmet Davutoglu, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", Vol. 10, No.1 pp. 77-96, *Insight Turkey*, pp. 77-96, 2008, http://www.insightturkey.com/Insight_Turkey_10_1_A_Davutoglu.pdf.

²⁶¹ Bülent Aras, "Davutoğlu era", p.8.

²⁶² Önis and Yılmaz. "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", s. 12.

²⁶³ Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", s.83.

Mediation has emerged in a pro-active diplomacy which is one of the basic principles of the practical foreign policy tools. Turkey conceives mediation between hostile states as a tool of soft power and wants to maximise its influence through pursuing a more dynamic foreign policy and the preventive diplomacy in recent years and exerting efforts to place cooperation and dialogue on solid foundation in Afro-Eurasian. The idea is to prevent the spread of the conflict within countries and between countries in certain situations, striving diplomatic dialogue between the parties.

The concept of the facilitator is recommended for an incorrect conceptualization instead of mediation in order to bring together the countries which have historical diplomatic problems or sudden developing problems with the efforts of escalation of the crisis in diplomatic sphere. It is not common concept in daily foreign policy language, but from time to time some, government descriptions use a "facilitator country" concept, showed itself in the best way especially pulling try to solve the political tension in diplomatic ground due to Iran's nuclear energy policy in the years of 2009-2010 with EU and the United States.

That foreign policy approach moves with the idea of Turkey's being equal distance to particular inner political actors of Middle Eastern countries and in reference to Turkey's regional role.²⁶⁴ Turkey is working hard to ensure that the Friends of Mediation and other platforms can create a new international intellectual atmosphere where states and NGOs can work for peace and stability in regions over the entire globe.²⁶⁵ Turkey also worked as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council during the 2009-2010 term whereas Turkey submitted another duty to serve on the Council during the 2015-2016 term.

²⁶⁴ Bülent Aras, 2006.

²⁶⁵ Ziya Öniş, "Turkey and the Middle East after September 11: The Importance of the EU Dimension", *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Winter 2003), pp.83-92.

However, Turkey's global role may be exaggerated by Davutoglu who is seeking to promote Turkey as a real 'bridge and to abandon any kind of 'defensive definition.'²⁶⁶ Also, the promotion of Turkey as 'both European and Asian is was a slogan used by Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, Bulent Ecevit and Foreign Minister Ismail Cem in the 1990s. However, Turkey increases engagements from Africa to Central Asia and from EU to OIC. The international and domestic context today make Davutoglu's ideas and vision more relevant for Turkey than before. AKP aiming to increase the party's power within the existing political establishment, the Europeanisation process led to the emergence of new political forces, which entered the political context. This is dynamic and precipitates a bargaining procedure among the actors on the political scene in democratic countries²⁶⁷. AKP, a successor of the originally Islamist Welfare Party of Necmettin Erbakan, has been transformed into a mainstream-moderate political party in a position to negotiate with the secular establishment²⁶⁸. The secular opposition criticises the government for its intention to transform Turkey into an Islamic Republic and the AKP's members for their relations with the Middle East, and losing its Western identity.²⁶⁹

Turkey's current situation proves Davutoglu doctrine has failed because current regional and global developments of the past two years put at risk the coherency, credibility, and future of Davutoglu's foreign policy doctrine. While AKP government develops warm relation with authoritarian Muslim nations such as Libya, Iran, Syria and Sudan;

²⁶⁶ Among others, M. Rubin, "Shifting Sides: The Problems of Neo-Ottomanism," National Review Online, 10 August 2004; Cagaptay, " Hamas Visits Ankara"; A. Cohen, "Turkey's dangerous shift", The Washington Times, 10 April 2009.

²⁶⁷ Inter alia, Cowles et al., Transforming Europe; Featherstone and Radaelli, The Politics of Europeanization.

²⁶⁸ Inter alia, Yavuz, Secularism and Muslim Democracy.

²⁶⁹ "General Ilker Basbug, the current Chief of the Turkish General Staff, went so far as to suggest that Turkey needed a 'local bourgeoisie' that subscribed to protecting and maintaining the Turkish revolution".

Erdogan and Davutoglu kept up harsh critiques of Israel. But this is not a realistic goal to begin with, given the conflicts it would pose for Turkey's ties with US and NATO.

Also, Davutoglu's following the "zero problems with neighbors" depends on the neighbors, and hope for no conflict with each other regardless of Turkey's role. In the case of neighboring countries with serious structural problems, authoritarian domestic policies, threatening other countries with unacceptable language, and serious human rights violations. Turkey is still trying to convince regional countries but it only harms its own sincerity and credibility in relations with third-party actors, especially if it also continues to claim that soft power is the main pillar of its foreign policy approach. In Afghanistan case, such a country, and also Central Asian states, Turkey's image is getting not good.

Also, Turkey continued its descent in the Press Freedom Index by losing 10 places in 2012. It now ranks 148th of 179 countries, behind countries such as Russia, Tunisia, Nigeria, Uganda and only slightly above Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq on the list.

Turkey today has to solve many problems. Turkey has dream of a peaceful Middle East under Turkish leadership, Iran threatens to retaliate if NATO missiles based in Turkey are activated, and Syria to hit back if Turkey does not stop arming rebel groups. Problems with Armenia persist mostly because of Armenia's stance, while the situation in Syria risks hurting ties with Russia, on which Turkey is dependent for 70% of its energy imports.²⁷⁰

4.1.1.Origin of Mediation

In the conflict resolution of the complicated international disputes, mediation is one of the most used and successful means of reconciliation. It has various definitions. Generally, mediation is being characterized as "an extension of negotiation process

²⁷⁰ Cenk Sidar, *AKP's Foreign Policy Doctrine: Illusion or Distortion?*, <http://www.reflectionsturkey.com/?p=157#sthash.bcxCbCH6.dpuf>

whereby an acceptable third party with no ultimate decision making power intervenes to change the course or outcome of particular conflict to assist the disputants in their search for mutually acceptable agreement”.²⁷¹ It involves the intervention of an outsider, an individual, a group, or an organization, into a conflict between two or more states or other actors through a non-coercive, voluntary, nonviolent and, ultimately, nonbinding form of intervention.

According to Folberg and Taylor, the participants, systematically isolate disputed issues in order to develop options, consider alternatives, and reach a consensual settlement in a neutral way to accommodate their needs in mediation process²⁷². On the other hand, Bercovitch explains that the mediation as likely occurs when “a conflict has gone on for some time, efforts of actors involved reached impasse, neither actor is prepared to countenance further costs or escalation of the dispute, both parties welcome some form of mediation and are ready to engage in direct or indirect dialogue”.²⁷³ Blake and Mouton define mediation as a process involving “the intervention of a third party who first investigates and defines the problem and then usually approaches each group separately with recommendations designed to provide a mutually acceptable solution”.²⁷⁴

The mediation process and the neutrality of a mediator is defined by Moore as “the intervention into a dispute or negotiation by an acceptable, impartial and neutral third party who has no authoritative decision-making power to assist disputing parties in voluntarily reaching their own mutually acceptable settlement of issues in dispute”²⁷⁵. Spencer and Yang see mediation as “the assistance of a third party not involved in the

²⁷¹ Folberg and Taylor 1984, Moore 1986.

²⁷² Folberg and Taylor 1984, 7.

²⁷³ Bercovitch, 1984.

²⁷⁴ Blake and Mouton 1985, p. 15.

²⁷⁵ Moore 1986, 14.

dispute, who may be of a unique status that gives him or her certain authority with the disputants; or perhaps an outsider who may be regarded by them as a suitably neutral go-between²⁷⁶.

Even if mediation does not always mean prompt settlement of dispute, it usually at least brings the conflicting parties to the negotiation table along with a truce, ceasefire or to resolve, modify, or influence the situation in some way. Mediation operates on an ad hoc basis only based on the care and patience within a well-prepared and comprehensive framework. The confidentiality, being equally respecting of principles, the identity are important for a mediator to comply with the negotiations and mediator's influence, trust and legitimacy. Mediator should strike a balance between the two indispensable entities and the introduction of a resolution framework that will not require a sacrifice from one party at the expense of the other.

4.1.2. Turkish Style of Mediation

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ahmet Davutoglu outline a theoretical framework for international mediation role. Being aware of each problem has its own dynamics and conditions, the mediator should follow values-based strategy and a common vision since the beginning of the process to earn the trust of parties of a dispute. Turkey's ability to communicate with all parties of a dispute, showing empathy with the conflicting sides and an ethical stance in dealings with the parties of a conflict with societal support, Turkey's cultural-civilizational background and long experience with Western political and security structures have facilitated the third-party/mediatory role of Turkey over a wide geographical range without the interference of non-regional powers are important for success.

In a coherence with the EU membership process, Turkey attaches special importance to preventive diplomacy, mediation in a wide geography and endeavors actively for the peaceful settlement of disputes. In Davutoglu's view, the implementation of mediation

²⁷⁶ Spencer and Yang 1993, 195.

by a single actor, or different actors, including non-governmental organizations depending on the nature of the problem. He argues that a mediator should bring abilities like understanding the context and the actors, playing an insider role, preserving its reliability. Turkey's projection of its mediation role depends on being a credible actor and striking a balance between these two indispensable entities but that will not require a sacrifice from one party at the expense of the other.

First aspect of mediation is that the psychological dimension, mutual trust are the most significant part of mediation, then technical details of negotiations come next. Having empathy facilitates mediator to understand the conflict. The mediator himself should believe that the problem can and will be solved.

The second aspect of mediation is the intellectual dimension is that mediators must have a clear vision in his interaction with the parties. A mediator should conceptualize solution, status quo and to understand and analyze the international context of the process.

The ethical dimension of the negotiation process is the third aspect that a mediator should adopt a value-oriented approach and be the defender of shared cultural and historical values rather than a particular interest. The neutrality is the most important thing and there is need to have sincerity and honesty, especially when carrying messages between parties. Neutrality and objectivity are two different things. Neutrality means not favoring one side; objectivity means being on the side of truth.

Lastly, there is the methodological dimension that requires a mediator should have a precise plan for the timing of the mediation and for controlling the interactions of conflicting sides in a wider context. The mediator should be ready to face challenge and contain unexpected outside factors affecting the process.

Also, the vision-oriented/visionary foreign policy approach instead of a crisis-oriented one was taken into account. Rather than taking issues on a case-by-case, Turkey is no

longer a country which only reacts to crises, but notices the crises before their emergence and intervenes in the crises effectively, and gives shape to the order of its surrounding region²⁷⁷ ranging from Middle East to the Caucasus, and from climate change to the political economy.²⁷⁸

Turkish foreign policy is based on a consistent and systematic framework in a new discourse and diplomatic style²⁷⁹ which has resulted in the spread of soft power in the region. Davutoglu suggests that economic capacity, technological capacity and military capacity are the potential parameters of power. The constant parameters of power are history, geography, population and culture involving the human element²⁸⁰. The increase of its influence in the region will be directly proportional to implement successfully the soft power strategy.

The New Ottomanism is even used instead of the term of soft power regarding the democratization of Turkey with de-securitization²⁸¹. This is explained as the paradigmatic shift in terms of vision using terms such as Afro-Eurasia²⁸² and a radical

²⁷⁷ "New FM Davutoğlu to build order-instituting role for Turkey", Today's Zaman, 4 May 2009. Retrieved from <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/news-174284-new-fm-davutoglu-to-build-order-instituting-role-forturkey.html>

²⁷⁸ Ahmet Davutoğlu and Ali Babacan, retrieved from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/devlet-bakani-ve-basabakan-yardimcisi-sayin-ali-babacan-ile-disisleri-bakani-sayin-ahmet-davutoglu_nun-devir-teslim-vesilesiyle.tr.mfa

²⁷⁹ Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".

²⁸⁰ Ahmet Davutoğlu, *Stratejik Derinlik - Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu*, Küre Yayınları: İstanbul, 48th Edition, 2010, p.17.

²⁸¹ Kemal Kirişçi, "Between Europe and the Middle East: The Transformation of Turkish Policy", Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA), March 2004, Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 3, <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2004/issue1/jv8n1a4.html>. Accessed on 08 April 2009.

²⁸² Ahmet Davutoglu, *Stratejik Derinlik...*, p. 326.

move²⁸³ from Kemalist foreign policy which dependent upon a defensive, clumsy, ahistorical, enemy-focused, status quo, and static foreign policy understanding.

Turkey has attempted to promote cross-cultural dialogue and perform a mediating role in major regional and international conflicts. Whether Turkey's role is efficient or not, Turkey's role as a referee or mediator in major international conflicts as having style of mediation increases²⁸⁴.

In this regard, Turkey tries to operate effectively thanks to its multiple regional identities and ability to speak to all parties within the framework of a pro-active and pre-emptive peace diplomacy by ensuring stability in the Balkans, Middle East, Africa and Asia and having its diplomatic assets, on the ground. Particularly, Turkey has efforts to mediate between Israel and Syria, Sunni-Shiite reconciliation in Iraq, reconciliation in Lebanon and Palestine, the Serbia-Bosnia reconciliation in the Balkans, reconciliation between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the dialog between Darfur and Somalia, in the Iranian nuclear issue. Turkey's foreign policy perspective seems to be fair, intelligent and convincing other countries by persuasion²⁸⁵. In its Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform initiative during the Russian–Georgian crisis of 2008, signs of rapprochement with Armenia, relations with Russia, the steps towards resolution of the Kurdish issue, in

²⁸³ Soli Özel, "Divining Davutoğlu: Turkey's Foreign Policy Under New Leadership", GMFUS Analysis, June 4, 2009, pp.1-3, p.2 http://www.gmfus.org/doc/Soli_Analysis_Turkey_0609_Final.pdf. Accessed on 17 May 2009.

²⁸⁴ Ziya Öniş, Multiple Faces Of The "New" Turkish Foreign Policy: Underlying Dynamics And A Critique, Glodem Center, Working Paper Series, 04/2010.

²⁸⁵ Kalın, İbrahim, "Style and Substance in Turkish Foreign Policy", *Yorum& Haber*, April 23, 2009. <http://www.setav.org/public/HaberDetay.aspx?Dil=tr&hid=6166>, Retrieved on May 21, 2010.

Sudan, accusations of China of committing “genocide” against the Uighurs as well as its contacts with Hamas, and the Iraqi Shiite cleric are visible in this way²⁸⁶.

Turkey’s international mediation is built on capabilities of an active, multidimensional and dynamic, visionary foreign policy framework and the ability to coordinate with various societal groups like TIKA, the official development agency, Yunus Emre Foundation, (the Turkish version of Goethe Institute or Cervantes), the Public Diplomacy Agency and the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities. The activities of these organizations have been coordinated by the Foreign and Prime Ministries working in close cooperation with each other in a pluralistic environment, and societal demands.

In Afghanistan case, as a non-military and inclusive approach, Turkey offered mediation services to promote dialogue between Afghan factions and its neighbors. Turkey’s distancing itself from the American policies as an independent-minded civilian power in global politics and maintaining cooperation with the United States. Transformation in the Western powers’ policies in the wake of Obama’s announcement of a new Afghanistan strategy and Karzai’s re-election increasingly recognized the necessity of national reconciliation and the inclusion of Taliban into political processes.

In this context, Turkey advocated broad-based national dialogue and accelerated regional dialogue ahead of the Bonn conference provided a platform for discussion of the issues on the agenda. This facilitated the wider international community’s task of developing a new strategy. The growing convergence between Turkey’s and other Western powers’ positions was instrumental in paving the way for the London conference in late January 2010 held only a few days after the regional meeting in Istanbul such as the integration of moderate elements of Taliban into political processes.

²⁸⁶ Torbakov and Ojanen, *New Strategic Identity*; Ozel, *Divining Davutoglu*; “Today, Turkey is the first country called for mediation in the crises in the region”, E. Bagis, Speech delivered at the conference “Global Crisis and European Union”, Forum Istanbul 2009, 29 May 2009.

4.2. The Origin of Soft Power

The definition of soft power is that the ability to get what one wants by using all types of power resources, that is, civilian and econo-military powers alike in the proposed conception, through co-optive strategies/behavior according to Joseph Nye.

Various factors feed soft power are the culture, education, arts, print and visual media, film, poetry, literature, architecture, higher education in universities, research centres, etc., NGOs, science and technology, the capacity for innovation, tourism, platforms for economic cooperation and diplomacy. Soft power emerges as a combination of these elements and gives an idea about a country's cultural richness and social capital. Soft power refers to a country's social human capital, country's political system apart from its military and economic power, and the attractiveness of a country's culture, political notions and policies.

Hard power shows the ability to get one wants by using all types of power resources, that is, civilian and econo-military powers alike in the proposed conception, through command/coaxing strategies/behavior. Countries using all types of power resources through co-optive strategies/behavior are called as Soft Power States, while all countries using all types of power resources through command/coaxing strategies/behavior can be called as Hard Power States. Unlike hard power, soft power explains fields of influence and attraction beyond military and economic indicators.

The existence of hard power does not guarantee soft power. Nye points to Canada, Holland and the Scandinavian countries as examples of countries that have soft power despite their limited economic and military capabilities. Through their values, organizational capacities, education, innovation, international stance and mediation efforts, these countries enjoy a sphere of influence disproportionate to their military and economic power.

Nye contends that the United States has lost its credibility, persuasion power and attractiveness after 9/11 attacks and that no economic indicator can measure this cost.

America's ability during the Cold War era depends not on invading countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq, but on regaining the soft power which it has lost. In a world where anti-Americanism has become a global phenomenon, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the United States to be a trustworthy political power and a centre of attraction. The election of Barack Hussein Obama in 2008 brought about a significant public perception by eradicating anti-Americanism.

4.2.1. The Use of Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy

The soft power of Turkey that began in the Balkans, stretches far into Central Asia is inherited from the depth of history and culture the rule of the military or economic power. Turkey is pursuing a regional or even a global "soft power" role more than 15 years as the most important asset. Turkey's increasing diplomatic activities abroad and its mediation efforts are attestations of soft power of persuasion.

The soft power potential of Turkey emerges from the cultural and historical experience, values in the Balkans, the Middle East, and the Central Asia by mobilizing the regional dynamics and provided opportunities for the creation of influence. Turks, Kurds, Bosnians, Albanians, Abkhazians, Arabs, Azeris, Kazakhs, Kyrgyzs, Uzbeks, Turkmen, Armenian, Greek, Jewish and Assyrian communities belong the pivotal point of Ottoman heritage. The spheres of soft power for Turkey is even used as Neo-Ottomanism. Turkey's regional and global engagements are expanding in other regions, such as Africa, Asia and Latin America.

One of the main pillars of Turkey's soft power is its democratic experience and gaining of legitimacy among the public. Turkey's democratization efforts and success in economic development have been an inspiration for the newly country is deemed attractive. Turkish vibrant civil society, the values Turkey represents, as well as its

history and cultural depth have mobilized regional dynamics form the most important pillars of Turkey's soft power. Turkey has a 'new story' and a 'new narrative' today²⁸⁷.

Tarik Oğuzlu explains the soft power by comparing it with hard power in terms of the logic of action. In his article "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", He argues that Davutoğlu talks about the fundamentality of the persuasion of the other side through attraction, reasoning, and the preference of non-military instruments as a supplement.²⁸⁸

Oğuzlu describes the power as the capacity to influence other actors and shape their preferences through the possibilities/assets to influence others, the awareness of the possessor of those capabilities, and the recognition of that power by the other actors in the system²⁸⁹. The literature makes a distinction between hard and soft power based on the instruments²⁹⁰. The military and coercive instruments is an exercise of hard power. The use of civilian, economic and normative instruments brings out soft power²⁹¹. The power of attraction refers to the existence of soft power²⁹². If the legitimacy of identity and policies of the power-exerting party in the eyes of others change others's behavior not a cost-benefit analysis, that means there is the soft power²⁹³. Legitimacy is a prerequisite like the values owned by the power-holder, political, social, economic and cultural institutions of a country in the execution of foreign policy²⁹⁴.

²⁸⁷ Kalin, İbrahim, Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Turkey.

²⁸⁸ Oğuzlu, Tarık. "Türk Dış Politikasında Davudoğlu Dönemi", 46.

²⁸⁹ Oğuzlu, Tarık. "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 61:1(2007), 82.

²⁹⁰ Oğuzlu, Tarık. "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", 83.

²⁹¹ Oğuzlu, Tarık, "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.61, No.1, 2007, pp.81-97.

²⁹² Oğuzlu, Tarık. "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", 81.

²⁹³ Oğuzlu. "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", 83.

²⁹⁴ Oğuzlu. "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", 83-84

Neo-Ottomanism was first articulated by a liberal, secularist journalist Cengiz Çandar to describe the new Central Asia and Caucasus policy of Turkey during the Ozal era. It emphasized the linguistic, cultural, and religious ties with newly independent states in these regions. However, Özal's neo-Ottomanism was not able to find willing receivers.²⁹⁵ Today, it is also used to describe Turkey's new approach to relations with its neighbors. However, without a precise definition of the term, for some people, neo-Ottomanism has some positive connotations, such as Ottoman tolerance to diversity, whereas for the majority it refers to imperial rule.²⁹⁶ Some people claim that Turkish pro-activism in the region reflect a change of orientation in the Turkish foreign policy. Neo-Ottomanism is also used to label this "shift of axis."²⁹⁷ Though Davutoğlu rejects the accusations that he is a neo-Ottomanist, it seems that Neo-Ottomanism, as an ambiguous term, will continue to dominate the debates in Turkey, in the Middle East and in the Western world for a long time.

Özdağ claims that Turkey's position was "Passive and Passion" in the post september era. Turkey did not fully work an active policy in favor of a qualified interest of Turkey. Instead, Ankara followed an emotional approach to explain itself to Europeans for 30-year fight inside the country. Turkey avoided to enter into a military alliance with the United States stand by with the same emotional approach.²⁹⁸ By reminding Turkey's strategic interests in Afghanistan, Ozdag claims that Turkey has also new duties and new missions in the post september era. Therefore, Turkey would have taken more active role in Afghanistan.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ Onar, op.cit., p.10.

²⁹⁶ Danforth, op.cit., p.90.

²⁹⁷ Cengiz Çandar, "Turkey's 'Soft Power' Strategy: A New Vision for a Multi-Polar World", *SETA Policy Brief*, No.38, December 2009, p.5.

²⁹⁸ Umit Ozdağ, "Terorizm, Kuresel Guvenlik ve Turkiye", *Stratejik Analiz*, Cilt: 2, Sayı: 19, ASAM Yayınları, Ankara, Kasım 2001, s. 11.

²⁹⁹ Ozdağ, a.g.m., s. 9.

Although there have been dozens of major international conferences during the past decade, their impact on Afghanistan has remained less than that of the actions of certain individual key actors, especially the governments of Pakistan and the United States as well as the Taliban. The Taliban whose forces withdrew to the eastern and southern parts of the country has a deep faith and trust that U.S. will not win the victory in Afghanistan. Geographical structure increases the possibilities of resistance in Afghanistan. The warlords in the Taliban who were discarded clothing in the last 10 years in politics and other groups are supposed to manifest in the political scene again. Some people say that perhaps the exclusion of Taliban in Bonn and too much focus on Iraq was a mistake that Afghanistan increasingly has been mentioned as the second Vietnam for the US.

Karzai thinks that even Bonn Conference is not a positive step for him and his country , but a threat . Karzai, at the end of this meeting, he said that he would be isolated.³⁰⁰ In addition, the Afghan-Pakistan conflict has elements of a civil war in which the Taliban enjoys some support among the large Pashtun community that straddles the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. For this reason, regionally based peace efforts will invariably struggle unless accompanied by complementary developments in Afghanistan and Pakistan such as more effective governance, better counterinsurgency operations, and a greater desire on the part of the insurgents to lay down their arms and reenter their civilian societies.

Thus, continuous the anarchy and tension in Afghanistan spread into Pakistan and other regions. The weak security environment in the country is working against the reconstruction process, and as such rendering the direction of the transition beyond 2014 uncertain. It is foreseen that there may be major developments in terms of diplomatic, economic, judicial and legal terms in Afghanistan.³⁰¹ At the same time, the evolution of

³⁰⁰ ABD, Afganistan'da batağa saplandı

<http://www.millipolitika.com/abd-afganistan-da-bataga-saplandi.html>, 2011-12-05

³⁰¹ Ahmad Zayi, a.g.r.

the domestic conditions in Afghanistan is hard to predict. It's going to be very difficult because of the very different and conflicting agendas of regional players. If there are no improvements to the economic and social situation of Afghanistan, security and safety alone will not bring peace to the country and its people. Security is a fundamental condition for the Afghan government, local and foreign NGOs, and Afghan people to work to build a better Afghanistan for future generations. There are many nations, nongovernmental organizations, the United Nations, NATO and more involved in Afghanistan's reconstruction.

CHAPTER 5

TURKEY'S POSSIBLE INFLUENCE IN AFGAN ISSUE

5.1. Turkey's Success in Afghan Conflict

Turkey has so far hosted eight meetings of Afghanistan-Pakistan-Turkey Trilateral summits which have mostly aimed towards strengthening multidimensional cooperation among the three countries in the field of politics, security and economic development. Turkish government follow an Ankara-centered approach based on a non-military solution to the Afghan conflict.

Turkey's Afghanistan policy is based on the Afghan ownership. This includes all major forces, even the Taliban, in political processes with the utilization of civilian instruments should be included on board for political and economic reconstruction and capacity building at the local level to create a conducive regional atmosphere in which Afghan political actors can work towards national reconciliation. Turkey emphasizes the importance of a political dialogue and national reconciliation for a comprehensive peace-building and she supported a strong and sustainable central authority, Hamid Karzai-led government in Kabul.

Also, In Turkish understanding, Afghan ownership includes neutrality so that Turkey paid attention to refrain from pursuing a policy an equal distance to various Afghan groups with ethnic or linguistic ties. Because Turkey believes that to make the distinction among groups increase the ongoing problems and it becomes incorrect.

Turkey's regional ownership of the Afghanistan problem emphasizes the importance of the indivisibility of regional security. Turkey perceives that the security and stability of

the wider region is properly linked to Afghanistan's stability³⁰². This understanding necessitates cooperation among neighboring countries for regionally based solutions by initiating a Turkey-Afghanistan-Pakistan trilateral process and to generate synergy between various bilateral, trilateral, or regional initiatives³⁰³.

Turkey's current leadership for annual conferences and İstanbul process illustrates the idea of indivisibility of regional security. The "Cooperation in the Heart of Asia"³⁰⁴ and the Istanbul process is underlined for the centrality of Afghanistan issue on regional cooperation to achieve regional security. Turkey underlines the indivisibility of security in the Istanbul Summit's final declaration:

To turn the vicious circle of instability and underdevelopment into a virtuous circle of peace and prosperity, Turkey has underlined the need to address the security gap in Afghanistan. The success of one regional country in standing up against challenges positively reverberates in neighbouring countries, while shortcomings also afflict the neighbours. We are convinced that our region as a whole should take determined and coordinated action to address the complex challenges that characterise the contemporary regional environment.³⁰⁵

Turkish officials think that Turkey's positive bilateral relations with Afghanistan and many of its neighbors, its relatively equal and neutral position to generate a broad-based regional participation, pursuing transparent relations based on the lack of hidden

³⁰² Şaban Kardaş, "No Boutique State': Understanding the Debate on Turkey's Involvement in Afghanistan", GMF On Turkey, 13 April 2012.

³⁰³ Şaban Kardaş, "No Boutique State": Understanding the Debate on Turkey's Involvement in Afghanistan.

³⁰⁴ "Asya'nın Kalbi'nde Dostluk ve birliği için İstanbul Bildirgesi", T.C. Disisleri Bakanligi, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/asyanin-kalbinde-dostluk-ve-ibirligi-icin-istanbul-bildirisi.621bid>.

³⁰⁵ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Istanbul Statement on Friendship and Cooperation in the 'Heart of Asia', (26 January 2010) at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/istanbul-statementon-friendship-and-cooperation-in-the-heart-of-asia.en.mfa>.

agenda's, its respect for their national interests and concerns assisted Turkey's being the trusted party at the continuation of the trilateral process³⁰⁶.

Turkey's used military, diplomatic, and other initiatives aimed at establishing peace and security in Afghanistan. Turkey also emphasized the "regionalizing" its diplomatic efforts at a broader platform. Turkey believes that Afghanistan's peace and prosperity is connected to the peace and prosperity of the region and the region's to Afghanistan. So, Istanbul process is appreciated as one of the major mechanisms to address the security situation in Afghanistan for the adoption of a series of confidence building measures through closer multilateral cooperation³⁰⁷. Turkey's possible success at a critical crossroads in the transition to self-sufficiency and sustainable peace is needed for Afghanistan. Bülent Aras believes that Turkey's efforts for peace in Afghanistan shows Turkey's international mediation role in unique ways³⁰⁸. Turkey's former special coordinator for Afghanistan Aydemir Erman states that thanks to historical relationships in the region and deep understanding of local values and cultures, Turkey may be the only country to bring Afghanistan and Pakistan together despite their differences.³⁰⁹

Turkey is appreciated by international community as an effective facilitator or mediator in a peace process for Afghanistan³¹⁰. Turkey's emphasis on regional ownership, which

³⁰⁶ Bülent Aras, "Afghanistan Diplomasi", *Sabah*, 20 January 2010, http://www.sabah.com.tr/Yazarlar/bulent_aras/2010/01/20/afghanistan_diplomasi.

³⁰⁷ "US Official Praises Turkey's Role in Afghanistan", *Today's Zaman*, 8 January 2010, <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/news-197942-102-us-official-praises-turkeys-role-inafghanistan.html>.

³⁰⁸ Bülent Aras, "Turkey's Rise in the Greater Middle East: Peace-Building in the Periphery", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* Vol. 11, No. 1 (March 2009), pp.29-41.

³⁰⁹ Erman, Aydemir, "How Turkey's Soft Power can Aid NATO in Afghanistan", *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 2010. Fayutkin, Major Dan, "Stabilization and Reconstruction of Nations after the Military Victory: Afghanistan and Chechnya Case Studie s", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 2009.

³¹⁰ This electronic document was made available from www.rand.org as a public service of the RAND Corporation.

stress the regional cooperation with Afghanistan begins with the support of regional neighbors, depends on the regionally owned and governed in a sincere, transparent and constructive understanding³¹¹.

5.2. Turkey-US Relations regarding Afghanistan

September 11 attacks has been a “turning point” in US-Middle East relations, the West and the East or Christianity and Islam.³¹² The U.S. invaded Afghanistan began in 2001 and followed by the invasion of Iraq beginning in 2003. Turkey was challenged to balance its relation with Syria, Iran due to Bush administration’s “with us or against us” attitude.³¹³ Turkey’s increasing assertiveness in regional affairs and particularly Turkey’s involvement in Afghanistan occasionally is in a coherence with its membership into the transatlantic community. Thus, Turkey did not completely deviate from the decisions taken by the NATO and coordinated its Afghanistan policy with the United States.

The failure of the U.S. in Afghanistan would mean the failure of NATO members and Turkish-American relations. Turkey has received a warm welcome from the region through its soft power identity, dialogue and constructive diplomacy. Yet, Turkey has to deal with anti-American sentiments in Afghanistan conflict. However, Turkey refused to increase the number of Turkish military personnel as part of troop surge asked from the United States. Also, Turkey denied to expand the Kabul command’s mandate towards the South, where the Taliban is resurgent to prevent Turkey’s possible joint in combat operations.

When Af-Pak Strategy is developed by the new US President, Turkey’s contributions into Afghanistan are considered to revive the US-Turkish strategic partnership and act

³¹¹ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “The Istanbul Declaration following the 4th RECCA”, (2-3 November 2010), at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/istanbul_deklaration.pdf, last visited 9 April 2013.

³¹² Sinan Ulgen, “Turkey’s route to the eu may be via the middle east”, *europa’s world*, vol. 11, spring 2009, p.20.

³¹³ Ulgen, op.cit., p.21.

together with the West. While Turkey emphasized the utilization of non-military instruments and inclusion of all Afghan groups in political processes, Turkey, refused the demand for greater military contribution as Chief of General Staff said that Turkish soldiers no would go there for such a mission in NATO Summit in 2009. Thus, Turkey's military contributions would be limited to ensuring security in its area of responsibility, training and equipping of Afghan security forces ANA and Police in Kabul and providing logistical assistance to other international forces. Also, Turkey drew attention to PRTs through many humanitarian and economic reconstruction projects including education, health, housing, and infrastructure improvement projects. Moreover, Turkey seeks to ensure security and stability, advocating democratic elections, increasing economic development and reconstruction, except for sending combat forces to Afghanistan. Turkey's all efforts show that Turkey drew attention to the humanitarian tragedy unfolding in the context of Afghanistan and Pakistan and argued for more effective utilization of civilian instruments.³¹⁴

Since Turkey also objected to the selection of Anders Fogh Rasmussen as new NATO chief, Afghanistan-related disagreements were particularly visible in its relationship with the transatlantic community. Then, Turkey and the United States seeks for a common ground with working relationship with the Alliance in Afghanistan by having removed his objections to Rasmussen's election.

5.3. Challenges to Turkey's Role

There are some risks for Turkey's undertaking role in reconciliation process with the Taliban.

³¹⁴ Armağan Kuloglu, "Afganistan'a Operasyon için Türk Askeri Gider mi?", at <http://www.orsam.org.tr/tr/yazigoster.aspx?ID=451>, last visited 4 February 2010.

5.3.1. Inner Dynamics

Turkey's internal problems like namely Kurdish question, complex secular identity and modernization issues, the stagnation in the EU membership process and the conflict between political parties challenges Turkey's success to be active in a regional power. Yet, Turkey still has to solve a number of pending issues such as the state's relations with the Kurds of Turkey and Northern Iraq, the re-opening of borders with Armenia, the implementation of the Additional Protocol to the Ankara Agreement, the recognition of Cyprus. In the Caucasus, Georgia and Russia are Turkey's strategic, economic and energy partners, but they are not willing to cooperate easily with each other. For instance, due to the Nagorno Karabakh conflict and Azerbaijan's opposition to any potential rapprochement between Turkey and Armenia and/or Russia, a Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform will not be easy to reach³¹⁵. Armenian-Turkish rapprochement without commitment of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue could affect negatively on Azerbaijan's involvement as a natural gas supplier to the Nabucco project. Also, Middle Eastern actors' recognition of Turkey as a regional leader would seem to be in favour of such a role.³¹⁶

One of the most important problems is the Kurdish problem, and AK Party government had attempted to solve by launching a new initiative called "Kurdish opening" in 2009. Then, it is called as "Democratic opening" by emphasizing to provide equal rights to Turkish citizens of Kurdish descent³¹⁷. Turkey started dialogue with the outlawed Kurdistan People's Party, or PKK listed as a terrorist organization by Turkey, the United States and the European Union. This process is criticized by Republican People's Party (CHP) and Devlet Bahçeli, head of the junior opposition Nationalist Movement Party

³¹⁵ Lesser, I.O. "The Global Economic Crisis: Implications for Turkey, Europe, and the United States". http://businessnewseurope.eu/story1629/Speculation_over_TurkeyIMF_deal_masks amore_crucial_concern.

³¹⁶ C. Ulsever, "Turkey's 'multi-centered' foreign policy", *Hurriyet Daily News*, 13 July 2009.

³¹⁷ Grigoriadis, op.cit., p.6.

(MHP). On the other hand, Turkey's willingness for reconciliation of Taliban is criticized. They urged the government to withdraw Turkish troops from Afghanistan

Sinan Ogan, director of Turkish Center for International Relations and Strategic Analysis (TURKSAM) stated that Turkey is being encouraged to play a role in the reconciliation process by Western powers. He argues that Turkey should not be part of that process. If there is a need to talk with Taliban, let Western forces do that. It is primarily their problem. Once you open the door to dialogue with a terrorist organization, you might have to face the repercussions. Using the same rationale, what would Turkey say if the PKK decided to open an office in a third country and asked to use a mediator to reconcile with Turkey. Also, talks with Taliban seems similar to Turkey's efforts for peace process in last decade.

In such atmosphere, Turkey's military presence in Afghanistan are discussed harshly among political parties. After a Turkish helicopter accident in Kabul on March 16, leaving 12 Turkish soldiers and 4 Afghan civilians dead. That event heightened tensions following the burning of the Koran and the massacre of Afghan civilians by a U.S. soldier, the opposition parties immediately questioned the reasons for the crash, suggesting Turkish troops might have fallen victim to retaliatory or provocative attacks. They vocally objected to a continuation of Turkey's military presence, calling on the government to contemplate a withdrawal.

The Republican People's Party leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu has asked what Turkey has to do in Afghanistan, and Nationalist Movement Party leader Devlet Bahçeli maintained that while Turkey had many problems of its own, it was meaningless to suffer casualties elsewhere. Government officials rebuffed those arguments, stating that Turkey would remain committed to Afghanistan. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan maintained

that “Turkey is not a boutique state... We cannot think small, we have to think big. Being a big state, naturally, comes with certain costs.”³¹⁸

5.3.2. Regional Challenges

Turkey supports to develop good relations with its neighbors by following a policy of unity and the territorial integrity of Afghanistan. Turkey, escaping from manipulating Afghan domestic politics, seeks to ensure that other regional powers are restrained from pursuing damaging unilateral policies. Nevertheless, the regional rivalries have affected Turkey’s efforts.

If a Taliban office were opened in Istanbul, Turkey would alienate other Afghan circles, including Afghan civil society, women's rights groups, the Taliban's political opponents and mainstream Afghans. Also, Turkey would get no concrete results from hosting the planned talks because the Taliban's political masters are Pakistan's military establishment and they do not wish to end their support for the Taliban. Also, neither the Taliban nor Pakistan want to make a deal with an outgoing president Karzai.

Turkey has to balance the India-Pakistan rivalry in the region. For instance, The Indians complained when they weren’t invited to the trilateral summits between Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Turkey, as well as other Turkey-hosted gatherings on Afghanistan. Indians interpreted their exclusion as a sign that Turkey doesn’t respect India’s legitimate national security interest in Afghanistan. This past year, Turkish diplomats addressed these concerns by including India in more of Turkey’s diplomatic initiatives regarding Afghanistan, but the shift has irritated Pakistan. Indeed, some Pakistani analysts accuse Turkish officials of distancing themselves from Islamabad’s interests in Afghanistan in order to please Washington “at Pakistan’s expense.”

³¹⁸ Şaban Kardaş, “No Boutique State”: Understanding the Debate on Turkey’s Involvement in Afghanistan.

India has good relationship with Afghanistan, a strategic partnership agreement was signed between the countries to cooperate on security in October 2011. U.S. administration supports to assist Afghanistan as a trade, transportation and energy hub connecting Central and South Asia. This strategic shift to the Asia-Pacific region forces U.S. to move closer to India which is also an ideal partner in the region to be used against China.

China's Afghanistan policy is focused on that extremist ideology and violence does not spill into Xinjiang province which is inhabited by Uighurs of Turkish descent and Muslim faith. Both India and China are trying to gain more space for regional influence, and they have opposing ideas so far as Afghanistan is concerned. China has strong relations with Pakistan. Whereas India is committed to the Chahbahar Port where goods from Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan (petro-chemicals) and that from Afghanistan (minerals) can be shipped home as a substitute trade route for the western Xinjiang province.

Iran had supported non-Taliban groups in 1990s. To accept a predominantly Sunni regime in the face of Taliban in power may result in a proxy war, supporting the Afghanistan's Hazara populace that is mostly Shia. Iran spends \$100 million a year in Afghanistan, much of it on media which are expected focusing on differences within the ethnic groups instead of focusing on the similarities, civil society projects and religious schools³¹⁹. The propaganda has impact mostly.

Russia is not happy about America's presence in Afghanistan that restricts Russian regional influence. It also does not want that extremism should spread to Central Asia and Caucasus. It is also a victim of the illegal drug trade from Afghanistan. The main players here will be Pakistan, America...and the Afghan Taliban.

As the resurgence of violence attests, despite the growing recognition of the principle of regional ownership in the region and beyond, there is no clear sight. The new strategy of

³¹⁹ Reuters, May 24, 2012.

integrating the Taliban into Afghan political life, supported by the regional countries and the broader international community, has failed to produce a negotiated settlement inside the country, as the withdrawal of international forces is slowly underway.

Also, existing regional institutional architecture, both in terms of physical infrastructure and legal regulations are not ready. The countries in the region have come a long way towards setting up effective multilateral mechanisms and regional organizations. However, they still share different views regarding Afghanistan and the Western presence in the country and they maintain skepticism towards the prospects of regional countries' ability to instigate a process of conflict transformation inside Afghanistan. Nonetheless, the dialogue among the Afghanistan's neighbors and other key actors on the situation in Afghanistan interestingly stimulated greater awareness about the intrinsic value of regional cooperation.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The continuous Afghan War became the Second Vietnam³²⁰ for U.S. due to its being the longest military conflict in American history by passing the Vietnam War which lasted a total of 103 months and Korean War. Eventhough Taliban government was overthrown, they disappeared into the population, escaped to Pakistan. However, they re-grouped, reformed and started insurgency against U.S. and NATO coalition forces intensifying violence. The misunderstanding the logic of insurgency, the lack of enough Afghan Army and Afghan Police officers, the local warlords' influence on the central government, and the corrupted Afghan government became the most important challenges for westerners to achieve the stability in the region generally. Nowadays, it is clear that the military solutions became exhausted, so they search for the alternative solutions to solve disputes in a peaceful settlement instead of military engagements. Afghan people not only need security, but also basic needs to survive and education for civilization with the lack of a stable government.³²¹

Therefore, Turkey's civilian efforts deserve credits. Turkey lead twice to ISAF composing of six months periods successfully. Turkey has brought prosperity and higher living standards to the people of Afghanistan either through ISAF leadership TIKA's projects and aid. The assignment of former foreign minister and president of Turkish Assembly, Hikmet Cetin's³²² as NATO's Afghanistan Senior Civilian Representative, is

³²⁰ <http://andrewliptak.com/2011/04/22/afghanistan-americas-second-vietnam-or-its-first-victory-over-al-quida/>

³²¹ Majid Mohammad Poor, *Afghanistan: Fursahta wa Tahditha, (Afghanistan: Firsatlar ve Tehditler)*, (Tahran: Farain, 2007), ss. 45-49.

³²² Former NATO Envoy Hikmet Cetin, "Turkey can do more in Afghanistan", *Today's Zaman*, 11 December 2009, <http://www.todayzaman.com/tz-web/news-195209-100-former-nato-envoycetin-turkey-can-do-more-in-afghanistan.html>.

derived from intensive demands as well as its having deep historical and cultural ties. Her contributions in Afghanistan in the framework of the ISAF are not only highly appreciated by Afghanistan, the US and NATO, but also by the whole international community.³²³

Turkey has been described as simultaneously as a regional power, a middle power, and a pivot for globalization and geopolitical innovation³²⁴ by accepting responsibility of regional role and trying to harmonize its promises to neighboring regions and strategic allies³²⁵. In such newly developed policy, Turkey is trying to coordinate with the US and NATO in Afghanistan as non-combat peace keeping forces. Turkey's orientation and strategic alliance with the West is in a coherence with Turkey's involvement in Iraq, Iran, the Caucasus, the Middle East peace process, and Afghanistan. The potential costs, an alliance defeat in Afghanistan would seriously weaken NATO would in turn also weaken Turkey's strongest security link with most European countries.

However, Turkey's taking a growing role in Afghanistan has some possible benefits for the increase of Turkey's and Turkish Army's prestige in the international policy. Even a global power like the US and a global security power like NATO needed the power of Turkey's army. The reinforcement of Turkey's situation in NATO and the US-Turkey alliance, ease of Turkey's return to Central Asia, attendance of Turkey to the Central Asia energy game as an active player in strategic level.³²⁶

³²³ Turkish Contributions to Security and Development in Afghanistan", The UN, 22 March 2007, <http://www.un.int/turkey/page167.html>. Accessed on June 05, 2009.

³²⁴ Brzezinski, 1997.

³²⁵ Ahmet Davutoglu, "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy", *Foreign Policy Magazine*, 20 May 2010, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/05/20/turkeys_zero_problems_foreign_policy.

³²⁶ Muharrem Eksi, Turkey's Increasing Role in Afghanistan, *Journal of Global Analysis*, July 2010.

Turkey's emphasis on training of Afghan police and army was perceived as a valuable contribution especially in the context of withdrawal of international forces by 2014³²⁷. Turkey recognizes the tie between education and in the combating of drug trafficking. Therefore, Turkey has assisted in building schools and has trained anti-narcotics units in Ankara. However, Turkish officials make the argument of religious sensitivities in Afghanistan and Pakistan to the insensibility of the NATO alliance to religious considerations of the local communities in the connection with a wider area of Central Asia.

Pakistan and Afghanistan do not perceive Turkey as a foreign country. They see Turkey as a 'brother country' to themselves, and this 'brotherhood' is not only a word but a reality. We surveyed many times if Turkey is perceived as a brother country by the public opinion in the relationships between these countries and Turkey, it really seems like that. Turkish people also see them with the same perception. Now, considering these advantages, we see that Turkey has more great advantages in many aspects compared to the other NATO countries.

In the statement released from the spokesperson of Foreign Ministry, it is said that friendship between Afghanistan and Turkey has historical background for cultural, civilization, religious bonds between the two nations is further growing in the course of history and ties between the two nations are getting further deepened.

Turkey as a global actor and as the term President of the UNSC (the UN Security Council), Turkey is preparing to play a more active role in Afghanistan. Turkish foreign policies towards Afghanistan is developed in terms of politics, security and socio-economic ways. Turkey has increasing role for regional cooperation Turkish-Pakistani-Afghani triple summit attempts are analyzed. Additionally, are emphasized. Turkey's unwillingness to send troops to Afghanistan for operational purposes has been evaluated by stating the advantages and disadvantages of such decision. Turkey's quiet approach between 2001 and 2004 towards Afghanistan by energizing since 2005.

³²⁷ "US Envoy Praises Turkey's Role in Afghanistan", *Hurriyet Daily News*, 5 February 2010.

Turkey's Afghan approach is relevant with the subsequent transformations in U.S./NATO policy on Afghanistan. Turkey accepts to lead regional initiatives within the transatlantic community with the idea of addressing the Afghanistan problem through multi-dimensional international platforms. For instance, major regional gatherings were held in Istanbul, underscoring the growing convergence between the Turkish and Western powers' positions before to the two conferences on Afghanistan held in London in January 2010 and in Bonn in December 2011.

Also, Turkey supports creating national reconciliation through the integration of all Afghan groups and initiating peace talks with the Taliban have been progressively adopted by the Western world, as the previous Af-Pak strategy failed to eradicate it. With the announcement of withdrawal plans, the importance of training and assisting Afghan military personnel has emerged as major items on transatlantic agenda, once again highlighting Turkey's earlier contribution towards the Afghanization of security.

By defusing regional tension, enabling broader regional engagement, and forging economic interdependence, that principle facilitated Turkey's mediator or facilitator role in international affairs. Kamer Kasım, vice chairman of the Ankara-based International Strategic Research Organization (USAK), told Sunday's Zaman that Turkey played an important role either diplomatically bringing Pakistani and Afghan leaders together, or doing much of the construction work in Afghanistan with Turkish contractors. They enjoy reasonably good working relationships with both the Afghans and the Pakistanis, so they're like a kind of natural third party in Afghan conflict. However, the issue is not solved.

The Saudis and Turkey are being put forward as an obvious third country where both Afghans and Pakistanis and Taliban would feel comfortable talking to one another³²⁸. On the other hand, Turkish Foreign Minister Davutoglu has claimed that Turkey could help to reach a settlement with the Taliban and in fact underscored the need to bring in

³²⁸ Resat Arım, Middle East, Afghanistan, Pakistan; Pakistan emerges as key pillar of Turkey's Afghanistan policy, 27 may 2012.

all sides: ‘We must persuade all to take part, including the Taleban’³²⁹. However, this process works very slow. And an office is not opened so far in Turkey as officially.

Starting with the signing of an agreement on 1 March 1921³³⁰, Turkish-Afghan relations were mainly based on the Turkish cultural and technical aid in cultural domain and to send teachers and military officers.³³¹ Turkey continues to play important role not only in Afghan internal issues, but tries to solve one of the main external issues³³² connected to the core of security situation in Afghanistan to settle disputes between Afghanistan and Pakistan over Taliban’s bases on Pakistani territory. The government of Turkey announced its plans for keeping its peacemakers in Afghanistan, even if NATO withdraws its troops from the country by the end of 2014. Turkish defense minister Ismet Yilmaz said that this decision was taken following his visit to Afghanistan where Afghan officials expressed their hope that Turkey will keep its troops in Afghanistan.³³³ Turkish contribution needs to more valuable regarding its soft power in both Afghanistan and Pakistan cases. Turkey's Muslim identity and particularly the Islamic roots of the current government in Turkey might be important. Turkey is enjoying the West to talk to Pakistan to change its old habits of using Islamist ideology and loyalty to militant group such as the Taliban in order to exert influence over Afghanistan.

Mediation efforts between Afghanistan and parts of the Taliban have not been successful, but were praised internationally. Because the regional security and mutual trust is not able to overcome in the short term. The attitudes of governments, the level of conflicts of interest sub-groups of non-implementation of the decisions in the process continue. Also, solutions to the problems of the two countries should be made by

³²⁹ Binyon,2010

³³⁰ Fırat and Kürkçüoğlu. “1919-1923 Orta Doğu’yla İlişkiler”, 208.

³³¹ Melek Fırat and Ömer Kürkçüoğlu. “1919-1923 Orta Doğu’yla İlişkiler”, in Türk Dış Politikası Cilt 1, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 208.

³³² Misdaq, Nabi (2006). *Afghanistan: Political Frailty and External Interference*. London: Routledge.

³³³ <http://www.khaama.com/turkey-plans-to-keep-troops-in-afghanistan-after-nato-pullout-1636>

themselves. US has needed Pakistan as “an ally from hell” and her new found love for Pakistan’s arch rival India. Turkey can play in bringing peace to war torn Afghanistan by awarded the responsibility, mutually by the other players involved to play host to a settlement with the Taliban in Afghanistan, facilitating withdrawal of NATO troops and helping Afghanistan to maintain enduring peace if a representative of the Taliban is onboard with Turkey with Pakistan’s blessings and accepted by the Taliban.

Turkish government is cautious about its level of involvement, especially in the military realm. Consequently, Turkey’s soft powers assets are visible in Afghan conflict. However, just using these efforts do not help Turkey in political sphere. The theoretical framework of Turkish foreign policy in the post september era does not work well in practice. The security situation could not be dealt with by purely military measures in Afghanistan. However, Turkish civilian inclusive support as well as ties with Afghanistan and Pakistan is very useful. Nevertheless, Turkey’s influence in the region is limited. Touching upon the withdrawal of NATO forces by the end of 2014, Turkey could play in the post-NATO era in Afghanistan as not only being a member of NATO but as its brother country. As Turkish authorities have also mentioned, Turkey will be in Afghanistan as long as Afghans want them to be. Turkey can play an important role in training the Afghan troops, soldiers, army and police, Turkey has close ties with both Afghanistan and Pakistan and has spearheaded efforts for peace between the two countries, whose ties are often strained due to Afghan distrust of Pakistan's support for the Taliban. Turkey's support for Pakistan's participation in the NATO summit in Chicago, which took place in May, showed that Pakistan is one of the prominent players for security and stability in Afghanistan.

6.1. Scope for Further Research

This thesis aimed to trace the Turkish foreign policy towards Afghanistan in the post- and elaborate the relevance of soft power term and mediation for describing Turkey’s presence in the region. It is not the claim of this study to explain all the developments in Turkish foreign policy towards the region during the AK Party government era, namely

the period of 2002-2013. But, this study tries to explain some basic points of views guiding the foreign policy decisions within the given period of time towards Afghanistan. Turkey does not leave Afghanistan until Afghans say Turks to leave the country. Especially after westerners leave the country, Turkey's position will be important. Taliban Talks may be become an important example for Turkey's peace process inside. Also, There are high number of Afghans living in Turkey. They do not have chance to go to third countries. Turkey is also taking important steps in the Afghan refugee issue. Similar studies might be done with each country of the and a more detailed analysis might be possible in this way.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Afganistan jeostratejik anlamda hem küresel hem de bölgesel çapta önemli bir ülkedir. Asya Kıtası'nın Batı-Doğu ve Kuzey-Güney geçiş yönlerinde bir kavşak noktasında yer almakta ve Orta Asya ile Hint Okyanusu, Çin ile Bağımsız Devletler Topluluğu (BDT), Orta Doğu ve Hint Alt kıtalarını birbirine bağlamaktadır. Kuzeyde Özbekistan, Türkmenistan ve Tacikistan, doğuda Çin, güney ve güneydoğuda Pakistan, batıda İran ile sınır komşusudur.³³⁴ Üzerinde önemli ticaret yollarının geçmesi, bu yollar üzerindeki geçit ve tünellerin askeri açıdan değer taşıması ülkeyi, tarihin farklı evrelerinde değişik büyük güçlerin savaş alanına dönüştürmüştür.³³⁵ Orta Asya'dan Hint Okyanusu'na inen bölgedeki enerji kaynakları üzerinde dönen uluslararası rekabetin ötesinde, askeri-stratejik hesapların yapıldığı bir ülkedir.³³⁶ Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasından sonra günümüzde yaşanan Yeni Büyük Oyun'da da önemini koruması ve 11 Eylül saldırıları sonrasında ABD'nin bölgeye yerleşmesiyle birlikte, yeni dönemde Çin, ABD, Rusya arasında enerji sahalarını kontrol etme yönündeki yarışta Orta Asya ve Güney Asya'ya ortak sınırları bulunan Afganistan bölgesel ve küresel güçlerin mücadele alanı haline gelmiştir.

Afganistan'ı daha iyi anlamak için tarihsel bir özetle başlayan bu çalışma, müdahale ile başlayan 13 yıllık sürecin yaşanmasına sebep olan 11 Eylül sürecinde Türkiye'nin rolünü ele almaktadır. 11 Eylül sonrasında Pakistan, Hindistan, İran ve Türkiye gibi

³³⁴ Hüseyin Şeyhanlıoğlu, "11 Eylül Sonrasında Değişen Dünya Dengelerinde Afganistan," Yayınlanmamış Master Tezi, Sakarya Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Sakarya, Haziran 2004, ss. 5-7.

³³⁵ Haydar Çakmak, *Uluslararası Krizler ve Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri*, (Ankara: Platin, 2004), s. 207.

³³⁶ Angelo Rasanayagam, *Afghanistan: A Modern History*, (New York: I.B. Tavis, 2007), ss. 1-4

bölgesel güçlerin önemli etkilerinin görüldüğü Afganistan'da Türkiye'nin üstlendiği görev ve Türkiye'nin Afganistan'daki yerini güçlendirmesinin zorluğu ve bölgesel işbirliğinde Türkiye ve Afganistan diplomatik ve ekonomik ilişkilerin yanısıra, neden Türkiye'nin bölgede sembolik düzeyde bir ilişkisinin olduğu araştırılacaktır.

Tezin ikinci bölümünde, 11 Eylül sonrası dönemde, Afganistan'da yaşanan gelişmeler kısaca ele alınmıştır. 11 Eylül 2001 tarihinde New York'taki Dünya Ticaret Merkezi ve Pentagon'a yapılan saldırılar sadece ABD değil, bütün dünya daha önce benzeri görülmeeyen terörle karşı karşıya geldi.³³⁷ Bu olaydan hemen sonra ABD olayın sorumlusu olarak Al-Kaide örgütünün başkanı Osama Bin Ladin'i sorumlu tuttu. O dönemde Taliban hükümetine sığınan Bin Ladin, ABD'nin taleplerine rağmen Taliban Hükümeti tarafından teslim edilmedi. Bunun üzerine ABD 7 Ekim 2001'de Afganistan'a yönelik "Kalıcı Özgürlük" operasyonu başlattı. Böylece tüm dünyanın dikkati "yıllardır Taliban'ın baskıcı yönetimine rağmen unutulmaya bırakılan" Afganistan üzerine yoğunlaştı.³³⁸ ABD Afganistan'a savaş açarken bunu BM'nin 51. maddesine³³⁹(meşru müdafaa) dayandırmış, böylelikle NATO üyeleri ile birlikte adım atarak harekâtına meşruluk kazandırmıştır.

11 Eylül sonrasında ABD öncülüğündeki NATO güçlerinin Afganistan'a müdahalesi, Taliban'ın otoritesine son vererek ülkenin uluslararası yardımlar ile yeniden inşa edilmesinin gerekliliği üzerinde duruyor. Afganistan'ın müdahaleden sonraki on üç

³³⁷ Mehmet Özcan, Serkan Yardımcı, "Avrupa Birliği ve Küresel Terörizm İle Mücadele," *Terör, Terörizm ve Küresel Terörle Mücadele: Ulusal ve Bölgesel Deneyimler* içinde, derl., İhsan Bal, (Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2006), s. 2000.

³³⁸ Ali Balcı, "Afganistan: Ulus Devlet ve Kabilecik Arasında," **Dünya Çatışma Bölgeleri**, Ed., Kemal İnat, Burhanettin Duran, Muhittin Ataman, Ankara, Nobel Yayınları, 2004, s. 261.

³³⁹ "Bu Anlaşma'nın hiçbir hükmü, Birleşmiş Milletler üyelerinden birinin silahlı bir saldırıya hedef olması halinde, Güvenlik Konseyi uluslararası barış ve güvenliğin korunması için gerekli önlemleri alıncaya dek, bu üyenin doğal olan bireysel ya da ortak meşru savunma hakkına hanel getirmez. Üyelerin bu meşru savunma hakkını kullanırken aldıkları önlemler hemen Güvenlik Konseyi'ne bildirilir ve Konsey'in işbu Antlaşma gereğince uluslararası barış ve güvenliğin korunması ya da yeniden kurulması için gerekli göreceği biçimde her an hareket etme yetki ve görevini hiçbir biçimde etkilemez." (Madde 51).

yıllık süreçte NATO'nun Uluslararası Güvenlik ve Yardım Gücü (ISAF)'nden Afgan Ulusal Güvenlik Güçleri (ANSF)'ine geçişini irdelerken sadece güvenliğin değil; ekonomik, kültürel ve teknolojik kalkınmanın da Afganistan'ın geleceğindeki önemi üzerinde duruyor. Son zamanlarda Afganistan'daki gelişmeler askeri güç ile ulusal çıkarları gerçekleştirmeye çalışan siyasi yaklaşımların başarısız olacağını göstermektedir. Çünkü değişen güvenlik ihtiyaçlarının geleneksel güvenlik araçlarıyla karşılamaya çalışılması yetersiz kalmaktadır.³⁴⁰ 2001'den bu yana ülkede süren yeniden yapılandırma çalışmalarına rağmen istikrarlı bir hükümet kurulamamıştır. Hükümet kurulduğundan beri dış yardımlara bağımlı olarak varlığını sürdürmektedir. Ülkede mevcut olan uyuşturucu ticareti ve yolsuzluk ile baş edilememektedir.³⁴¹

Afganistanda istikrarsızlık, eğitimsizlik, güvenlik; siyasi güç paylaşımı ve az gelişmişlik en büyük problemdir. Afganistan'a hâkim olan istikrarsızlık, organize cinayetler, yaygın uyuşturucu trafiği Avrupa için en çok tehdit yaratan faktörlerdir. Bunlardan dolayı 2001 sonrası AB, UNAMA aracılığıyla Afganistan'da en önemli organizasyonlardan birine dönüşmüştür. Ekonomik ve politik açıdan istikrarsız, eğitim seviyesi düşük, yolsuzlukların en çok yaşandığı ikinci ve fakir dünya ülkeleri listesinin başında yer almaktadır.³⁴²

Tezin üçüncü bölümünde, Afganistan ve Türkiye arasındaki ilişkiler diplomatik askeri ekonomik çapta ele alınmıştır. Türkiye'nin geçmişten günümüze ve özellikle 11 Eylül sonrası Afganistan'ın yeniden yapılandırılmasına olan katkıları ele alınmıştır. Ve görülmüştür ki, Türkiye her ne kadar teröre karşı savaşta ABD yanında yer alsada, NATO'nun parçası olsa da, Afganistan'da bir çatışmaya dahil olmayarak daha çok sivil yapılandırmanın önemine vurgu yapmıştır. Çünkü Türkiye'nin Afganistan'da birlik ve toprak bütünlüğü amacıyla bir politika izlemektedir. Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun "Stratejik

³⁴⁰ Z. Nilüfer Karacasulu, *Bölgesel Güvenlik Analizi Afganistan*, İstanbul, Beta Yayınları, 2011, s. 99.

³⁴¹ Karacasulu, *Bölgesel Güvenlik Analizi*, ss. 5-6.

³⁴² Majid Mohammad Poor, *Afghanistan: Fursahta wa Tahditha*, (Afganistan: Fırsatlar ve Tehditler) (Tahran: Farain, 2007), ss. 45-49.

Derinlik” kitabında havza kavramına bakmakta fayda vardır. Ayrıca “yumuşak güç”, “arabuluculuk rolü”, “aktif dış politika” Afganistan politikamızda önemli parametrelerdir. Afganistan bir havzadır. Orta Asya’da Türkmenler rahat ancak Özbekler, Tacikler içerdeki Özbek nüfusu güvenlik yüzünden endişelidir. Rusya ise Orta Asya’yı kendi ilgi sahası görmekte devam etmektedir. Çin de hem güvenlik hem de ekonomik anlamda bir kaygı gütmektedir. Afganistan’da hala ortaya çıkarılmamış maden kaynaklarının yürütmesini sürdürmektedir. ABD ise global bir güç olma çabasında Afganistanı enerji kaynaklarının Orta Asyadan geçirilmesinde etkilidir.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin kurulduğu ilk yıllardan itibaren Türkiye ve Afganistan arasında sıcak ilişkiler gelişmiştir. Soğuk Savaş döneminde gerileyen ikili ilişkiler Soğuk Savaş’ın bitmesinden sonra Türkiye’nin Orta Asya Türk Cumhuriyetlerine yönelik siyasi çabaları sonucunda Türk dış politikasında önemli bir zemine oturmuştur. Ancak Sovyet işgali, iç savaşlar ve Taliban döneminde Afganistan ve Türkiye arasındaki siyasi ilişkiler maslahatgüzarlığa düşmüştür. 11 Eylül olayları ise Türkiye’nin batı ile birlikte hareket ettiği bir dönem olmuştur. ABD’nin 11 Eylül olaylarından sorumlu tuttuğu Usame Bin Ladin ve El kaide üyelerinin Afganistan’da yönetimde bulunan Taliban tarafından korunduğunu savunan ABD, terörizme karşı savaş açması ve Afganistan’ı işgali ile birlikte Taliban rejiminin yerini seçimle başa gelen bir hükümet aldı. Türkiye de batı ile birlikte özellikle NATO bünyesinde Afganistan’da önemli bir rol üstelendi. Türkiye, 2001 sonrasında NATO kapsamında kurulan ISAF’ta liderlik yapmış ve Afganistan’ın güvenliğini sağlamak için barış gücü askeri bulundurmıştır. Ancak 2001’den 2013’e dek, Türkiye’nin Afganistan politikası batı ile uyumlu bir şekilde devam etmiştir.

Türkiye’nin Afganistan’da yer alması batı tarafından da desteklense de, ordaki başarısını istemezler. İran, Pakistan Türkiye’den daha önde. Afganistan Türkiye için hala birinci derecede önemli bir dış politika odağı haline gelmiş değil. Küresel bir değişimin sinyali olarak dinin yönetimlerde yer alması, global bir rejim değişikliğine gidildiği günümüzde, Afganistan ve Türkiye’nin ilişkilerini din boyutuyla değerlendirmek doğru olmasa da Türkiye’nin Afganistan’a yönelik politikalarında olumlu bir imaja sahip

olmasının sebeplerinden biri de dini ve kültürel yakınlıktır. Türkiye’de son hükümet ile birlikte hızla gelişen yeni osmanlılık düşünceleri, duygusal bir ütopyanın ötesine geçememiştir. Soğuk Savaş bitiminde Türkiye cumhuriyetleriyle iyi ilişkiler geliştirmeye çalışan Türkiye, Afganistan’da izleyeceği politikalarla, Türkiye’nin potansiyeli sayesinde aktif, başarılı, güçlü olsa bölgede, Orta Asya Cumhuriyetlerinde olumlu bir imaj elde edebilir. bu hedefine daha çabuk ulaşabilir. Ve bu da Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın yeni osmanlılık politikasının bir şekilde başarıldığı anlamına gelir ki daha gelişmiş bile olabilir.

Brezinski-Büyük satranç tahtası’nda Avrasyanın Anahtarı diye adlandırdığı Afgnaistan’ın Türkiyeyi Osmanlı’nın mirasçısı olarak görmesi, Osmanlı bütün islam aileminin lideri şeklinde kabul edilmesi Türkiye’nin diğer Nato üyelerinin arasında tek müslüman ülke olması Afganistanın güvenliğini diğer ülke askerlerinden farklı olarak savaş alanında değil de afgan halkının refahı çalışması, Orta Asya Güney Asya Orta Doğu Afganistanın jeopolitik önemli. Bütün güçlerin mücadelesinde ABD Çin Hindistan, ABD Afganistanda görünürde kaybetse de aslında önemli bir söz sahibi oldu. Orta Asyadaki unsurları kontrol altında tuttu. Uyuşturucu trafiği bölgedeki radikal islami grupları kontrol edebilir. Hakkani radikal islamik gruplar. Özbekistan Tajikistan uygun Doğu Türkistan İslami hareketlerinin beslendiği Pakistanda Hakkani olayları Doğu Türkistanda Çine karşı kullanır. Rusyanın arka bahçesini karıştırabilir. İran için Afganistanı kullanabilir. Mesela Irak Savaşında tezkere çıkmadı diye sorun olmuş. 2014’te de Türkiye mecburen terketmek orunda diğer NATO üyeleri gibi. Ancak Türkiye bölgeye yönelik uzun vadeli stratejiler geliştirerek bölge liderliğine oynayabilir. Ancak oynayamamaktadır. Günümüzde halen bölgesel rekabet alanı olan Afganistan’da Türkiye’nin etkili olması hem Türkiye çıkarları açısından hem de bölgesel güç olma yolunda önemlidir.

Türkiye, Afganistan’da görev üstlenilmesine en sıcak bakılan ülkelerden birisi. Afganistan ile doğrudan sınırı bulunmayan hatta coğrafi olarak bölgeye oldukça uzak olan bu üç ülkenin Afganlar tarafından sempatiyle karşılanması anlaşılabilir bir durum. Türkiye’nin ayrıca Müslüman bir ülke olması onu Japonya ve Almanya’ya göre biraz

daha ön plana çıkarıyor. Atatürk'ün öncülüğünde yapılan Türk modernleşmesi Afganlar tarafından mucizevi bir başarı hikâyesi olarak görülüyor. Kalkınmış, demokratik ve çoğulcu yapısıyla Türkiye, Batılılar tarafından da bir model olarak Afganistan ve diğer Müslüman bölge ülkelerine sunuluyor. Türkiye'nin ISAF bünyesinde aktif görev alması hem Afganlar hem de NATO üyeleri tarafından hep teşvik edilmiş. Afgan yetkililer Hikmet Çetin'in 2004-2006 yılları arasında üstlendiği NATO'nun Afganistan'daki Kıdemli Sivil Temsilcisi görevini gayet başarılı bir şekilde yürüttüğünü belirtiyorlar. Ayrıca İslam İşbirliği Teşkilatı bünyesindeki Afganistan inisiyatifleri de Türkiye öncülüğünde başlatılmış.

Yine Türk şirketlerinin Afganistan'da inşaat, maden ve imalat sektörlerinde aktif bir şekilde girmesi Afganların yanısıra pek çok aktör tarafından olumlu karşılanıyor. Afganistan'ın değişik şehirlerinde faaliyet gösteren Afgan-Türk okullarının ülkenin en başarılı okulları olduğu Afganlar tarafından özellikle vurgulanıyor. Afgan yetkililer bu okulların tüm etnik ve dini gruplara açık olmasını ülkedeki çok kültürlülüğün geliştirilmesi açısından bir fırsat olarak değerlendiriyor.

Bununla birlikte Türkiye'nin Afganistan'da bazı handikapları da bulunuyor. Türkiye'nin geleneksel olarak Pakistan'la arasının çok iyi olması Afganistan'da şüpheyle karşılanıyor. Afganlar Türkiye'nin Afganistan konusunda zaman zaman Pakistan'ın konumunu savunur duruma düştüğünü belirtiyorlar. Türkiye tarafından hem Pakistan hem de Afganistan'a sempatiyle bakılması doğrudan Af-Pak ilişkilerini düzeltmeye yetmiyor. Bu açıdan Ankara'nın İslamabad ve Kabil'i birbirine tercih etmeden bağımız bir ilişki geliştirmesi gerekiyor. Yoksa Ankara Afganistan ve Pakistan'ın arasını iyiniyetli olarak düzeltmeye çalışırken birini veya her ikisini birden kaybedebilir.

Afganların Türkiye ile diğer bir endişesi ise Ankara'nın Afganistan'da ulusal mutabakatı sağlama adına Taliban ile müzakere yürütülmesini savunması. Afgan yetkililer Taliban'ı halen bir terör örgütü olarak görüyorlar ve Taliban'ın Afgan halkı üzerinde silah zoruyla denetim sağladığını düşünüyorlar. Dolayısıyla Türkiye gibi ülkelerin Taliban'ı muhatap

almasının Afgan halkı üzerinde Taliban'ın meşruiyetini artırdığı gibi Kabil'deki hükümetin de gücünü zayıflattığını iddia ediyorlar.

Afganistan konusunda muhakkak en önemli ülkelerden birisi de Çin. Konferans boyunca Afganistan'da istikrarlı bir devlet mekanizmasının nasıl kurulacağı ve bölgesel işbirliğinin buna nasıl katkı sağlayabileceği üzerinde duruldu. Konferansta tüm bölgesel ve küresel aktörlerin üzerinde uzlaştığı konu, Afganistan'ın mutlaka istikrarlı ve bütüncül bir ülke olarak varlığını koruması oldu. Ancak bu işin nasıl yapılacağı noktasına gelince kafaların karışık olduğu görülüyor. Tüm aktörlerin kendisine göre bir yol haritası var. Ortak yol haritasına ulaşmak ise şimdilik pek mümkün gözüküyor.

Türk hükümeti ve Türkiyede'ki sivil toplum kuruluşları Afganistan'da düzenlenen uluslararası birçok insani ve ekonomik yardım projelerine destek olmuşlardır. TİKA fonundan aktarılan sermaye ile eğitim, sağlık ve altyapı alanında Afganistan'da iyileştirme faaliyetleri gerçekleştirilmiştir. Aynı zamanda TİKA, Afganistan'da güvenli içme suyu elde edilmesi için gerçekleştirilen projelere destek fonu ayırmıştır. Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi "GAP" Afganistan'ın Celalabad şehrinde sulama faaliyetlerinin nasıl gerçekleştirileceği ile ilgili proje çalışmalarına öncülük etmiştir. Türkiye, BM ve diğer uluslararası kuruluşların Afganistan'a düzenlediği gıda yardımı kampanyalarında her zaman en fazla gıda bağışı yapan ülke olmuştur.

Türkiye Afganistan'a yardım amacıyla 2004 yılında düzenlenen Tokyo Konferansı'nda, Afganistan İmar Fonu'na 1 milyon Dolar, 31 Ocak 2006 tarihinde düzenlenen Londra Konferansı'nda 5 yıl için 100 milyon Dolar, 2008 Paris Konferansı'nda da 3 yıl için 100 milyon Dolar yardım yapmayı taahhüt etmiştir. Bu fonun, T.C. Başbakanlık Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı (TİKA) aracılığıyla ve proje temelli kullanımına karar verilmiştir.

8 Temmuz 2012 tarihinde düzenlenen Tokyo Konferansı'nda ülkemiz, 2015-2017 dönemi için kapasite inşasına ve insan kaynaklarının gelişimine dair koşulları göz

önünde bulundurarak kalkınma projeleri için 150 milyon Dolar yardım taahhüdünde bulunmuştur. Ayrıca 2014 yılından sonra Afgan Ulusal Güvenlik Kuvvetlerine (ANSF) 60 milyon Dolar mali katkı yapacağımız ifade edilmiştir. Bugüne kadar Afganistan'a yapılan yardımların toplam miktarı bütün masrafların dahil edilmesiyle 300 milyon Doları bulmaktadır. TİKA'nın Eylül 2004'ten itibaren Afganistan'da yürüttüğü kalkınma programı, ülkemizin bugüne kadar gerçekleştirdiği en büyük dış yardım programıdır.

Kabil ve Mezarı Şerif'te TİKA Program Koordinasyon ofisleri kurulmuştur. Cevizcan ve Vardak İl İmar Ekipleri bünyesinde de TİKA uzmanları görev yapmaktadır. Türkiye, NATO kararları doğrultusunda Afganistan'ın çeşitli bölgelerinde kurulan İl İmar Ekibi (Provincial Reconstruction Team-PRT) çalışmalarına katkı amacıyla bir PRT faaliyete geçirme kararı almıştır. Ülkemizin PRT'si, Kabil'in güneybatısında yer alan Vardak Vilayeti'nde Kasım 2006'da faaliyetlerine başlamıştır. Afganistan'da faaliyet gösteren ikinci İl İmar Ekibi Kabil'in kuzeybatısında yer alan Cevizcan Vilayeti'ndedir. Cevizcan İl İmar Ekibi'nin açılışı Sayın Bakanımız tarafından Kabil Konferansı'nın akabinde 21 Temmuz 2010 tarihinde gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Ülkemiz PRT'sinin en önemli özelliği, operasyonel personelin sivillerden oluştuğu tek PRT olmasıdır. PRT'mizin en üst yöneticisi ve sivil koordinatörü olarak Bakanlığımızdan diplomatlar atanmakta, ülkemizin çeşitli kurumlarından uzman ve eğitmenler bir yıla kadar PRT'mizde görevlendirilmektedirler.

Ülkemizin sadece Afganistan'a değil sel ve deprem felaketleriyle bağlantılı Pakistan'a yönelik de ciddi yeniden yapılandırma ve insani yardım projeleri vardır. Bu projeler Başbakanlık Afet Yönetim Başkanlığı eşgüdümünde Sağlık Bakanlığı, TİKA, TOKİ işbirliğinde yürütülmektedir. Halk için sağlanan imkânlar artarak devam etmiş, bazı sektörlerde karşılaşılan aksaklıklar giderilmeye çalışılmış, ülkede istikrarın sağlanması refah seviyesinin yükseltilmesi, zarara uğrayan altyapıların yeniden yapılandırılması kapasite geliştirme ile eğitim, sağlık, tarım ve kadınların beceri kazanması hakkında olduğu gibi diğer alanlarda da birçok projeler gerçekleştirilmiş olup, bazı projeler halen

devam etmektedir. Uyuşturucu konusunda da çeşitli çalışmalar vardır. Türkiye bu konuda Afgan kuvvetleri eğitmekte ancak kendisi askerleriyle uyuşturucu kaçakçılığının önüne geçmez.

Afganistan-Pakistan-Türkiye üçlü zirvelerinin karşılıklı güvenin güçlendirilmesinde önemli bir işlevi vardır. Kurumsal bir diyalog platformu iki ülke kurumları arasında da ikili görüşmelerin kolaylaştırılmasına katkıda bulunmaktadır. İstihbarat ve askeri kurumlar da buna dahildir. TEPAV ve TOBB 'un ev sahipliği yaptığı özel sektör ayağı da vardır. İki ülke arasında imzalanacak ticaret ve gümrük anlaşmaları ticareti kolaylaştırabilir. ABD'nin ticaret anlaşmasının aktinde önemli bir çabası olmuştur.

Afganistan çok etnikli bir ülkedir. Taliban sonrası ise etnik gruplar arası iyice açılmıştır. Türkler her türlü gruba da nötr kalmaya çalışmışlardır. Türkiye' onların siyasete katılmalarını desteklemektedir. Türkiye'nin bakış açısıyla, ayırım yapmak sorunların artmasına neden olur ve en büyük yanıhtır. Böylece Kuzey Afganistan'da Türk kökenli halkla (Özbek ve Türkmen) tarihi ve kültürel bağları, Afgan halkının sıcak yaklaşımı, Türkiye'nin samimiyetle kalkınmaya yönelik katkıda bulunma çabası, halkla diyalog içerisinde olmak, Türkiye'nin projelerini gerçekleştirmesinde büyük kolaylık sağlamaktadır ve ayrıca bölgedeki etkinliğimiz açısından büyük bir avantajdır. Bununla birlikte uluslararası düzeyde Afgan Hükümeti'nin güçlendirilmesi çabasıyla çelişebilmektedir. Her proje için Afgan Hükümeti'yle protokol imzalanmaktadır.

Türkiye ayrıca Afganistan'a siyasi çalışmaları için, Afgan hükümeti Barış süreci, Yüksek Barış konseyi, Talibanla müzakere her şey için önemlidir. Afgan owned Afgan led olması gerektiğini dile getirir Türkiye. İki ülkeye de eşit davranmakta ve kendisine güveniliyor. Ancak mediator rolünden çok facilitator, katalizör görevini görüyor, böylece aralarında ısı yükselmesini önüyor. Sonuçta üç boyutlu bir sürece dahil oluyor 2007'den sonra. Diyalog, Güvenlik ve Kalkınma şeklindedir. İstanbul ve Ankara süreçleri öne çıkar diyalog kapsamında. Güvenlik anlamında Ordu, Emniyet, İstihbarat teşkilatları önemlidir. Kalkınmada ise bütün bölgenin sıkıntısı, Türkiye'nin ekonomik avantajları ve özel sektörleri var. İstanbul Forumu, TOBB ve özel şirketler

gerçekleştirdi. Türkiye 3 yıllık 2015-2017 sıralarında 60 milyon Afgan güvenliğine, 150 milyon kalkınma yardımlarına ayıracak. Onun dışında on 10 yılda 300 milyonun geçen yardım ve milyara ulaşan masraf etmektedir insan gücüyle birlikte.

Afganistan da Pakistan da Türkiyenin bu rolünden memnunlar. İranlılar, Ruslar, Çin, İngilizler de Türkiye'yi taklit etmişlerdir. Türkiye başarılı olur çünü empati kurabilir ve nötrdür. Batı bunu yapamaz. Mesela İngilizler bu anlamda üç konferans düzenlemiş ama sonra her şeyden vazgeçmiştir. Güven artırıcı diyalog, sinerji artırıcı, Afganisyan odaklı bölgesel organizasyonlar vardır.

Dördüncü bölümde, Türkiye'nin 11 Eylül sonrası Afganistan politikasının Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun geliştirdiği yeni parametrelerle uyumlu olup olmadığı incelenmiştir. Özellikle yumuşak güç ve arabuluculuk rolü üzerinde durulmuştur. Türkiye'nin bölgede hem sivil destek sağlaması hem de bölgesel problemlerin çözümünde liderlik yapmak istemesi elbette önemlidir. NATO üyesi olarak Afganistan'da asker bulunduran tek müslüman ülke olması sebebiyle bu anarşik sistemin doğası gereği yaşanan mücadelede, Türkiye'nin politik ekonomik siyasal çabalarının kısa zamanda başarı getirmese de önemli olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Ancak Türkiye'nin politikasının AKP hükümeti ve Ahmet Davutoğlu ile birlikte başlayan süreçte çoğulcu aktif ve barışçıl bir dış politika izlenerek yürütülen Afganistan politikasının teorideki gibi olamadığı görülmektedir.

Beşinci bölümde Türkiye'nin karşılaştığı zorluklara ve bazı avantajlarına değinilmiştir. Afganistan'da barış zamana alacak. Afganistan için düzenlenen üçlü süreçten kısa vadede kesin ve somut sonuçlar beklenmemelidir. Zira bölgesel güvenlik ve karşılıklı güven sorununun kısa vadede aşılması mümkün değildir. Ayrıca Hükümetlerin kontrolünde olmayan alt grupların menfaat çatışmaları ve bağımsız tutumları üst düzeyde alınan kararların uygulanmasını güçleştirmektedir.

Sonuç Bölümünde ise, çekilmenin gerçekleşeceği yıl olan 2014'te yerel seçimler olarak nitelendirilebilecek Vilayet Şûrası seçimlerinin ve Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçiminin

yapılacak olmasıyla 2014'ün Afganistan için dönüm noktası olduğu gerçeğini gözler önüne seriyor. Bu süreçte NATO'nun amacı Afganistan'da dünyaya entegre ve uluslararası toplumla işbirliği yapacak istikrarlı ve yaşayabilir bir devlet mekanizması inşası oldu. Afganistan'daki merkezi hükümetin ülkeye ne kadar hâkim olduğunun tartışıldığı bugünlerde Taliban'ın özellikle ülkenin güney ve batısında halen güçlü ve etkili bir varlığa sahip olması endişe kaynağı.

NATO'nun askeri misyonunun 2014 yılında sona erecek olması sadece NATO üyelerinde değil, Afganistan'ın istikrarı ile yakından ilgilenen Rusya, Çin ve Hindistan gibi büyük ülkeler tarafından önemli bir dönüm noktasına işaret ediyor. Bu açıdan Afganistan'da terör ve uluslararası suç örgütlerine engel olacak istikrarlı bir devlet mekanizması inşa edilmesi konusunda uluslararası toplumda nadir görülen bir mutabakat olduğu söylenebilir. Bu konuda çeşitli ülkeler ve uluslararası örgütler öncülüğünde Afganistan'ın geleceğinin tartışıldığı çeşitli toplantılar düzenleniyor.

Afganistan'ın terörizmin merkezi olmaması konusunda uluslararası toplumda bir mutabakat sözkonusu. Dolayısıyla gerekli ekonomik adımların atılıp terörün siyasi ve iktisadi altyapısının kurutulması ortak bir yaklaşım haline gelmiş bulunuyor. Uyuşturucu ticaretinin de terör gibi Afganistan'ın iktisadi altyapısının geliştirilerek aşılacağı düşünülüyor. Radikal dini gruplar: Taliban, El Kaide ve Selefi grupların hem Afganistan'ı hem de bölgeyi istikrarsızlaştığını ve teröre de kaynaklık yaptığı düşünülüyor.

Afganistan'a harcanan milyarlarca dolar kaynağın samimiyetle ülkenin altyapısına ve kurumsal yapılanmasına harcanması, sivil alandaki harcamaların, askeri alandaki harcamaların üzerine çıkartılması ve eğitime ağırlık verilmesi şarttır. Bu çerçevede, ABD, Almanya, Fransa, İngiltere gibi NATO üyelerine büyük sorumluluk düşmektedir. Bu anlamda başarılı bir tablo çizilmemiştir. Afgan Hükümeti'ne Dünya Bankası ve diğer kanallardan aktarılan kaynakların denetim sorunu bulunmaktadır. Ülkemizin yeni

yapılandırma politikası barışı kurma (peace making) çabasının bir parçası olarak değerlendirilmelidir.

Türkiye bölgesel işbirliğinde öncü bir rol üstlenmiştir. Bu çerçevede Güven Artırılmasına Yönelik İstanbul Süreci halen devam etmektedir. Türkiye her zaman iyi niyetli bir çaba gösteriyor. Ama yaptıklarıyla dedikleri ters oluyor. Eğer Türkiye Afganistan sorunlarını Pakistan kanalıyla çözmek isterse yararlı olmaz. Pakistan başka bir şey yapıyor. Pakistanda kontrol devlet elinde değil. Askerler ayrı bir güç iken devlet ayrı bir güç. Pakistan istihbaratı devlet unsuruyla .2014'te belirsizlik var. Kafası karışmış durumda. ABD bir yandan askerleri toptan çekiyorum diyor ama sonra da bir kısım güç kalmalı diyor. Maksat bu ki Afganistanla protokol imzalamak istiyorlar. Afganistanla bayrak kendi adayını ön plana çıkarmak için siyasi oyun oynuyor. Afganistan politikasını pakistan kanalıyla yönetmek istemesi samimi olmuyor. ABD kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda Afganistanda barış huzur sükunet teröristlerden arındırılmış bir afganistan istiyoruz diyorlar ama kendi yararları için hazırlanıyor. Oysaki, Afganistanın kendi çıkarları için değil. Çin Rusya Orta Asya Cumhuriyetleri, Pakistan üzerinden değil, direkt politika güdülmeli. Bu ülkeler kendi çıkarlarını varlıklarını hissettirmeyi ve bölgede kendi varlıklarını sürdürmeyi düşünüyorlar. Batı ülkeleri ve Pakistan arasında arabulucuk rolünde liderlik yapmaya çalışan Türkiyenin çabaları halk için olumludur. Ancak dış politika açısından teoriden uzaklaşılmasıdır.

Ülkeler arasında gerçek uyuşmazlık bu sorunların nasıl ve hangi yöntemlerle ortadan kaldırılacağı noktasında çıkıyor. Bazı ülkeler diğerlerini sorunun çözümüne yeterince destek vermemekle hatta çözümü engellemekle suçluyorlar. Komşu ülkeler kendisine dost ülkeler isterler. İran Batının çevreleme politikasından rahatsız ve ABD'nin bölgede etkisini azaltmayı amaçlar. Kendisine uygulanan ekonomik yaptırım sebebiyle ve kendi yolunu açabileceği nüfusunu bir açık kapı olarak Afganistan'ı görmektedir. Hindistan ise Afganistan'da kendilerine dost ama Pakistan'a dost olmayan bir yönetim istemektedir. İran ve Pakistan'la aralarında Keşmir sorununu vardır. Bu sorun çözülmeden diğer sorunların çözülmesi rüyadır. Pakistan oldukça geniş ve uzun bir sınıra sahiptir ve

sıkıştırılmaktan hoşlanmamaktadır. Durand Line ise Pakistan ve Afganistan arasında bugün devam eden sorunların en basılıca zeminini oluşturur.

Batı Afganistan'a yerleşirse, Asya'ya tepeden bakabilir. Tüm zenginliklerin merkezi olan Orta Asya'nın enerji yollarını kontrol edebilir. Çünkü Afgansitan Orta Asya'nın merkezi. Çini kontrol edebilir ve İran'ın kara sınırlarına dayanabilir. Rusya bir taş atımı mesafede durabilir. Orta Asya petrolleri Hint Okyanusuna kolayca çıkabilir. Ama Afganistan'da 200 yıldır hiçbir batı ordusu, büyük güç zafer kazanamadı. Sovyet işgaline karşı önce müücahidinleri destekleyen ve sonra da Talibana destek yağdıran US, 2000'li yıllarda kendi düşmanını yaratmış oldu. 2001'den bu yana da neredeyse bütün uluslararası kamuoyunun desteğiyle işgal ettiği Afganistan'a yerleşmiş durumdadır. 2014'te NATO güçlerinin ülkeden çekilmesi ile birlikte Afganistan'da siyasal yapının nasıl devam edeceğinin tartışıldığı bugünlerde Türkiye de bölgede yerini sağlamlaştırmaya çalışmaktadır.

APPENDIX B: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Enformatik Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |

YAZARIN

Soyadı : BAYRAM ÇUBUK

Adı : CANAN

Bölümü : ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER

TEZİN ADI : TURKEY'S ROLE IN AFGHANISTAN IN THE POST 9/11 ERA

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: