

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY
TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS
IN THE CONTEXT OF NORTHERN IRAQ

Ali Onur Ozelik

**TURKISH AMERICAN RELATIONS
IN THE CONTEXT OF NORTHERN IRAQ
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Abramowitz, Morton. (2000) "The Complexities of American Policy Making on Turkey" in Abramowitz, Morton (ed) *Turkey's Transformation and American Policy*. New York: The Century Foundation. pp. 153-185

Ahmad, Feroz. (2004) "The Historical Background of Turkey's Foreign Policy" in Martin, Lenore G. and Keridis, Dimitris (eds) *The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy*. London: MIT Press. pp. 9-37

Altunışık, Meliha Benli. (2004) "Turkish-American Security Relations: The Middle East Dimension." In Aydın, Mustafa and Erhan, Cagri (eds) *Turkish-American Relations: Past, Present and Futures*. London, New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group. pp. 151-180

Altunışık, Meliha Benli. and Tür, Özlem. (2005) *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change*. London: Routledge Curzon.

Ari, Tayyar.(2004) *Irak, İran ve ABD: Onleyici Savas, Petrol ve Hegemonya,(Iraq, Iran, and USA: Pre-emptive Strike, Oil and Hegemony*. İstanbul:Alfa

Axelgard, Frederick W. (1998) *A New Iraq?: the Gulf War and Implications for U.S. Policy*. New York: Praeger, 1988

Aydın, Mustafa. (Jan 2000) "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Changing Patterns and Conjunctions during the Cold War." *Middle Eastern Studies* Vol 36: 103-139

----- (2003) "Twenty Years Before, Twenty Years After: Turkish Foreign Policy at the Threshold of the 21st Century" in Tareq Y. Ismael and Mustafa Aydın (eds.) *Turkey's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*. pp: 3-27

Arguden, Yilmaz. (Spring,1999) "Is Uncle Sam Making the most of Turkey?" *Private View (Istanbul)* available at www.tusiad.org.tr/yayin/private/spring99/pdf

Bagci, Huseyin. Janes, Jackson. and Kuhnhardt, Ludger. (eds) (1999) *Parameters of Partnership:The U.S.- Turkey-Europe*, Baden-Baden:Nomos

Baran, Zeyno (2007). 'Changed Threat Perceptions' in Menon, Rajan and Wimbush, S.Enders (eds), *Is The United States Losing Turkey? Hudson Institute: New American Foundation, Project Paper*. pp 22-24

Barkey, Henri J. (1996) 'Under the Gun:Turkish Foreign Policy and the Kurdish Question'in Olson Robert (ed) *The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in the 1990s: Its Impact on Turkey and the Middle East*. Kentucky:The University Of Kentucky Press. pp 65-84

Barkey, Henri J. and Fuller, Graham E. (1997) "Turkey's Kurdish Question: Critical a Turning Points and Missed Opportunities." *Middle East Journal*. 51 (1): 59-79.

Barkey, Henri J.(2003) "The Endless Pursuit: Improving U.S.-Turkish Relations," in Abromowitz, Morton (ed). *The United States and Turkey: Allies in Need*.New York: The Century Foundation.

----- (July/August 2007) 'Kurdistanoff' *The National Interest* 90: 51-58.

----- (2007) 'The US, Turkey, and the Iraq Conundrum', in Menon, Rajan. and Wimbush, S.Enders (eds) *Is The United States Losing Turkey? Hudson Institute: New American Foundation, Project Paper*. pp 25-28

Beris, Yakup. and Gurkan, Asli. (2002) 'Turk-Amerikan Iliskilerine Bakis:Ana Temalar, Guncel Konular,' (Overlook to Turk-American Relations: Main Themes, Current Issues), *Turkish Industrialists' And Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) Washington Office*, available at www.tusiad.us/Content/uploaded/TURKIYE-ABD_ILISKILERI-UPDATE2.PDF.

Bostanoglu, Burcu.(1999) *Turkiye-ABD Iliskilerinin Politikasi (The politic of Turkish-American Relations)* Ankara: Imge Kitabevi.

Brown S. Cameron (March 2007), "Turkey in the Gulf Wars of 1991 and 2003," *Turkish Studies*, 85-119

Cagaptay, Soner.(2005) *Turkey at a Crossroads: Preserving Ankara's Western Orientation* Washington DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Candar, Cengiz. (2000) "Some Turkish Perspectives on the United States and American Policy Toward Turkey" in Abromowitz, Morton (ed) *Turkey's Transformation and American Policy*, New York: The Century Foundation Press. pp. 117-153

----- (2004) "Turkish Foreign Policy and the War on Iraq" in Martin, Lenore G. and Keridis, Dimitris (eds) *The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy*. London: MIT Press. pp.47-63

Catherwood, Christopher.(2004) *Winston's Folly: Imperialism and the Creation of Modern Iraq*. London: Constable

Cook, Steven A. (6 November 2001) "U.S.-Turkey Relations and the War on Terrorism" *Analysis Paper, Brookings Institution*.

Cornell, Svante E.(2003) " The Kurdish Question in Turkish Politics" in Radu, Michael (Ed) *Dangerous Neighborhood: Contemporary Issues in Turkey's Foreign Relations*. New Brunswick:Transaction Publishers. pp. 123-142

Criss, Nur Bilge. (2007) *Turkish Perceptions of the United States Since 9/11*, in Forber, David (ed). *What They Think of US, International Perceptions of the United States Since 9/11*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press. pp. 49-73

----- (Sep 2002) “A Short History of Anti-Americanism and Terrorism: The Turkish Case,” *The Journal of American History*, 89 (2): 472-484

Dagi, Ihsan. (05 February 2007) ‘Anti-Americanism, Nationalism and the US Congress’, available at <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/yazarDetay.do?haberno=101976>.

Dahlman, Carl. (2002) ‘The Political Geography of Kurdistan.’ *Euroasian Geography and Economics*, 43(4):271-299

Davutoglu, Ahmet. (2001) *Statejik Derinlik (Strategic Depth)*, 13th edition Istanbul: Kure Yayinlari.

De Borchgrave, Arnaud. (March 12, 2005) ‘Extreme Anti-Americanism in Turkey’, available at <http://archive.newsmax.com/archives/articles/2005/3/11/182953.shtml>.

Edgar, Alistair D.(2004) “The Shape of Thing to Come? Defining U.S. Foreign Policy on Turkey after 2001” in Aydin, Mustafa and Erhan, Cagri (eds) *Turkish-American Relations: Past, Present and Futures*. London, New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group. pp. 230-246.

Eligur, Banu. (2006) ‘Turkish-American Relations Since The 2003 Iraqi War: A Trouble Partnership’, *Brandeis University Crown Center For Middle East Studies*, No: 6.

Filkins, Dexter. and Jehl, Douglas (7 July 2003) “Turkey Says U.S. Has Agreed to Free 11 Soldiers Suspected in Plot to Kill Kurdish Aide,” *The New York Times*, available at <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9B07E4D8173DF934A35754C0A9659C8B63>.

Fuller, Graham E. (Spring 1993) “The Fate of the Kurds.” *Foreign Affairs*. pp.109-121.

----- (1996) “Alternative Turkish Roles in The Middle East.” In Barkey, J. Henry (ed.) *Reluctant Neighbor: Turkey’s Role in the Future Middle East*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.

----- (11 April 2005) ‘Don’t Write Off the Turks: Ankara isn’t anti-American; it’s independent’, available at http://maviboncuk.blogspot.com/2005_04_01_archive.html.

----- (Summer 2006) ‘Strategic Fatigue’, *The National Interest*, no.84:38–43.

----- (2007) ‘Contradictions in US-Turkish Interests’, in Menon, Rajan. and Wimbush (ed), S.Enders (2007) *Is The United States Losing Turkey? Hudson Institute: New American Foundation, Project Paper*. pp 29-31.

Gibson, John. (2004) *Hating America*, New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

Gillis, Patric (2004) *U.S – Turkish Relations: The Road To Improving a Troubled Strategic Partnership*, Strategy Research Project, U.S. Army War College (USAWC), Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

Gordon, Philip. and Taspinar, Omer. (Summer 2006) 'Turkey on the Brink', *The Washington Quarterly*, 29 (3):pp. 57-70

Gul, Abdullah. (Winter 2004), Turkey's Role in a Changing Middle East Environment', *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 15 (1), pp.1-7

Gunter, M. Ziegler (1990) "The Kurdish Insurgency in Turkey" *Journal of South Asia and Middle East Studies*. 13(4): 57-81.

Guney, Nursin Atesoglu.(2007) *Contentious Issues of Security and the Future of Turkey* Hampshire: Ashgate.

Hale, M. William. (2000) *Turkish Foreign Policy 1774-2000*, London: Frank Cass Pp.218-277.

----- (2007) *Turkey, The U.S. and Iraq*, London: Saqi & London Middle East Institute at SOAS.

Harris, George Sellers.(2004) "Turkish American Relations Since the Truman Doctrine." In Aydin, Mustafa and Erhan, Cagri (eds) *Turkish-American Relations: Past, Present and Futures*. London, New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group. pp. 66-90.

Hubbell, Stephen. (1998) "The Containment Myth: US Middle East Policy in Theory and Practice." *Middle East Report*. pp. 8-11.

Huntington, Samuel (1996) *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*, New York: Simon & Schuster

Israeli, Raphael.(2004) *The Iraq War: Hidden Agendas And Babylonian Intrigue: The Regional Impact: The Regional Impact On Shiites, Kurds, Sunnis And Arabs*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.

Isyar, Omer Goksel (2005), 'An Analysis of Turkish-American Relations from 1945 to 2004: Initiatives and Reactions in Turkish Foreign Policy', *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, 4 (3) : 21-52

ISRO (International Strategic Research Organization), 'Turkey-USA Relations Survey Results' 12 March 2005, available at http://www.turkishweekly.net/us-tr_eng.pdf.

Kagan, Robert. (April 9, 2003) "Resisting Superpower Temptations." *Washington Post*.

Kamrava, Mehran (2005) *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Kapsis, James E. (September 2006) "The Failure of U.S.-Turkish Pre-Iraq War Negotiations: An Overconfident United States, Political Mismanagement, and a Conflicted Military" *MERIA* 10 (3) available at <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2006/issue3/jv10no3a3.html>

Khalilzad, Zalmay., Lesser, Ian O. and Larabee F.Stephan (2000) *The Future of Turkish-Western Relations: Toward a Strategic Plan*, Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.

Kirisci, Kemal and Winrow, Gareth M. (1997) *The Kurds Question And Turkey: An Example of a Trans-State Ethnic Conflict*, London: Frank Cass.

Kirisci, Kemal. (May 1997) "Post Cold-War Turkish Security and the Middle East" *MERIA (Middle East Review of International Affairs)*. 1 (2). Available at <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1997/issue2/jv1n2a6.html>.

----- (November 1998) "Turkey And The United States: Ambivalent Allies," *MERIA (Middle East Review of International Affairs)*. 2(4). Available at <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1998/issue4/jv2n4a3.html>.

----- (March 2004) "Between Europe and the Middle East: The Transformation of Turkish Policy." (*Middle East Review of International Affairs*). 8 (1). Available at <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2004/issue1/jv8n1a4.html>.

----- (2004) "The Kurdish Question and Turkish Foreign Policy" in Martin, Lenore G. and Keridis, Dimitris (eds) *The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy*. London: MIT Press. pp.277-315.

Kramer, Heinz. (2000) *A Changing Turkey: The Challenge to Europe and the United States*. Washington. D.C: Brookings Institution Press.

Kuniholm, Bruce. (2004) " Thinking About the Future: Turkey, the U.S. and the World." In Aydin, Mustafa and Erhan, Cagri (eds) *Turkish-American Relations: Past, Present and Futures*. London, New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group. pp: 213-229.

Larabee, F. Stephen and Lesser, Ian O. (2003) *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*, Santa Monica: Rand Corporation.

Lesser, Ian O. (2000) 'Beyond "Bridge or Barrier": Turkey's Evolving Security Relations with the West', in Makovsky, Alan and Sayari, Sabri (eds), *Turkey's New World: Changing Dynamics in Turkish Foreign Policy*. Washington DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

----- (Summer 2004) 'Turkey, Iran and Nuclear Risks', *Turkish Policy Quarterly*. pp. 81-98.

----- (2004) "Turkey and the United States: Anatomy of a Strategic Partnership" in Martin, Lenore G. and Keridis, Dimitris (eds) *The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy*. London: MIT Press. pp.83-101.

----- (2005) "Turkey and the United States: Anatomy of a Strategic Relationship" in Lenore G. Martin and Dimitris Keridis (eds), *The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy*, Cambridge: MIT press, pp:83-101.

----- (2006) 'Turkey, the United States and the Delusion of geopolitics', *Survival*, 48 (3): 83 – 96.

----- (2007) 'US-Turkish Relations: The Perils of Geopolitics' in Menon, Rajan. and Wimbush (ed), S.Enders.(2007) *Is The United States Losing Turkey? Hudson Institute: New American Foundation, Project Paper.* pp 34-35

Makovsky, Alan O. (1999) "Turkey" in Chase, Robert S., Hill, Emily and Kennedy, Paul (eds). *The Pivotal States: A New Framework for U.S. Policy in the Developing World* , New York: W.W. Norton. pp.88-119.

----- (2000) "U.S. Policy toward Turkey: Progress and Problems" in Abromowitz, Morton (ed) *Turkey's Transformation and American Policy*, New York: The Century Foundation Press, pp: 219-267.

Martin, Lenore G. (2004) "Turkey's Middle East Foreign Policy" in Martin, Lenore G. and Keridis, Dimitris (eds) *The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy*. London: MIT Press. pp.157-191.

Mc Dowall, David (1997) *A Modern History of the Kurds*, London and New York:I.B. Tauris.

McGee,George (1990) *The U.S. – Turkish-NATO Middle East Connection* London: Macmillan.

Meho, L. I. (2004). *The Kurdish question in U.S. foreign policy: A documentary sourcebook*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Moens, Alexander.(2004) *The Foreign Policy of George W. Bush: Values, Strategy and Loyalty*. Hampshire: Ashgate.

Mango, Andrew.(1994) *Turkey: The Challenge of a New Role*. Westport: CT. Publication.

Menon, Rajan. and Wimbush, S.Enders.(2007) 'Is The United States Losing Turkey?' *Hudson Institute New American Foundation, Project Paper.* pp 1-15.

Murinson, Alexander (November 2006) "The Strategic Depth Doctrine of Turkish Foreign Policy," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 945-964.

O'Leary, Brendan and McGarry.(eds)(2005) *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Oliphant, Thomas. (April 13, 2003) "A Lesson for Turkey from Kurdish Allies." *Boston Globe*.

Olson, Robert.(1995) "The Kurdish Question and Turkey's Foreign Policy, 1991-1995: From the Gulf War to the Incursion into Iraq." *JSAMES*. 19 (1):1-30.

----- (ed) (1996) *The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in the 1990s: Its impact on Turkey and the Middle East*, Lexington KY:University Press of Kentucky

Oni , Ziya.(Winter 1995) “Turkey in the Post-Cold War Era: In Search of Identity.”*The Middle East Journal*. pp.48-68.

Onis, Ziya. and Yilmaz, Suhnaz. (2005) ‘The Turkey-EU-US Triangle in Perspective: Transformation or Continuity?’ *Middle East Journal*, 59 (2): 265-284.

Paris, Mark (2005) Allergic Partners: Can Us-Turkish Relations Be Saved?, *European Stability Initiatives*, available at http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_turkey_tpq_id_16.pdf.

Park, Bill. (June 2003) “Strategic Location, Political dislocation: Turkey, the United States, and Northern Iraq.” *MERIA (Middle East Review of International Affairs)*. 7(2). Available at <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2003/issue2/jv7n2a2.html>.

----- (2005) *Turkey’s Policy Towards Northern Iraq: Problems And Perspectives*, The International Institute for Strategic Research, New York:Routledge.

Peterson, Laura. (September 9, 2002) “The Pentagon Talks Turkey,” *The American Prospect*, 13(6).

Pollack, Kenneth M. (2002) *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq*. New York:Random House.

Pollock, Robert. L (16 February 2005), ‘The Sick Man of Europe - Again: Islamism and leftism add up to anti-American madness in Turkey’ available at <http://maviboncuk.blogspot.com/2005/02/wsj-article-sick-man-of-europe-again.html>.

Powell, Alan.(April 19, 2003) “Turkey, Spared a War, Still Pays a Heavy Price,” *New York Times*.

Prager, Rachel (2003) ‘Turkish-American Relations: Historical Context and Current Issues’ *Georgetown University*.

Rabil, Robert (December 2002), ‘ The Iraqi Opposition’s Evolution: From Conflict to Unity?’, *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, 6 (4). Available at <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2002/issue4/jvol6no4in.html>.

Radu, Michael (Winter 2001) “The Rise and Fall of the PKK.” *Orbis*. 45 (1): 47-63.

----- (2003) “The Rise and Fall of the PKK.” in Radu, Michael *Dangerous Neighborhood: Contemporary Issues in Turkey’s Foreign Relations*. New Brunswick:Transaction Publishers. pp. 143-164.

Robins, Philip (1993) “The Overlord State: Turkish Policy and the Kurdish Issue.” *International Affairs*. 69 (4):657-676.

----- (2000) “Turkey and Kurds: Missing another Opportunity?” in Abromowitz, Morton. (ed) *Turkey’s Transformation and American Policy*. New York: The Century Foundation Press. pp.61-95.

----- (2002) *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy Since the Cold War*. London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers

Rubin, Barry (2001) "Understanding Turkey's New Foreign Policy" in Barry Rubin and Kemal Kirisci (eds) *Turkey in the World Politics: An Emerging Regional Power*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp: 251-257.

----- (December 2001) "The Truth About U.S. Middle East Policy." *MERIA (Middle East Review of International Affairs)*. 5 (4). Available at <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2001/issue4/jv5n4a1.htm>.

----- (2002) *The Tragedy of the Middle East*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ruseckas, Laurent (Fall 2000) "Turkey and Eurasia: Opportunities and Risks in the Caspian Pipeline Derby," *Journal of International Affairs*, 54 (1):217-240.

Sayarı, Sabri (Spring 1997) "Turkey and the Middle East in the 1990s," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 44-55.

----- (2003) "Turkey and the United States: Changing Dynamics of an Enduring Alliance" in Tareq Y. Ismael and Mustafa Aydın (eds.) *Turkey's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*. pp:27-41

----- (2004) "Turkish American Relations in the Post Cold War Era: Issues of Convergence and Divergence." In Aydın, Mustafa and Erhan, Cagri (eds) *Turkish-American Relations: Past, Present and Futures*. London, New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group. pp.91-106

Sever, Aysegul (April 20, 2003) 'Turkey at the Crossroads on Iraq: A Test Case for USA-Turkey Relations', *NEAR Working Paper Series, East-West Institute*, New York.

Sönmezo lu, Faruk. (ed) (1994) *Türk Dı Politikasının Analizi (The Analysis of Turkish Foreign Policy)*. stanbul: Der Yayınları.

Stein, Kenneth W. (June 2002) "The Bush Doctrine: Selective Engagement in the Middle East" *MERIA (Middle East Review of International Affairs)*.6 (2). Available at <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2002/issue2/jv6n2a5.html>.

Sweig, Julia (2006) *Friendly Fire: Losing Friends and Making Enemies in the Anti-American Century*, Newyork: Public Affairs. pp.122-134.

Tarzi, Amin (March 200) "Contradictions of U.S. Policy on Iraq and its Consequences." *MERIA (Middle East Review of International Affairs)*. 4 (1). Available at <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2000/issue1/jv4n1a3.html>.

Taspınar, Omer. (2003) ' An Uneven Fit? "Turkish Model" and "The Arab World"', *The Brokings Project on U.S. Policy Towards the Islamic World, Analysis Paper*, Number:5

----- (16 November 2005) 'The Anatomy of Anti-Americanism in Turkey'
The Brookings Institution, www.brookings.edu/views/articles/fellows/taspinar20051116.pdf
(Accessed 12 November 2007)

----- (02 July 2007) 'Anti-Americanism and Turkey's Identity Problem' at
Today's Zaman <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/yazarDetay.do?haberno=115497>
(accessed 12 November 2007)

----- (2007) 'The Source of Turkey's Anti-Americanism' Geopolitics' in
Menon, Rajan. and Wimbush (ed), S.Enders. *Is The United States Losing Turkey? Hudson
Institute: New American Foundation, Project Paper. pp 36-41*

Uslu, Nasuh. Toprak, Metin. and Dalmis, Ibrahim et al. (2005) 'Turkish Public
Opinion Toward The United States In The Context Of the Iraq Question'
The Middle East Review Of International Affairs, 9 (3) Article 5. Available at
<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2005/issue3/jv9no3a5.html>.

Vick, Karl. (10 April 2005) 'In Many Turks' Eyes, U.S. Remains the Enemy',
available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A41024-2005Apr10.html>.

Wolfowitz, Paul (6 May 2003) Interview with Cengiz Candar and M. Ali Birand in
CNN Turk, available at <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/iraq/2003/05/iraq-030507-usia04.htm>.

Yavuz, M. Hakan and Özcan Nihat Ali. (2006) 'The Kurdish Question and Turkey's
Justice and Development Party.' *Middle East Policy*, 13 (1):102–119.

Yegen, Mesut. (April 1996) "The Turkish State Discourse and the Exclusion of Kurdish
Identity." *Middle Eastern Studies*. 32(2): 216-229.

Yesilada, A. Birol. (2003) "Turkish-U.S. Relations." in Radu, Michael *Dangerous
Neighborhood: Contemporary Issues in Turkey's Foreign Relations*. New
Brunswick: Transaction Publishers. pp. 143-164.

Yilmaz, Suhnaz. (2004) "Impact of Lobbies on Turkish-American Relations" in Aydin,
Mustafa and Erhan, Cagri (eds) *Turkish-American Relations: Past, Present and Futures*.
London, New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group. pp. 181-211.

Yordan, Carlos L. (March 2004) "Failing to Meet Expectations in Iraq: A Review of
the Original U.S. Post-War Strategy." *MERIA (Middle East Review of International Affairs)*.8
(1). Available at <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2004/issue1/jv8n1a5.html>

Zbigniew, K. Brzezinski. (1997) *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its
Geostrategic Imperatives*. New York: Basic Books.