

THE IMPACT OF GEOPOLITICS ON IRAQ-TURKEY RELATIONS AFTER 2003**Roxanne Jamal SHAKOR****Ministry of Higher Education and
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The geographical neighborhood between Iraq and Turkey has created compatible interests at times, and contradictory at other times between the two countries. The concordant interests gave rise to relations of cooperation and mutual understanding, just as the contradictory ones raised concerns and problems between the two neighbors. Despite the privacy of the ties of history, religion and culture between Iraq and Turkey for a long time, contemporary developments in Iraqi-Turkish relations have been characterized by distinction at times and lukewarm at other times, and these contradictions in the relations between the two parties represent the accumulations of the two policies: external and internal for both countries since the establishment of the modern Turkish Republic in In 1923, the approach taken by Turkey towards the new regime that emerged in Iraq after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime through the intervention of America, and its position was shaped by the influence of regional perceptions, bilateral relations and Iraqi internal politics. The purpose of the study is to know the internal, regional, and international variables of both countries and the effect of those variables on the foreign policy of both countries. As well as knowing the common factors or issues and the relationship between the two countries, including the water issue, the Kurdish issue, the Turkmen minority, and other political, economic and security issues. As well as the future vision of the Turkish-Iraqi relations under these circumstances.

Key words: geopolitical security, water issue, economic issue, Kurdish issue, PPK and Iraq- Turkey relations.

إن الجوار الجغرافي بين العراق وتركيا خلق مصالح متوافقة تارة ومتناقضة تارة أخرى بين البلدين. إن المصالح المتوافقة أدت إلى ظهور علاقات التعاون والتفاهم المتبادل، كما أثار المصالح المتناقضة المخاوف والمشاكل بين الجارتين. على الرغم من خصوصية الروابط التاريخية والدينية والثقافية بين العراق وتركيا منذ زمن طويل، إلا أن التطورات المعاصرة في العلاقات العراقية التركية اتسمت بالتميز أحياناً والتفوت أحياناً أخرى، وهذه التناقضات في العلاقات بين البلدين يمثل الحزبان تراكمات السياستين: الخارجية والداخلية لكلا البلدين منذ تأسيس الجمهورية التركية الحديثة في عام 1923، وهو النهج الذي اتبعته تركيا تجاه النظام الجديد الذي ظهر في العراق بعد الإطاحة بنظام صدام حسين من خلال التدخل وقد تشكل موقفها بتأثير التصورات الإقليمية والعلاقات الثنائية والسياسة الداخلية العراقية. هدفت الدراسة إلى معرفة المتغيرات الداخلية والإقليمية والدولية لكلا البلدين وتأثير تلك المتغيرات على السياسة الخارجية لكلا البلدين. وكذلك معرفة العوامل أو القضايا المشتركة والعلاقة بين البلدين، ومنها قضية المياه، والقضية الكردية، والأقلية التركمانية، وغيرها من القضايا السياسية والاقتصادية والأمنية. وكذلك الرؤية المستقبلية للعلاقات التركية العراقية في ظل هذه الظروف.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الأمن الجيوسياسي، قضية المياه، القضية الاقتصادية، القضية الكردية، حزب العمال الكردستاني، العلاقات العراقية التركية.

1. INTRODUCTION

Iraq and Turkey are two neighboring countries linked by historical, cultural, and economic relations, they have discussed to develop their relations since the Turkish confession of Iraq in 1927 based on their common interests, there are many common issues between the two countries such as water issue, the Kurdish issue, and Turkmen minority in Iraq, and economic issues ¹.

Developments before, during, and after the US intervention in Iraq made Iraq one of the most important Turkish foreign policy issues ². After 2003 that led to arise a complex geopolitical field. It did not stop at that only, but rather made efforts to damage the Iraqi state, damage the understructure of the Iraqi national economy, and kill on the identity by encouraging sectarian conflicts ³.

Turkey kept pace with the events, and it was necessary to adopt a different foreign policy to the existing events in line with its political and economic interests. Considering the circumstances and problems that were and are still stuck between the two countries, including the problem of the Kurds, water, the Turkmen minority, and other issues ⁴.

All this was accompanied by the division agendas, which discovered to the neighboring countries of Iraq that there is a turning point that will affect the policies of those countries and it is possible that it will change the map of the region.

The visit of Iraqi Prime Minister Mustafa Al-Kazemi to Turkey on 17-12-2020 was "successful by all standards" and dealt with files of common interest between the two countries "in all transparency" ⁵. The visit included 8 important files related to the level of security, economy, investment, energy, water, and railways. Iron, visas, frozen money and more. It also witnessed the signing of various memoranda of understanding between the two countries ⁶.

Research Questions

We must explain the problematic of this study, which we can put into two important questions, first: How did the determinants and constants influence the establishment of foreign and international political relations for both nations? The second question is how the occupation of Iraq by the United States of America and the subsequent period affected on the political system, which led to making Iraq a fragile state.

Research Limitations

The study has taken from the years after the year 2003 the period of starting the study, because it is a turning point in the history of Iraq, and indeed in all of its region, with the help of the previous years of these two countries because of their common and deep roots that it is difficult to exclude them from the study.

Research Argument

The geopolitics that emerged after 2003 affected the Turkish-Iraqi relations. Was Turkey's role positive or negative about the War on Iraq? also internal divisions in Iraq? As well as the position on the Kurdish question? Through this research, we will discuss the matters that have been mentioned.

Research Importance

The importance of the study is to know the internal variables in addition to the regional and international variables of both countries, and the impact of those variables on Turkish-Iraqi politics, by focusing on the current situation, developing the region, and preventing internal conflicts.

Research Methodology

The study adopted on the historical and descriptive approach in analyzing and knowing the constants of the Turkish policy towards Iraq as well as the determinants of Iraqi-Turkish relations by monitoring and analyzing

regional factors and international variables that affected these relations. Finally, to know the future of these relations.

Literature Review

According to (Müftüler-Baç, 2014) ⁷, this study suggests that Turkey's international strategy towards Iraq changed drastically after 2007, in light of outside difficulties and homegrown turns of events. The article examinations how Turkey's part in Iraq has changed on two distinct levels: initially, regarding expanded activism and political commitment, and besides, as far as its expanded financial inclusion, utilizing exchange and unfamiliar direct venture as international strategy apparatuses. These two distinct methods of commitment have changed Turkey into an obvious part in Iraq.

This article recommends that an examination of the adjustments in Turkish international strategy towards Iraq needs to assess three key components: first, the progressions in territorial perceived leverages, explicitly considering the 2003 American attack of Iraq and its resulting withdrawal in 2011; second, homegrown political changes in Turkey under the Justice and Development Party (AKP) with the selection of another international strategy standard "the zero issues with neighbors procedure"; and third, expanded Turkish capacities, both monetary and military. This article draws upon these three elements to survey Turkish international strategy towards Iraq, explicitly since 2007. The examination of Turkish international strategy towards Iraq is likewise fundamental to comprehend the numerous complexities and difficulties confronting Turkey in the Middle East today.

The article initially gives a system of examination to Turkish international strategy to comprehend its fundamental elements, and afterward applies this structure to Turkish international strategy towards Iraq, which has changed radically lately.

According to (Keskin, 2008) ⁸, This study talks about Turkey's situation on the PKK in northern Iraq. Turkey did crossline tasks in northern Iraq between 1988-1999. In spite of the fact that Iraq presented a solicitation to the Security Council this issue didn't advance toward the gathering meeting. Turkey has generally depended on Resolution 688 and the privilege to self-protection as a lawful premise.

Since 2003 it is Iraq's duty to stop PKK exercises. At the point when it is asked from the US and Iraqi government the two states guarantee that they can't do it because of shaky conditions in Iraq. Turkey convinced the US for a restricted ground activity in 2007 yet Turkey would not recurrent it without the US' assent.

Notwithstanding, when the Iraqi government let completely go over the area, they could presently don't satisfy the commitment of forestalling any unfriendly movement against another state on its own region. On the off chance that Iraq doesn't approve these activities Turkey faces the problem of ensuring her own security forcibly from one viewpoint and of being denounced for disregarding Iraq's regional power on the other. Iraq can't satisfy the commitment of forestalling unfriendly exercises carried on in her own region but then she doesn't allow Turkey to do it. On the off chance that Turkey follows her choice and stops the tasks, the outcome would be not just the most unreliable conditions for the non-military personnel individuals who live in the towns in the boundary zone yet additionally a constant progression of PKK into Turkey.

According to (Elver's, 2010) ⁹, this study was written by H. Elver, Visiting Professor in Global and International Studies at the University of California is an editor at the Middle East Information Project at the United States of America, a number of important points in the water crisis in the Middle East that related to the rivers that originate from Turkey, the Tigris and the Euphrates, and among the most prominent of those points were the

following: (1) In the later long periods of the 20th century, it was not unexpected to hear expectations that water, it will be the oil of the twenty-first century. He expected the investigation place report the vital and worldwide circumstance in Washington is that water, not oil, will be the fundamental wellspring of contention in the Middle East constantly 2000. (2) This forecast was important for the appraisals of the US insight organizations, which said that: By then "there will be in any event ten spots on the planet where they could eject." War because of lessening regular waters. (3) The collection of the issue of the wide-edged waters of the Tigris and Euphrates was one region where water wars have for some time been normal. (4) An expansion in the level of water in the high mountains in northeastern Anatolia courses through Turkey and Syria and Iraq before they in the long run converge to shape the Shatt al-Arab, which streams into the Gulf. It is important that Turkey, which is an upstream nation, has a huge military force that it has not customarily delighted in warm relations with Arab nations that speak to downstream nations. (5) The wild clashes of the Turkish armed force with (PKK), and the presence of the Kurdish nonconformist development focused in the Tigris and Euphrates bowls has since quite a while ago postponed any potential showdowns among Turkey and its Arab neighbors. (6) The outbreak of war between these countries is possible. (7) Turkey is a pivotal country in the Middle East.

According to (Obaid, 2015) ¹⁰, Iraqi-Turkish relations are among the most sensitive as for the Iraqi national security, Turkey, by virtue of its proximity to Iraq, is one of the most important actors affecting security and the stability of Iraq. Turkey today is no different from Turkey, which is a great power to expand to achieve its ambitions the region seeks, and through its control of the course of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, impose water control over each from Syria and Iraq.

Not only that, but through the outstanding problems between the two countries, Turkey is trying to intervene in Iraq's internal affairs, including its exploitation of the PKK issue as an excuse to override the land and soil of Iraq, as well as its exploitation of the Turkmen cause, which is trying to make them a major card it could be used to achieve its efforts to keep Kirkuk and its oil out of Kurdish hands for what it constitutes the Kurds' acquisition of Kirkuk oil is one of the most important risks, the most important of which is encouraging the Kurds to achieve secession, which will have an impact on the Kurds of Turkey, who may demand the same benefits, which means that these the issue will have an impact on the security and stability of both countries.

In order to build close relationships, both parties must work to overcome the crises that constitute an obstacle in front of both countries, especially given that both of them are linked by strong economic ties, given that Iraq is a popular market for Turkish goods, and the revenues Turkey receives from the passage of oil across its territory is estimated at billions of dollars.

In addition, both countries should resort to unifying their positions on the disputed issues in a way that serves them the interest of the two countries, as well as opening wide channels of communication between Iraqi and Turkish officials and that of in order to clear the skies between the two countries, to solving the issue of water in the Tigris and Euphrates is very simple, especially if it was agreed in a manner intensive, in-depth, and scientific with Turkey, by referring to the agreements signed between the two countries and standing on its technical requests regarding water drainage and utilization.

Also, addressing the biggest concern of Turkey and Iraq, which is the future of the Kurdish community, and development what happened in terms of the formation of the idea of a completely separate Kurdish state, and dealing with this threat the two countries, through the joint containment policy, will have an effect on spreading security and stability for both the two countries.

Accordingly, the level of relations between Iraq and Turkey would be valid if commitment was made by agreements, for example, for positive relations with all neighboring countries and their development in order to achieve security and stability in the region the whole region.

2. THE FUNDAMENTALS OF THE TURKISH POLICY TOWARDS IRAQ

Turkey took a deeper interest in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003, as the event had major dimensions on the regional and international areas, which made Turkey and the neighboring countries arrange their foreign policy agendas towards Iraq. Through the US occupation of Iraq and the absence of security, the organizations arise such as humanity organizations and civil society organizations, all of this pushed Turkey to attention the Iraqi issue¹¹.

The financial document stays perhaps the main constants of the Turkish approach towards Iraq, which is emerging as one of the most important trading partners of Ankara in terms of onshore trade, natural gas, and Turkish investments in Iraq. Turkey is completely mindful of its essence in the Iraqi field, which requires more organizations to work in the fields of recreation and speculation, particularly since the finish of the security emergency and the progressing battling in the Iraqi field implies the accessibility of incredible chances for Turkish organizations in the field of reproduction, and the extraordinary need likewise for different kinds of merchandise, products and enterprises that are needed by the contested regions¹².

On the other hand, political and economic relations develop together and in parallel with each other. In fact, with regard to improving economic relations with Iraq, one of the basic policies of Iraq, which has large oil reserves, is to participate in contracts related to Iraqi oil, and when the lists were announced, there was no Turkish company among the companies allowed to

explore. About oil, but with the positive development of relations since 2008, Turkey entered the list ¹³.

There are important points (by meeting Al-Kazemi and Erdogan) represented by reciprocal measures at the highest levels between the leaders of the two countries every six months or a year to discuss common files." He pointed out that "trade exchange between the two countries reached about 17 billion dollars this year, which is a large number, despite the circumstances of the Corona pandemic" ¹⁴.

Turkey is a historical, political, cultural, and social sponsor of Iraqi Turkmen and it has very special relations shaped by the facts of history, race and culture, the Justice and Development Party has given them special attention in order to strengthen their role in shaping the future of Iraq on the one hand and to deepen their relations with Turkey on the other hand. Kirkuk receives special Turkish attention for preserving its diverse structure, as well as for its special importance ¹⁵.

It is noteworthy that Turkey refused to open its military bases for the American forces or allow Washington to use these bases in any way in its war against Iraq, but it allowed the United States to use Turkish airspace only after the start of the war (BBC ARABIC.com: 2003). The constants of Turkey's policy in its relationship with Iraq is not to allow any neighboring countries to exercise any influence inside Iraq, and if multiple independent regions were to be established, then it opposes the establishment of an independent region in the south and prefers to be affiliated with Baghdad ¹⁶.

Through this history full of differences and tensions, the two countries share common interests and issues that cannot be underestimated at the strategic and technical levels ¹⁷:

- Preserving Iraq's territorial integrity and stability.
- Not supporting the organization in any way by cooperating in the war against the terrorist organization of the Kurdistan Workers' Party.

- Not to dismantle the unity of Iraq in any way, whether religiously or ethnically.
- Water issues
- Geographical proximity
- Providing positive support for the Iraqi restructuring process with neighboring countries.
- Establishing constructive cooperation with the United States of America,
- Turkmen living in Iraq and other ethnic groups do not fall victim to conflicts, as ethnic groups become stronger economically and politically,
- The existence of a large Iraqi community in Turkey as residents and refugees, and other factors that make the duality of influence between the two parties present and strongly in the long run, the common interests are many and deep.

3. DETERMINANTS OF THE IRAQI-TURKISH RELATIONS AFTER 2003

Both Iraq and Turkey have a geostrategic importance, as they are the heartland of Middle East, this area is characterized by a natural harmony between its central squares, its geopolitical and geo-cultural lines, also their importance levels at the political, economic and security level, especially after the fall of Saddam Hussein's system and the American control of Iraq¹⁸.

There are many issues that limit Turkey's relationship with Iraq:

3.1.Iraq- Turkey Geopolitics

Iraq a special importance to Turkey and its foreign policy, as the location of Iraq is within the near land areas, which are the regions of the Middle East, such as Balkans and the Caucasus, according to Davutoglu, for

Turkey to pay attention to what is especially if it is to raise its regional and international position ¹⁹ .

Geopolitics one of the most important and strongest elements that show the importance of Iraqi-Turkish relations, and geographical factors among the influencing factors in directing internal and external political behavior, and the reflections and results of those factors in international relations which called geopolitics ²⁰ .

Iraq and Turkey are in a central location in the geographical area, which gave them the advantage to play a role in the geopolitical field, and Turkey's position was added to the water limits on three sides, which made it control the waterways and control two important straits, the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles, as they are crossings to Europe, as well as That Turkey is considered a bridge crossing between the East and the West ²¹ .



Figure (1): Shows that Turkey is surrounded by water on three sides as well as neighboring countries.

3.2.PKK

After the second Gulf War, the PKK militants were active in northern Iraq, specifically in Mount Qandil and Sinjar, to establish a Kurdish entity on the borders of Turkey, and because Turkey was the first to suffer from the

establishment of this entity, Turkey strongly opposed this entity in the interest of both parties, and then demanded the preservation of the regional integrity of Iraq. Turkey opposes any division of Iraqi lands and considers that its military operations are directed against Kurdish terrorism and not against the Iraqi authority²².

Al-Kazemi, during his visit to Ankara, explained that Iraq's position is to condemn any act threatening Turkey, and not allow any outlaw organization to use the land of Iraq to threaten its neighbors, pointing out that Iraq has finally taken important steps in the district of Sinjar in the Nineveh Governorate in northern Iraq, and on the Iraqi-Syrian border to prevent the organizations. Armed Forces from entering Iraq²³.

The terrorist movements that began with the power vacuum in Iraq and were directed at Turkey The PKK is undoubtedly one of the main problems that the Turks, who have been on the stage of history for centuries and played a very influential role, have faced from time to time since 1984²⁴.

It is known that Turkey is facing military operations by the PKK towards its forces and security on the borders, which leads to the Turkish forces bombing areas within Iraqi Kurdistan, which makes relations between the two countries witness tensions that are quickly resolved through dialogue and political and diplomatic relations²⁵.

3.3.The Kurds and the Separation Idea

This file is one of the important files in defining the Iraqi-Turkish relations. The Iraqi Kurds have gone a long way in order to impose their cultural identity and national character, especially after the independence in the seventies of the last century, and even more risks that they will gain political dimensions and an entity of their own after the second Gulf War, as a result, an independent government was formed, a parliament was elected, and government institutions were created²⁶.

In any case, what issue to Ankara the most is the between time Iraqi constitution the Transitional Administrative Law endorsed in March 2004, which gives Kurdistan an exceptional case, and if the Iraqis choose to arrive at a particularly bureaucratic plan, Ankara will obviously incline toward that the focal government have the option to lessen the self-rule of the administrative locales, to incorporate the focal point of international strategy, protection strategy, and monetary arrangement in a focal government ²⁷.

Since the US attack on Iraq, Turkey's main expectations regarding developments in Iraq have been to protect the country's territorial integrity, prevent terrorist activities against Turkey, and especially prevent the establishment of an independent state in northern Iraq. In this context, Turkey formulated its policy in Iraq as not to establish an independent Kurdish state, to fight the PKK, to defend the rights of the Turkmen, and to ensure stability as soon as possible ²⁸.

For Turkey, which was against the idea of dividing Iraq and is still against this idea, the territorial integrity of Iraq is very important. The impact of fragmented Iraq on Turkey will also be negative, and the possibility of establishing a so-called Kurdish state will increase in this way.

On the other hand, the survival of an independent or federal Kurdistan depends largely on the possession of Kirkuk's oil resources. The fact that Kurdish tribal leaders see Kirkuk as the capital of Kurdistan and express this at every opportunity is related to that. It can be said that these developments have become more evident in the environment of the power vacuum that arose as a result of the overthrow of Saddam in Iraq ²⁹. As a result, and under the current circumstances, there is no doubt that the Kurdish state that will be established in northern Iraq will emerge as a major threat to Turkey. What Turkey must do in such a situation is to take the necessary political, diplomatic, military and legal measures on the border between the two countries.

3.4.The Water Issues

The water issue is one of the most important and influential issues in Turkish foreign policy, especially those related to the countries that share, as Turkey controls the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, which are the ones that feed all of Iraq, the water resources between Iraq and Turkey has witnessed many crises, exemplified by Turkey's construction of dams and projects on the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers within its land, which led to a severe shortage of water quantities entering Iraq and its negative reflections on agriculture and watering ³⁰.



Figure (2): Shows the course of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers over Iraq.

3.5. The Security and Economic Issues

The positive diplomacy that will emerge between Turkey and Iraq means innovations in structural reforms in the security sector, energy and infrastructure, as well as in many other areas. In short, there is no doubt that Iraq will benefit from this more than Turkey, both security and economically. Because Turkey will be the happiest if Iraq develops and emerges from chaos

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This file is considered one of the most dangerous factors affecting Iraqi-Turkish relations and a variable vital determinant, especially after 2003, so Turkey as mentioned is based on two important points regarding its foreign policy towards Iraq³²; first, Iraq's Unity (Geopolitical Security) the Turkish government considers saving the Iraq solidarity a steady of its public security, given that its division may open the entryway wide for different divisions in the locale.

Second; Stability in Iraq (Economic Security); The security of Iraq for Turkey is an essential addition on the political, monetary, investment and energy security levels, given the economic solidarity between the two countries. For Turkey Iraq's stability means contributing to the achievement of Turkish energy security. All this makes Turkey play an important role to Iraq's balances in the local and regional dimensions.

Turkey is an economic giant competing with even European countries, and it exports many basic products to Iraq, with a large presence of Turkish companies that contribute to the reconstruction operations and building the infrastructure of Iraq, in addition to the fact that the most important oil pipelines exported by Iraq pass through the ports of Turkey, what makes it control a large source of financial income, consequently, Iraq depends on Turkey, and this economic dependence is linked to the political stability of the region and Iraq

33.

After 2003 the economic power in Iraq damaged, financial, and administrative corruption spread and the drowning of the Iraqi government in economic crises and the loss of industrial, production and construction capacity, Iraq has turned into a first-class importing country that depends in everything on the countries surrounding it ³⁴.

At the forefront of all these developments is the common ground for fighting against the PKK terrorist organization, which emerged after the Tayyip Erdoğan-George W. Bush summit held on November 5, 2007, and a new path between Iraq and Turkey that can be summarized with the words energy security, diplomacy, economic cooperation and peace, the beginning of the era is created ³⁵.

4. THE FUTURE OF IRAQI-TURKISH RELATIONS

Although it is very difficult to make a final judgment or prediction about the future of Turkish-Iraqi relations, these relations will not be completely stable. What will be decisive or guiding in this regard are the developments in both countries and the position of the United States of America. It is very likely that these relations will be in a state of constant change in the coming period.

Instability in Iraq will continue for a long time, and Turkey's involvement in developments in Iraq and the region will be limited, and internal and external factors will play an important role in this. Based on these developments, Turkey will also confront the United States from time to time, and may be forced to pursue a policy despite the United States ³⁶.

Any nation's foreign policy is one of its most crucial tools for achieving its objectives in the global and regional arenas, and it plays a major role in defining its success or failure in this regard. As a result, no contemporary state can survive in isolation from other participants in the global arena. In this situation, the state uses a range of tools and procedures to formulate and carry out its foreign policy ³⁷.

In light of all the developments, it is unreasonable for the United States to leave Iraq before American goals or interests are achieved. If the slogan of establishing democracy and liberating the people is added to this, then leaving Iraq in its current negative situation will bring negative reactions on the international scene ³⁸.

We can say that the security situation damaged after the withdrawal of the American forces from Iraq and the poor relations adopted by the Iraqi government with neighboring countries with the poor internal conditions of Iraq, more sectarian wars and financial corruption and the politician weakened the Iraqi state ³⁹, which led to the entry of the Islamic State.

Since the period that began with the invasion of Iraq, there is hardly a country in the Middle East that has not been positively or negatively affected by this process. Naturally, the common expectation of all countries affected by the negative environment created by the environment of chaos and war is that the civil war in Iraq will end, and that its positive effects will be reflected in the entire region. In other words, every positive and peaceful development in Iraq will have a positive impact on the entire Middle East region ⁴⁰.

It is inevitable that the disintegration of Iraq will create a "climate of violence" in the region, which is uncertain how long it will last and where it will spread and how it will spill over cannot be predicted. No country wants such an outcome. Or in other words, it is not in the interest of any country ⁴¹.

Judging by Turkey's position during this period, it did not cooperate in sending forces to Iraq, considering that any intervention without a UN resolution was wrong in terms of international law ⁴².

In fact, Iraq is more complex than any other part of the world. Therefore, the division of Iraq will mean different and long wars over lands, resources, and power-sharing, contrary to what Senator Joe Biden asserted that "division ends the conflict." The bill proposed by Biden in 2008 was accepted, which provided for the division of Iraq into 3 regions within a federal structure. The

draft law proposes that Iraq remain one state, divided into Shiite, Sunni, and Kurdish regions, while control of oil revenues remains under the administration of Baghdad⁴³.

For Turkey, which was against the idea of dividing Iraq and is still against this idea, the territorial integrity of Iraq is very important. The impact of fragmented Iraq on Turkey will also be negative, and the possibility of establishing a so-called Kurdish state will increase in this way⁴⁴.

The Turkish (Turkmen) presence in Iraq is very important for Turkey. In particular, the Turkish presence in Mosul and Kirkuk must be strengthened, and negative actions against the Turkmen must be prevented in a planned manner⁴⁵.

It is likely that Turkish-Iraqi relations will remain as they are, because the situation in Iraq is the same, and because the ruling and controlling parties at the head of the government are the same parties that came to power after the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003, in addition to unemployment in the country and the deterioration of security and the conditions of the Kurds. And their threat of secession, all of these reasons lead to the collapse of the country, and the consequences of this relationship will have terrible consequences.

Perhaps the basic issues for Turkey and its international strategy towards Iraq are the security force, preserving the authority of Iraq and preventing its division, as well as the disarmament of armed groups, and this leads to a security, political and social investigation, but what is happening today is that the Kurds want secession, and the south threatens to make it a region like Kurdistan and the weakness of the government. Baghdad and the collapse of the economic file, so Turkish-Iraqi relations cannot deepen in the absence of authority and security⁴⁶.

5. CONCLUSION

Turkey and Iraq are two neighboring countries that have many things in common. Turkey wants to maintain its relations with a relationship based on

mutual goodwill and good neighborliness. One of the constant pillars of Turkey's policy towards Iraq is the two pillars of Iraq's unity and stability. The prevailing situation in the region portends danger to Turkey and Iraq, and indeed to all countries of the region in general, whose policies in the region are witnessing a state of ebb and flow at this stage.

Turkey wants the so-called Iraqi state to purge terrorist activities that pose a threat to it from the region. Efforts to improve Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood and intensify relations with Kurdish groups that deal positively with this issue should be accelerated. Instead of confronting each other Turkey should be able to maintain its relations in a programmatic way, and it can be considered This is among the important steps that Turkey can take in the war against terrorism.

Türkiye is entering a critical phase for regional politics. This is due to the overlap and conflict of interests. The major powers, especially the United States of America, have their own strategies, and these strategies often conflict with Turkish policies.

Iraqi-Turkish relations have witnessed many ebbs and flows and contradictions, especially since 2003. Sometimes the two countries agree and reach an agreement, and other times the situation deteriorates. There is no doubt that ethnic and sectarian conflicts in Iraq may continue in the future. It would be too optimistic to expect democracy to flourish in such a place.

Turkey plays an active role in structuring Iraq and is aware of the negative actions towards its citizens in the Kirkuk and Mosul regions in Iraq. It must help its citizens maintain their presence within Iraq's borders by constantly respecting their rights. Developing relations with Iraq after 2003 in this direction will be In the interest of both countries.

The two countries, Turkey and Iraq, share a common fate and their interests often converge. Therefore, officials in both countries must strive to

establish consistency in achieving these interests and keep them away from everything that could harm the future of relations between the two countries.

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