
Forging a New Partnership: India and Turkey

Mohammad Samir Hussain, Yashwantrao Chavan National Centre of International Security and Defence Analysis (YC-NISDA), Pune, India

Abstract: *With the fading of Cold War geopolitical constraints and the opening up of its economy in early 1990s, India has become an important player on the global stage. The relationship between India and Turkey has benefited out of the post cold developments in the global strategic environments. By the turn of twenty-first century, Turkey's foreign policy has shifted from isolationist stance to one of active engagement that has made it possible to expand ties with India. The shared values and commonalities of interest such as democracy, multi-cultural societies, combating terrorism, development of a just and equitable international order, ensuring regional and global security has been the main driving force of the newly formed partnership between India and Turkey. The main argument of this paper is that India's growing stature in the international system and its global responsibility has compelled Turkey to consider India as an important strategic partner. The paper seeks to understand the reasons behind this optimism shared by the two countries of having very close relations in the future. The paper examines the bilateral cooperation on political, economic and defence and security sectors. The paper concludes by laying out certain steps that must be taken to further strengthen the partnership. The paper further argues that it is high time that both sides chart a forward-looking agenda for advancing our multi-faceted cooperation; otherwise the opportunity will be lost.*

Keywords: India, Turkey, Shared values, Changing world scenario and Paradigm shift.

1. Introduction

Relationship between India and Turkey during the cold war period was limited due to cold bipolarity. As Turkey was a strategic partner for the United States against the Soviet Union while India decided not to be part of any of the two power blocs, adopted a policy of non-alignment. However, the disintegration of the erstwhile Soviet Union, the end of Cold War and the resultant changes in geo-strategic environment opened up a new opportunity for forging a new partnership based on the commonalities of interests which both countries share. The end of Cold War era removed some of the key irritants to the bilateral partnership between the two emerging powers.

Although India and Turkey do not share borders, both are in different geographical locations, but there seems to be developing an understanding on the need to cooperate on a wide range of issues. Since the Cold War end, India-Turkey relations have gained momentum. The post-Cold War global strategic developments have its impact on the relationship between India and Turkey. The relationship has benefited out of the post Cold War developments in the global strategic environments. The relationships between the two countries make a lot of sense when both countries have a lot in common- both are ancient civilizations; modern democracies; both are developing their economies quite well; both countries have multicultural, multiethnic, multi-religious societies; and are members of the G-20. These commonalities have been the keystone to expanding relations between India and Turkey.

India and Turkey enjoy a multifaceted partnership which ranges from political to economic and trade and from defence and security to science and technology and from cultural to education. Both countries are rising powers that do not face any direct bilateral problems. The expanding relations would benefit both countries. Both sides felt the need for closer engagement at the regional and global levels. The common interests of combating terrorism, development of a just and equitable international order, ensuring regional and global security will take the relationship to a much

Mohammad Samir Hussain, *Yashwantrao Chavan National Centre of International Security and Defence Analysis (YC-NISDA), Pune, India*

stronger footing. With a changed global geopolitical environment and increasing economic interdependence, Turkey today considers India not only a strategic economic ally, but also a potential 'bridging power' that can play a constructive role for regional and global peace, security and stability. The main argument of this paper is that India's growing stature in the international system and its global responsibility has compelled Turkey to consider India as an important strategic partner. The paper seeks to understand the reasons behind the optimism shared by the two countries of having very close relations in the future. The paper examines the bilateral cooperation on political, economic and defence and security sectors. The paper concludes by laying out certain steps that must be taken to further strengthen the partnership.

2. Significance of the Partnership

Relations between India and Turkey have improved significantly in recent times owing to the significant potential that lies with each other. The growing partnership between India and Turkey carries both regional and global significance. The real significance of this partnership lies in the significant role that both countries are expected to play in the twenty-first century challenging world. India and Turkey together have a lot to contribute for peace, prosperity, democracy and freedom in the world. The global significance of the expanding India-Turkey relations lies in playing a key role to ensuring peace, security and stability in the world by closely fighting against the threat of international terrorism (more details on commitment to fight against terrorism will come in the later part of this paper).

With gaining political and economic understanding and their convergence over the stability and security in the gulf region, India and Turkey can play a very important role in bringing peace, stability and security in the region. Ensuring stability in the Persian Gulf region will benefit not only India and Turkey but also the whole of international community. According to a well known Indian scholar, A K Pasha, "From Indian perspective, Turkey is the only country which exports security to a wide geography from Caspian to the Arabian Gulf peninsula." The two countries have an

understanding on the need for ensuring security in Central Asian region too. (Aras and others, 2009: 31-2).

Turkey and India both possess considerable attributes of power in terms of powerful Armed Forces, expanding economies and so also an expanding industrial infrastructure. This invests Turkey and India with significant leverage both within their regions and beyond their regions facilitated by global powers investing strategically in their potential strengths (Kapila, 2008).

3. Dimensions of Bilateral Partnership Between India and Turkey

3.1 Political Understanding

Political understanding between India and Turkey started improving after the turn of the twenty-first century when there emerges a paradigm shift in Turkey's foreign policy from isolationist stance to one of active engagement. This shift in foreign policy is aimed at developing constructive engagement with the major powers of the world including India. Ankara believes that this move would help improve its standing in the international system (Ozkan, 2010: 4-5). The gaining political understanding on the need to transform the partnership into a strategic one is reflected in the increasing frequency of high-level official visit from India to Turkey and vice versa. In February 2008, Turkish foreign minister Ali Babacan paid an official visit to India, becoming the first Turkish foreign minister to visit India in three decades. It was during his visit both countries signed an agreement on mutual exemption of visa requirement for holders of diplomatic passports was signed. This was followed by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's official visit to the southern tip of the Indian subcontinent in November 2008 where he had a bilateral discussion with India's President, Prime Minister, the then external affairs minister Pranab Mukherjee and the opposition leader.¹ Then President Abdullah Gul departed for India for a six-day "state visit" which was described as the highest level of state

Mohammad Samir Hussain, *Yashwantrao Chavan National Centre of International Security and Defence Analysis (YC-NISDA), Pune, India*

protocol, making him the first Turkish president to visit the South Asian country in 15 years. The visit was aimed at forging stronger economic and military ties between the two countries. During the visit both sides discuss bilateral, regional and global issues of mutual interest.ⁱⁱ

From the Indian side to pay a high level official visit to Turkey are President K.R. Narayanan in 1998, followed by Vice-President Krishan Kant on the same year, then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 2003. India's National Security Advisor also visited Ankara during which he held discussion with President Abdullah Gul, Foreign Minister Ali Babacan and also with the Secretary General of National Security Council. As such the visit was aimed at gaining support from Turkey for India's specific waiver at the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) meeting. Finally, after a detail discussion, Turkey without any hesitation extended the much-needed support to India in getting waiver from NSG.ⁱⁱⁱ

3.2 Defence and Security Cooperation

Defence cooperation between India and Turkey started way back in March 1986 when the latter's Prime Minister Turgut Ozal visited India and had discussion with the leaders of India on the promotion of bilateral military ties. It was during this visit both countries signed the civil aviation agreement. Then on the very next year, India reopened a defense attache office in Ankara. Since then the defence and security cooperation has remained low profile in India's interaction with Turkey. This can also be gauged from the fact that there has been very little military official exchange between the two countries. The defence cooperation at present is limited to military exchange and a low profile exercises reflecting huge scope for further improvement.

From the Indian side the first one to visit Turkey in a bid to strengthen defence ties between the two countries was the Indian Minister of State for Defense Mahbubnagar Malikarjun In September 1993 at the invitation of the Turkish Defense Minister Turhan Tayan. During this visit he also attended the International Defense Industry and Civil Aviation Fair, 1993 hosted by the Turkish Armed Forces

Foundation at the Turkish Air League Airport facilities in Ankara, Turkey (Daly, 2011).

However, in the year 2004 General Sukru Sariisik, Secretary General of the Turkish National Security Council visited India where he met the National Security Adviser, Mr. Brajesh Mishra, Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee, Admiral Madhavendra Singh, Army Chief, Gen. N.C.Vij, Foreign Secretary, Shri Shashank and the Deputy National Security Adviser, Shri Satish Chandra. The visit enabled both sides to exchange views on bilateral, regional and international issues of common concern and contributed to greater mutual understanding of respective security and geo-strategic environment. This was followed by a visit of Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee, Admiral Madhavendra Singh to Turkey in May 2004 and had very positive interactions with his counterpart, Chief of General Staff, General Ozkok and other top brass of the Turkish armed forces. And for the first time in seven years, Indian Naval ships, INS Ganga and INS Shakti paid a goodwill visit to Istanbul port on 30 May 2004.^{iv} General Ugur Yigit, the Commander of Turkish Naval Forces visited India in the mid of December 2009 to exchange views on expanding defence and security cooperation between the two countries. This is followed by the Visit of M. Vecdi Gonul, the Defence Minister of the Republic of Turkey to India, in the mid of February 2010. Then General Bilgin Balanli, the Commander of Turkish War Colleges, to India in November 2010. Indian Air Chief Marshall General Naik also visited Turkey in April 2011. These visits would no doubt help gain the military and security understanding between the two countries not only at the regional level but also at the global level.^v

However, the visit of Mehmet Ilker Basbug for the first time by Turkish Army Chief was very important for both sides to increase the understanding on the need for more engagement between the armed forces of the two countries. During this visit, the Turkish army chief met Minister of State for Defence M.M. Pallam Raju, Indian Navy chief Admiral Sureesh Mehta and Indian Air Force chief Air Chief Marshal Fali Homi Major. But he had a special interaction with the Indian Army Chief General Deepak Kapoor. After

Mohammad Samir Hussain, Yashwantrao Chavan National Centre of International Security and Defence Analysis (YC-NISDA), Pune, India

the discussion, both the chiefs shared a common platform on matters such as global terrorism and UN peacekeeping missions and have pledged to improve military bilateral relations in terms of training at defence institutions.^{vi}

As far as the military exercises between India and Turkey is concerned, there has been a regular but a low profile passage exercises (PASSEX) between the Navies of the two countries. It is expected that by 7th July this year, Turkish Maritime Task Force is visiting Mumbai with three frigates (FFH) and one logistic support ship (AOR) for the passage exercises with the Indian navies.^{vii}

4 India-Turkey Joint Commitment to Terrorism

Both India and Turkey face the same problem emanating from the issue of terrorism. If Turkey is fighting against Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK, Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan) terrorists (Cagaptay, 2004) then India is facing the same problem in Kashmir abetted by outsiders (Hussain, 2011: 91). Turkey shares a huge stake in the fight against terrorism that constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security. Turkey and India have been victims of terrorism well before 9/11. This was confirmed during the visit of Turkish President to India on February 2010 when both sides issued a joint declaration on Terrorism. In this joint declaration, both sides agree on the fact that there can be no double standards in identifying or fighting terrorism. Both sides agreed not to accept the dangerous logic of 'root causes' as excuses for inaction against terrorism. Besides, terrorism should not be associated with any religion, nationality, civilization or ethnic group. Both sides call upon the international community to comply with all the provisions of international counter-terrorism conventions and protocols as well as other related international instruments and strengthen international cooperation in this regard. Today, the world faces the real and frightening danger of weapons of mass destruction falling into the hands of terrorists, resulting in agreement that strong international cooperation is needed to tackle this problem. Turkey and India have collaborated with each other at international fora on combating terrorism. Moreover,

recognising the need for the conclusion of the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism as a vital component of the international legal framework in the global struggle against terrorism, both sides call upon the international community to conclude the Convention without further delay.^{viii}

5 Economic and Trade Cooperation

Economic and trade cooperation between India and Turkey after the end of cold war was very meager. It has witnessed upward trajectory only in recent times. The Indian economy is on a robust growth trajectory and boasts of a stable annual growth rate, rising foreign exchange reserves and booming capital markets among others. Their economies are both complementary and competitive with each other in many sectors. The economic complementarities are bringing the two countries closer to each other. The close economic partnership has the potential to provide inclusive growth to the economies of both countries. India offers a huge untapped market potential for the Turkish goods.

The trade volume between the two countries has increased from little more than US \$500 million in 2000 to more than US \$4 billion in 2010, reflecting almost an eight-fold increase. It is good to see that the balance of trade is in favor of India. (For more details see table 1 below). India's major items of exports to Turkey include automotive components, machine tools light machinery (Alam, 2007: 143), petroleum products, vaccines, cotton yarn, synthetic yarn, organic dyes, organic chemicals, denim, steel, granite, antibiotics, carpets, tobacco, cars, sesame seed, TV CRTs, mobile handsets, clothing and apparel. While the major items of imports from Turkey include poppy seeds, auto components, marble, textile machinery, denim, carpets, cumin seeds, copper ores and concentrates, flat rolled iron and steel and gold. But still India ranked well below countries such as Germany, Russia, US, Italy, etc, in terms of major source and destination of Turkish imports and exports.^{ix} Economic factor has a key role to play in bringing the two countries closer and in transforming the relations.

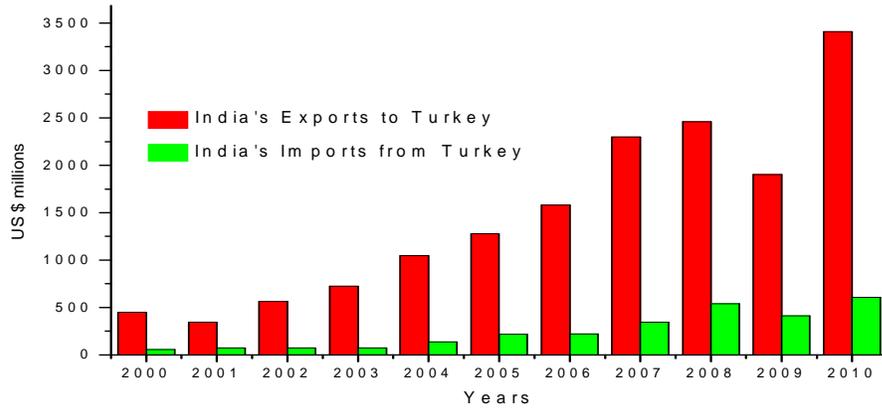
Mohammad Samir Hussain, *Yashwantrao Chavan National Centre of International Security and Defence Analysis (YC-NISDA), Pune, India*

Table 1: Bilateral Trade Between India and Turkey: 2000 to 2010 (in US \$ millions)

Years	India's Exports to Turkey	India's Imports from Turkey	Total Volume	Balance
2000	449.307	56.047	505.354	393.260
2001	345.875	74.373	429.248	280.502
2002	564.463	72.724	637.187	491.739
2003	722.855	71.365	794.220	651.490
2004	1,046.398	136.317	1,182.715	910.081
2005	1,280.473	219.869	1,500.342	1,060.604
2006	1,579.405	222.242	1,801.647	1,357.163
2007	2,299.732	348.229	2,647.961	1,951.503
2008	2,457.908	542.730	3,000.638	1,915.178
2009	1,902.607	411.216	2,313.823	1,491.391
2010	3,409.823	606.840	4,016.663	2,802.983

Source: See, "Turkey-India Economic and Trade Relations", Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, Retrieved 2 June 2011 from <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-commercial-and-economic-relations-with-india.en.mfa>.

Figure 1: Bilateral Trade Between India and Turkey: 2000 to 2010 (in US \$ millions)



Source: Prepared from Table 1.

Figure 2: India's Five Major Items of Imports from Turkey in 2010

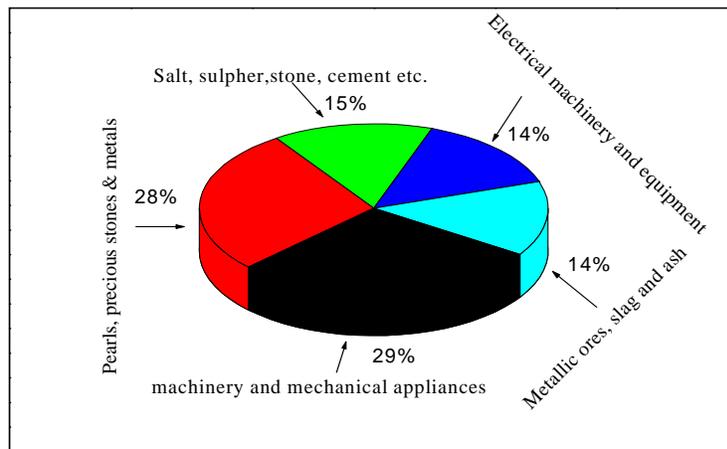
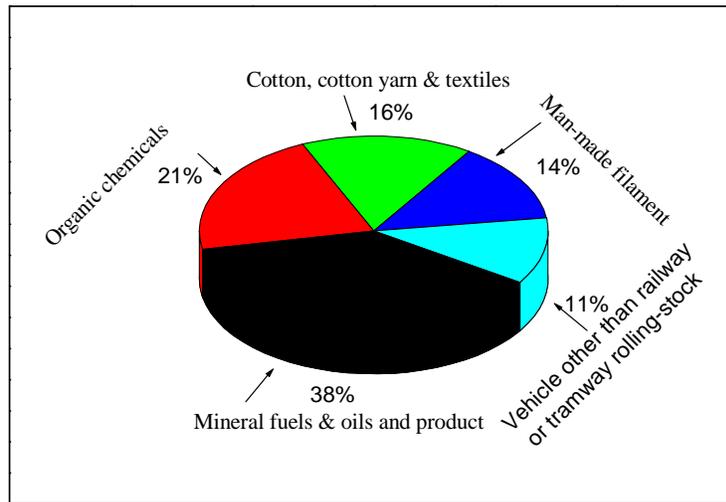


Figure 3: India's Five Major Items of Exports to Turkey in 2010



Source of Figure 2 & 3: Refer to “Economic and Commercial Relations between Turkey and India”, Retrieved on 29 October 2011 from <http://expoturkey.in/downloads/ERC_IT.pdf>.

From the above table and figures, we can observe that there has been a continuous increase of trade volume, which is good sign for future prospects. In the year 2009, the trade volume has come down due to the global financial crisis but bounced back very strongly in 2010. The bilateral trade volumes do not reflect the full capacity of either country.

Indian exports have contributed more than what India imports from Turkey in reaching this level. India’s exports to Turkey have been increasing steadily over the last ten years since the turn of twenty-first century. When it comes to import from Turkey, India remains a relatively less significant export destination for the Turkey because of the slow growth of Turkish export to India. However, the good news is that in recent years although the level may be different, but at least there has been an increase in imports from Turkey too.

Efforts are still going on for expanding the level of trade and economic relations that India and Turkey enjoy at present. This is reflected in the number of official visit from Turkey to India and vice-versa that is aimed at transforming economic relations through easing and opening up of trade and economic opportunities. H.E. Kursat Tuzmen, the then Minister of State for Foreign Trade of the Republic of Turkey visited India for five days in March 2008 in a bid to strengthen the trade ties between the two countries. This was followed by the visit of Anand Sharma, the Minister of Trade and Industry of the Republic of India to Turkey in June 2010. This year in April, Zafer Caglayan, the Minister of State for Foreign Trade of the Republic of Turkey also visited India.^x

It was during the recent meeting between India's Minister of State for Commerce and Industry Jyotiraditya Scindia and his Turkish counterpart Nehat Ergun, both sides discuss on the scope for expanding the trade and investment ties. Both countries have committed to take their bilateral trade beyond the \$5 billion target by 2012 and \$10 billion in the next 10 years. The bilateral trade between the two countries is growing at a Compound Annual Growth Rate of about 27 per cent and reached \$3.14 billion in 2009-10. In a bid to achieve this target and many more, both sides have set up a Joint Study Group to look at the feasibility of a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the two countries. The negotiation for FTA is in process. Turkey presents the compelling imperative for India to develop a strategic partnership in fields of energy security, infrastructure development, automotives and engineering industry.^{xi} Besides, they need to open more and more areas of economic opportunity.

Once the FTA materializes, there will be significant improvement in trade and investment relations. At present, more than 150 companies with Indian capital are working in Turkey in the form of joint ventures, trade and representative offices. They include M/s Polyplex, GMR Infrastructure, TATA Motors, Mahindra & Mahindra, Reliance, Ispat, Aditya Birla Group, Tractors and Farm Equipment Ltd., Jain Irrigation, Wipro and Dabur.^{xii} While

Mohammad Samir Hussain, Yashwantrao Chavan National Centre of International Security and Defence Analysis (YC-NISDA), Pune, India

some of the Turkish companies have also made its presence felt in India in several sectors. This includes Limak Construction, Sarar, Sektas and Izopoli-Kindsan. In addition to this, Hidromas – manufacturer of heavy earthmovers are in the process of setting up a manufacturing unit in Chennai. Limak has been collaborating with an Indian company-Soma since the last one-decade in the construction, widening and strengthening of National Highway segments measuring 135 kms. It is also in collaboration with another Indian company-Gammon India Ltd in laying of cross-country pipeline and associated facilities on a 274 kms long segment.^{xiii}

6 Investment Relations

Investment is another area where there are significant potential for improvement. Investment also flows in both directions. This investment can help both sides in overcoming a gap between the level of domestic savings and any required expenditure on investment to achieve employment and other development targets. It can also raise the standards of living of the people by improving labour productivity. Moreover, it can also help the recipient country meet its needs of transfer of technology and technical skills.

In the year 2009, India has made an investment of US \$74 million then on the other side; Turkey has also invested US \$40 million to India. India's interest in developing its infrastructure fast and Turkish companies' willingness to invest in Indian ventures is one of the most important aspects of the commercial and economic dimension of this relationship. According to the Investment Support and Promotion Agency of Turkey, three direct investment agreements were also signed by Turkish and Indian entrepreneurs during Turkish President Abdullah Gul's formal visit to India. Officials say that these agreements would bring Turkey direct investments of nearly 150 million USD, providing employment opportunities for 200 people. They also added that Indian companies dealing in ship construction and renewable energy had expressed interest to invest in Turkey (Ozkan, 2010: 9).

It was during this visit both sides signed deals worth \$1 billion. India has made an announcement to invest \$500 billion in construction of thousands of kilometers of roads and railroads. The Indian Transportation Ministry will invest \$11 billion in building roads between 2011 and 2013. The investments in this field will continue for at least 10 years, reaching a total investment volume of \$320 billion. This is very important move to strengthen the investment cooperation. They have been distributed as- \$45 billion for roads, \$62 billion for railroads, \$8 billion for civil aviation and \$10 billion for ports. The investments will continue increasing until 2018. While, the visiting Turkish Ministry also urged their companies to increase their investment to India which offer huge market of \$500 billion.^{xiv} Trade and investment relations offer a huge scope for improvement. Both sides would need to create a climate suitable for investment by the other side.

7 Science and Technological Cooperation

It was during the Turkish President Abdullah Gul's visit to India in February 2010, the two countries signed joint declarations on scientific and technological cooperation. Both sides understand the mutual benefit of cooperation in S & T. On the basis of which, both sides decided to develop and expand cooperation in science and technology by launching the advanced science and technology dialogue and also offered to work together in mutually identified projects in areas such as telecommunications, computerization, space research, and bio-technology and environment technology. It would also involve exchange of ideas, information, skills and technologies; exchange of scientists and technical experts and other such forms of cooperation.^{xv}

8 Energy Cooperation

India and Turkey being at the consumer end of the energy supply line, there are vast potential for cooperation in the energy sector. India, the second largest population in the world known for its significant economic growth has been

Mohammad Samir Hussain, Yashwantrao Chavan National Centre of International Security and Defence Analysis (YC-NISDA), Pune, India

facing the challenges arising out of the growing energy demands to meet its population. At present India is the sixth largest energy consumer in the world and is projected to emerge as the fourth largest consumer after the United States, China and Japan in the coming decades. Its economy is projected to grow 7 per cent to 8 per cent over the next two decades. For India to sustain this projected economic growth and eradicating poverty would require solving energy problem. If India reduces the use of oil in its power and manufacturing sectors, the demand for oil in the transport sector shows no sign of abating. Due to stagnating domestic crude production, India imports approximately 70 per cent of its oil. Its dependence is growing rapidly. The World Energy Outlook, published by the International Energy Agency (IEA), projects that India's dependence on oil imports will grow to 91.6 per cent by the year 2020.^{xvi} India's commitment to sustain high economic growth rate would remain unfulfilled if there is a shortage of energy resources and its consequent infrastructure development. At this crucial juncture, Turkey is favorably positioned to help India meet burgeoning energy demand owing to its geographical location in close proximity to 71.8 per cent of the world's proven gas and 72.7 per cent of oil reserves; those in the Middle East and the Caspian basin. It can play the role of natural energy bridge between major oil and gas supplies from the Persian Gulf and Caspian Sea on one side and India on the other.^{xvii}

9 India-Turkey Relations: Pakistan as a Factor

Turkey's stand on Kashmir issue in support of Pakistan was one of the major nuisances in the closer engagement between India and Turkey. That in the past, Turkish policy towards South Asia was based strictly on Pakistan. However, with the changing world scenario and the growing engagement with India, Pakistan factor is losing its relevance. Turkey has tried to move beyond its traditional approach of looking at India through a Pakistani prism. The main reason behind this shift in approach toward India and Pakistan is the developments within and outside the two countries.

India in recent times has made significant strides in its standing among the countries in the international system. India's present standing in the international system is stronger and better than ever before. This is reflected in the high profile visits from the P-5 countries in the order of Britain, the US, France, China and Russia. The visit reflects the significant importance given to India in the international scenario. These high profile diplomatic visits send a clear message to the international community about the role that India would be playing in the coming decades. Secondly, it reflects their eagerness to have qualitatively stronger and comprehensive relations with India. India's stature in the international system has undergone significant transformation that today India is being considered by many countries as the source of stability and security in Asia and the World at large.

Pakistan on the other hand is facing increasing instability within the state leading many to say that it would become a failed state in future. The contrasting picture of India and Pakistan in the present world has compelled Turkey to bring a shift in its stand on Kashmir issue in favor of India. Today, Turkey has reversed its position on Kashmir from a call for a plebiscite under UN supervision to stressing the importance of India-Pakistan bilateral dialogue to resolve the issue, which is by and large closer to India's position. At the same, it has also committed not to allow its relations with Pakistan to disrupt the emerging ties with India (Ozkan, 2010: 6-7).

10 Conclusion

The post cold war India-Turkey relations are at the threshold of unprecedented developments. A remarkable change in the relationship between the two countries after the end of cold war era can be perceived in the nature, content and the scope of the evolving partnership. Thanks to

Mohammad Samir Hussain, *Yashwantrao Chavan National Centre of International Security and Defence Analysis (YC-NISDA), Pune, India*

the changing international strategic environment and the bilateral efforts on the part of the two countries that makes it possible for the relations to prosper better than the past. However, the partnership is at a very initial stage requiring lot of hard work to take this relationship to a much better level. Their commitment to secular and democratic principles and their common interests will help to further strengthen the emerging strategic partnership between India and Turkey. It is very important at this stage that both countries attach due importance to the new partnership, otherwise the opportunity will be lost. This will help to further strengthen the partnership to attain strategic character. The present level of improvement is well beyond the actual potential. India should do all that is reasonable to maintain strong military ties with Turkey. And it is high time that both sides chart a forward-looking agenda for advancing our multi-faceted cooperation.

The following steps must be taken to further strengthen the ties between India and Turkey.

- a. Both sides must continue to hold a dialogue at the strategic and economic level.
- b. Increase high-level official exchange between the two countries should be enhanced.
- c. Identify the common areas of long-term strategic cooperation such as education, tourism, etc.
- d. Not to allow any bilateral issues to disrupt the gaining relations.
- e. Encourage people-to-people contacts through cultural and educational exchange programme.

Notes

ⁱ See, *Annual Report 2008-2009*, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, p. 90.

ⁱⁱ See, *India-Turkey: Time to Translate Commonalities into Closer Bilateral Ties*. Retrieved 23 May 2011 from

<<http://www.todayszaman.com/news-201022-india-turkey-time-to-translate-commonalities-into-closer-bilateral-ties.html>>.

ⁱⁱⁱ Refer to no. 2.

^{iv} See, *Annual Report 2004-2005*, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, pp. 93-94.

^v See, Political Relations, Turkish Embassy, New Delhi, Retrieved 1 June 2011 from
<<http://newdelhi.emb.mfa.gov.tr/ShowInfoNotes.aspx?ID=124909>>.

^{vi} See, Turkey, India Initiate Military Ties. Retrieved 1 June 2011 from
<<http://www.india-defence.com/reports-3787>>.

^{vii} See, Indian and Turkish Navies to Conduct Passage Exercise. Retrieved 20 June 2011 from
<<http://frontierindia.net/indian-and-turkish-navies-to-conduct-passage-exercise>>.

^{viii} For more details refer to, *Joint Declaration on Terrorism between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of India*, New Delhi, February 09, 2010, Retrieved 1 June 2011 from
<<http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530515563>>.

^{ix} See, Bilateral Brief on Turkey, Retrieved 1 June 2011 from
<<http://mea.gov.in/mystart.php?id=50044536>>.

^x Refer to no. 5.

^{xi} See, India-Turkey Trade to Cross \$5 Billion, Retrieved 2 June 2011 from
<[http://www.rediff.com/business/report/india-turkey-trade-to-cross-\\$5-billion/20110204.htm](http://www.rediff.com/business/report/india-turkey-trade-to-cross-$5-billion/20110204.htm)>.

^{xii} Refer to no. 9.

^{xiii} Refer to, India-Turkey Economic and Commercial Relations, *Consulate General of India, Istanbul*, Retrieved 29 October 2011, from
<http://www.cgiistanbul.org/economic_and_commercial_relation_trade>.

Mohammad Samir Hussain, *Yashwantrao Chavan National Centre of International Security and Defence Analysis (YC-NISDA), Pune, India*

-
- ^{xiv} See, Turkish Minister looking for a Trade Passage to India, Retrieved 2 June 2011 from
<<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=turkish-minister-finds-a-passage-to-india-2011-04-21>>.
- ^{xv} For more details refer to, *Joint Declaration on Scientific and Technological Cooperation between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of India*, New Delhi, 9 February 2010, Retrieved 2 June 2011 from <<http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530515564>>.
- ^{xvi} Ruchita Beri, “Traditional and Non-Traditional Threats in a Changing Global Order: An Indian Perspective”, *Paper Presented at Center for Policy Studies International Seminar on ‘IBSA Within a Changing Global Order: Regional and Human Security Dimensions’* held in Johannesburg, South Africa, 29-30 June 2006, p. 1, Retrieved 21 October 2011 from <http://www.cps.org.za/cps%20pdf/pia20_2.pdf>.
- ^{xvii} Ozgur Unal Eris, “European Union’s Energy Security Within the Framework of Turkish Membership”, p. 6, Retrieved 25 October 2011 from
<<http://www.saopaulo2011.ipsa.org/sites/default/files/papers/paper-646.pdf>>.

References

Annual Report 2004-2005, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, pp. 93-94.

Annual Report 2008-2009, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, p. 90.

Alam Mujib, (2007). “Evolving Pragmatism in Indo-Turkish Relations: From Cold War to Post Cold War Period”, in *Turkish Yearbook of International Relations/Milletlerarasi Munasebetler Turk Yilligi*, Number xxxviii, p. 143.

Aras Bulent, Dagci Kenan and Caman Efe, M, (2009). “Turkey’s New Activism in Asia”, *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, vol. 8, No. 2, Summer, Retrieved from <http://www.alternativesjournal.net/volume8/number2/aras-dagci-caman.pdf> (24 October 2011).

Cagaptay Soner, (2004). “Where does the U.S.-Turkish Relationship”, *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall, Retrieved from <http://www.meforum.org/657/where-goes-the-us-turkish-relationship> (3 June 2011)

Daly John C. K. “Basbug in India”, Retrieved from [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=33515](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=33515)(25 May 2011).

Hussain, Mohammad Samir, (2011), “U.S., India and Pakistan Relations after 26/11”, *Journal of Political Science* (Jalandar), vol. VII, no.1, April, p. 91.

Joint Declaration on Scientific and Technological Cooperation between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of India, New Delhi, 9 February 2010, Retrieved from <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530515564> (2 June 2011).

Joint Declaration on Terrorism between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of India, New Delhi, 09 February 2010, Retrieved from <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530515563> (1 June 2011).

Kapila Subhash, (2008). “Turkey-India Strategic Partnership: The Indian Imperatives”, *South Asia Analysis Group*, Paper no. 2788, 29 July, Retrieved from <http://southasiaanalysis.org/%5Cpapers28%5Cpaper2788.html> (20 October 2011)

Mohammad Samir Hussain, *Yashwantrao Chavan National Centre of International Security and Defence Analysis (YC-NISDA), Pune, India*

Ozkan Mehmet, (2010). “Can the Rise of ‘New’ Turkey Lead to a ‘New’ Era in India-Turkey Relations?” *IDSA Issue Brief*, 20 September, pp. 4-5.