

## Erdoğan and Europe: The Fox and the Chicken Coop?

By Christopher C. Hull, Ph.D.

On September 11, 1683, Polish King John III, a.k.a. Jan Sobieski,<sup>i</sup> arrived at a hill north of Vienna to break the second great siege of that city by the Ottoman Turks.<sup>ii</sup> Within hours he led the combined forces of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland, the Habsburg Monarchy, and the Holy Roman Empire<sup>iii</sup> in the epochal battle at the gates of Vienna, during which Sobieski led the largest cavalry charge in world history,<sup>iv</sup> ultimately routing a 150,000-man Ottoman army about twice the size of his own,<sup>v</sup> after which, according to one historian, “the Ottoman Turks ceased to be a menace to the Christian world.”<sup>vi</sup>



Jan Sobieski. Photo credit: *History Today*, <http://www.historytoday.com/walter-leitsch/1683-siege-vienna>.

But times have changed.

Today, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is rapidly turning Turkey back into a menace to its own region as well as the West. But this time, if it does come time to cross swords with the Turks again, millions of their potential allies will already be inside the gates, in Vienna and beyond, and millions more at the ready.



Photo credit:

[https://media.newyorker.com/photos/59097bd22179605b11ad8fca/master/w\\_727,c\\_limit/Ackerman-ErdoganStrikesTurkeysLastOpposition.jpg](https://media.newyorker.com/photos/59097bd22179605b11ad8fca/master/w_727,c_limit/Ackerman-ErdoganStrikesTurkeysLastOpposition.jpg), accessed February 2, 2018

### The Fox: Erdoğan's Evolving Islamic State

Erdoğan's "increasingly Islamized Turkey,"<sup>vii</sup> once a secular liberal democracy, has over the last quarter century slouched ever-more-rapidly toward Islamic authoritarianism. For instance, the Turks more than two decades ago joined other Muslim-majority countries in the now-57 member Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC, then known as the Organization of the Islamic Conference) in rejecting the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights "on the grounds that it is inconsistent with their culture and religion."<sup>viii</sup> In its place, the OIC crafted the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam,<sup>ix</sup> in which according to one critic, "human rights are subordinated to Islamic law. If something is permitted in Sharia, such as stoning a woman to death for adultery or rape, it is a human right; if it is not permitted in Sharia, it is not a human right."<sup>x</sup>

Erdoğan himself makes no bones about his own position on Islam and human rights, and never has. Early in his career, Erdoğan remarked that democracy is like a train: once you get where you're going, you get off.<sup>xi</sup> In 2004, Erdoğan said flat-out, "Turkey is not a country where moderate Islam prevails."<sup>xii</sup> Granted, in that speech he also argued, "We are Muslims who have found a middle road."<sup>xiii</sup> The question at the time is where that road would lead.<sup>xiv</sup>

Now we know. Recently, Erdoğan reiterated even more clearly, “Islam cannot be either moderate or not moderate. Islam can only be one thing,”<sup>xv</sup> criticizing Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman’s claim he would promote a “more moderate Islam” in his kingdom.<sup>xvi</sup>

But even given the Turks’ role in running the Ottoman Empire that wreaked such havoc historically on Europe, a once and future Caliphate off its coasts and on its borders might worry the West less had a mass caliphate not arguably already broken through Western lines.

In part because of the illegal immigration crisis of 2015, which Erdoğan actively helped facilitate, the Muslim population of Europe had exploded to 25.8 million, 4.9% of the total population, by mid-2016, according to Pew Research Center estimates (which in some cases are dramatically lower than local sources).<sup>xvii</sup>

In Bulgaria, lying along with Greece just on the other side of the land bridge from Turkey, that percentage has according to Pew reached 11.1%, the legacy of historical Ottoman occupation.<sup>xviii</sup>

In France, with the largest numbers of Muslims in Europe at 5,720,000, the percentage stands at 8.8% according to Pew, though some put the figure at 10% or above.<sup>xix</sup> Sweden, though it has absorbed fewer Muslim immigrants, has reached 8.1% because of its smaller population, again according to Pew.<sup>xx</sup> In Germany, with the second largest number at 4,950,000, Pew puts the percentage at 6.1%.<sup>xxi</sup>

Of course, these Muslim populations do not all originate in Turkey, nor did all illegal immigrants pass through Erdoğan’s control during the recent crisis. Indeed, during the crisis, illegals poured into Europe from a plethora of places across Africa and the Middle East.



Image credit: Business Insider, available at

[http://static2.businessinsider.com/image/55f2f958bd86ef1c008b9ab9-1200-1681/bi\\_graphics\\_europe%27s%20refugee%20crisis%20\(1\).png](http://static2.businessinsider.com/image/55f2f958bd86ef1c008b9ab9-1200-1681/bi_graphics_europe%27s%20refugee%20crisis%20(1).png), accessed January 16, 2018.

A substantial number of Turks do reside in Europe, however. More than a million of them – both ethnic Turks and Turkish citizens – lived in Germany alone as of 2008, with more than half a million in France, the UK, and Bulgaria.<sup>xxii</sup>



Image credit: “File:Turksineurope.png,” Wikimedia Commons, accessible at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Turksineurope.png>, accessed January 16, 2018.

Moreover, Erdoğan has himself threatened on multiple occasions to single-handedly re-start the illegal immigration crisis once more. On March 18, 2016, Europe and Erdoğan agreed on a joint migration plan. According to that plan, “Ankara agreed to stop asylum seekers from crossing by sea to the Greek islands in return for three billion euros in aid to deal with the three million Syrian refugees who are living on Turkish soil.”<sup>xxiii</sup> (For the record, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) puts the total number of Turkey-based refugees at 2.8 million, of which it believes 2.6 million are Syrian.<sup>xxiv</sup>) In addition, the “one in, one out” agreement stipulated that Syrian refugees who reached Greece would be returned to Turkey, while Turkey-based Syrian asylum-seekers would be resettled to Europe.<sup>xxv</sup>

That’s not the way it has worked out. Instead, only 1,000 immigrants have been sent back to Turkey; 3,500 have left Turkey for the EU; and 10,000 have been resettled from Greece to the rest of Europe.<sup>xxvi</sup>

The pact did succeed, however, at stemming the flood of illegal immigrants. Monthly sea arrivals to the EU peaked in October, 2015 at 221,454, and have remained below 32,000 since March, 2016, according to UNHCR.<sup>xxvii</sup>

At that point, history intervened.

On July 15, 2016, a military faction calling itself the Peace At Home Council attempted a *coup d’état* against Erdoğan’s government.<sup>xxviii</sup> Reports differ with respect to who in fact made up this faction. Ankara asserts feverishly that Islamic cleric and soured Erdoğan ally Fethullah Gülen drove the *coup*, and indeed many of Gülen’s followers did appear to participate. However, the possibility exists that the *coup* constituted a last-gasp effort by remaining “Kemalists,” that is, supporters of the founding ideology of the Republic of Turkey as instituted by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, to halt Turkey’s headlong plunge away from its country’s founder, not to mention modernity and the West.

Regardless, in the chaos that followed, in which 234 died and more than 2,000 were injured according to one report,<sup>xxix</sup> Erdoğan successfully put down the *coup*, then followed with a brutal crackdown on his perceived enemies, calling the attempted putsch “a gift from God.”<sup>xxx</sup>

Erdoğan's crackdown reached far, and fast. Within 72 hours, his government had detained 7,543 people, including 6,138 military officials, among them more than 100 generals and admirals, as well as 755 prosecutors and 650 civilians, and suspended 8,777 government employees, including 2,745 judges, police officers and governors of 30 of Turkey's 81 provinces.<sup>xxxii</sup>

In reaction, United States (U.S.) and EU leaders issued warnings to Turkey's government to use restraint.<sup>xxxiii</sup> The European Commissioner leading Turkey's EU accession process charged Erdoğan appeared to be using lists drawn up in advance, "It looks at least as if something has been prepared. ...The lists are available, which indicates it was prepared and to be used at a certain stage. I'm very concerned."<sup>xxxiv</sup>

The French foreign minister expressed the concern that, "We cannot accept a military dictatorship but we also have to be careful that the Turkish authorities do not put in place a political system which turns away from democracy."<sup>xxxv</sup> A spokesperson for German Chancellor Angela Merkel warned that following through on calls to reinstate the death penalty in the wake of the *coup* "would end the country's EU accession hopes," which had begun in 2004 with the death penalty's abolition – though reluctance to admit Turkey hardly began with the *coup* attempt.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

Turkish officials reacted with fury, charging critics were "ignoring the fact that the parliament was hit 11 times by hijacked F-16s."<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Thus began – or continued – the use of refugees as pawns to pressure Europe.

According to Athanassios Drougas, an intelligence expert in Athens, "With Europe in a mess, Mr. Erdoğan feels he has a free hand in trying to blackmail the bloc using the refugee crisis as leverage."<sup>xxxviii</sup> By September 2016, illegal immigrants suddenly began to pour across the Adriatic from Turkey to Greece again, prompting hurried visits from EU officials.<sup>xxxix</sup>

This was not the first time the West had seen this trick, and it won't be the last. Similarly, according to the Middle East Forum's Daniel Pipes, "Libya's Muammar Qaddafi turned the migrant flow on and off, thereby winning concessions from Italy in a game that anticipated what Turkey's Recep Tayyip Erdoğan now plays with Germany."<sup>xl</sup>

Regardless, with Europe's pressure point pushed, Erdoğan's crackdown continued unabated, foremost among the targets Gülen and his followers.<sup>xli</sup> Now, in spite of innumerable claims to the contrary, Gülen is no friend of the West. His movement has had to withdraw a book in which he justifies wife-beating 'albeit as a last resort' in keeping with Islamic doctrine,<sup>xlii</sup> describes Christianity as "perverted" and refers to America – where he lives, safe from deportation for now – as 'our merciless enemy.'<sup>xliii</sup> Likewise, Gülen has challenged his supporters in Turkey (at least), "You must move in the arteries of the system without anyone noticing your existence until you reach all the power centers."<sup>xliiii</sup> In his 1998 book *Prophet Mohammed as Commander*, Gülen writes that "a Muslim's enmity towards unbelievers is, in fact, in the form of pitying them."<sup>xliiv</sup> Finally, in *An Analysis of the Prophet's Life*, he expounds further:

[Muslim] believers should also equip themselves with the most sophisticated weaponry. Force has an important place in obtaining the desired result, so believers cannot be indifferent to it. Rather they must be much more advanced in science and technology than unbelievers so that they should not allow unbelievers to use “force” for their selfish benefit. According to Islam, “right is might”; so, in order to prevent might from being right in the hands of unbelievers and oppressors, believers must be mightier than others.<sup>xlv</sup>

That said, Gülen is in fact a U.S. person, having achieved long-sought legal permanent resident (LPR) status on October 10, 2008, and thus retains the rights of one so situated.<sup>xlvi</sup> Since Erdoğan is not exactly America’s buddy, either, we would do well to remember it as Ankara bellows for the U.S. to extradite Gülen to face trial.<sup>xlvii</sup>

By November 2016, Turkey’s president had dismissed or detained 125,000 people associated with the Gülen movement, according to one report.<sup>xlviii</sup> Erdoğan’s government even investigated 5,000 foster families for ties to Gülen’s movement, threatening to remove children from the homes of foster parents who participated in the *coup*.<sup>xlix</sup>

Erdoğan likewise extended the repression to its Kurdish minority, which had no known ties to the *coup* attempt, arresting 11 Kurdish Members of Parliament, including both co-chairmen of the Kurdish Peoples’ Democratic Party, ousting 30 Kurdish mayors from office, suspending 11,000 teachers from Kurdish regions, and shutting at least 20 Kurdish media outlets – including a children’s station that dubbed cartoons such as “the Smurfs” into Kurdish.<sup>1</sup>

In reaction to Erdoğan’s continued crackdown, European lawmakers voted to place a hold on Turkey’s EU accession.<sup>li</sup> Luxembourg’s foreign minister likened Erdoğan’s handling of dismissed civil servants to methods used by the Nazis, saying the EU would eventually have to place sanctions on his regime.<sup>lii</sup> The *Chicago Tribune* decried both his repression and the Obama Administration’s “milquetoast response.”<sup>liii</sup>

Erdoğan himself railed against the critics, saying that he “could unleash a new wave of migrants on Europe if relations deteriorated further.”<sup>liv</sup> Indeed, reports at the time indicated Turkey had gathered enough boats to ship 3,000 illegal immigrants a day into Greece, saying Europe and Erdoğan had reached “the brink of war.”<sup>lv</sup>

At that point, at least, few additional illegal immigrants came.

By December, 2016, Erdoğan’s Turkey had more journalists imprisoned than any other country in the world, with China a distant second.<sup>lvi</sup> In fact, the Turkish government crackdown drove the global total of jailed journalists to an all-time high, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists.

Added to that total in February 2017 was a German-Turkish reporter for *Die Welt* whom Turkish authorities jailed on charges of “propaganda in support of a terrorist organization and inciting the

public to violence,”<sup>lvii</sup> prompting a protest from German lawmakers<sup>lviii</sup> and ultimately Chancellor Angela Merkel herself.<sup>lix</sup>

The journalist, Deniz Yucel, had reported on private emails obtained from Berat Albayrak, Turkey’s energy minister and, perhaps more importantly, Erdoğan’s son-in-law.<sup>lx</sup> Ironically, the emails concerned “control of Turkish media groups and influencing the public by means of fake users on the messaging service Twitter.”<sup>lxi</sup> Turkey had likewise detained or expelled foreign correspondents for the French website *Les Jours*, among others.<sup>lxii</sup>

Likewise, in March 2017, with no further progress on Turkey’s EU accession, Turkey’s EU minister again raised the question of opening the flood gates over the land bridge with Greece and Bulgaria, saying “In my opinion, the issue of the land passages should be reviewed.”<sup>lxiii</sup> The same month, the Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey said the EU had not kept its end of the pact, which meant that “the deal is dead.”<sup>lxiv</sup> Again, no additional influx arrived, indicating these complaints constituted little more than Erdoğan Syrian-rattling.

The same month, Ambassador Kaan Esener, Deputy Undersecretary for General Political Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, appeared before the U.N. Human Rights Council, where he discussed “the unsuccessful coup d’état in July 2016 and called upon all States to recognize the threat of the Fetullah Gülen Terrorist Organization,” claiming that “Turkey had declared a state of emergency to protect its democracy, rule of law and the rights and freedoms of citizens.”<sup>lxv</sup>

In April 2017, Erdoğan held a referendum to cement his control over Turkey’s government. The result was close, and European observers charged both that up to 2.5 million votes could have been manipulated, and that Turkish authorities were not cooperating with efforts to investigate claims of possible election fraud.<sup>lxvi</sup> Of course, election fraud goes hand-in-hand with hostage-taking. In mid-June, Erdoğan allegedly offered a German official a startling proposition: give us back two Turkish generals who’d applied for asylum in Germany, and he would return the *Die Welt* reporter.<sup>lxvii</sup>

At the July 2017 one-year commemoration of the coup attempt, Erdoğan made a point of focusing heavily on religion, arguably challenging any remaining Kemalists who believe, correctly, that Turkey’s republic was built upon a foundation of secularism.<sup>lxviii</sup> Specifically, the celebration included a recitation of Qur’anic verses on betrayal, martyrdom and standing one’s ground in front of enemies, an extended prayer by the head of the religious affairs directorate on the steps of the Turkish parliament, and Erdoğan’s own explicit pledge to ‘cut traitors’ heads off’.<sup>lxix</sup>

On September 11, 2017 – perhaps coincidentally 334 years to the day after Sobieski’s relief of Vienna<sup>lxx</sup> – the Turkish delegation walked out of a key meeting in Poland of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in protest of the inclusion of a non-governmental organization (NGO) affiliated with Mr. Gülen.<sup>lxxi</sup> “We must be vigilant against those who wish to infiltrate our meetings for ulterior motives,” said the Turkish representative at the meeting.<sup>lxxii</sup> “It is simply revolting that I will be forced to sit around the same table with a person so closely linked

to those who used our own military equipment, including fighter jets and tanks, to murder 250 of our citizens, to wound over 2000 others, to bombard our parliament, and to attempt to overthrow our elected government and to assassinate our president...This is a betrayal to the OSCE, which we helped to establish and flourish over the decades.”<sup>lxxxiii</sup>

Now, the evidence is hardly conclusive that Mr. Gülen had anything to do with the coup attempt.<sup>lxxxiv</sup> Indeed, the coup-plotters’ statement read on the air of Turkish Radio and Television bemoaned that “The secular and democratic rule of law has been virtually eliminated,”<sup>lxxxv</sup> which hardly jives with Gülenist activities in Turkey to oust secularists and replace them with (Gülenist) religious Muslims.<sup>lxxxvi</sup>

Regardless, after that outburst, Turkey continued to protest the NGO’s OSCE participation, avoiding two Vienna-based follow-on meetings in November 2017, including one on the role of free media and one on access to justice.<sup>lxxxvii</sup>

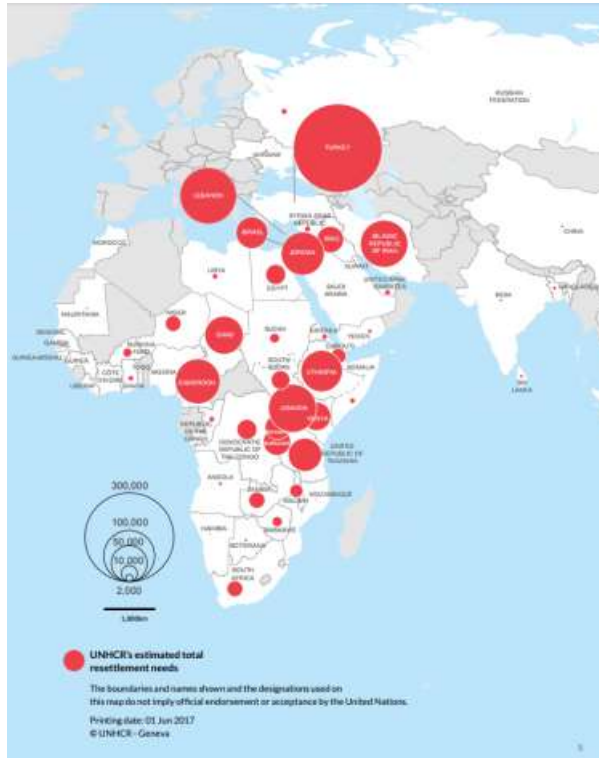
By then, Erdoğan’s government had arrested at least 11 German or German-Turkish citizens over the prior year; Berlin considers them to be “political prisoners.”<sup>lxxxviii</sup> One of them, Mesale Tolu, a German citizen with Turkish roots, was imprisoned for at least five months along with her three-year-old son.<sup>lxxxix</sup> Ankara also began blocking visits of German parliamentarians to their country’s military personnel stationed inside Turkey.<sup>lxxx</sup>

Likewise, Erdoğan also pulled 40 Turkish soldiers out of a NATO exercise in November 2017 in a fit of pique over a Norwegian civilian’s creation of an ersatz Erdoğan Twitter account as part of the exercise.<sup>lxxxi</sup> In December 2017, Erdoğan paid the first visit by a Turkish president to Greece in 65 years – and used the opportunity to lambaste his neighbor over long-simmering diplomatic, border, and other disputes, including the return of eight Turkish officers who fled to Greece during the *coup* attempt.<sup>lxxxii</sup>

Finally, in mid-January, 2018, Erdoğan, the “bouncer at the gates of Hell,” began an assault on Afrin, a Kurdish-held enclave in northern Syria, turning Turkey into “an instrument of blackmail to be wielded against the West.”<sup>lxxxiii</sup>

Going forward, UNHCR has estimated that in 2018, Turkey will continue to host the most refugees awaiting resettlement of any nation in the world – a population that numbered 2.8 million at the beginning of 2017.<sup>lxxxiv</sup> Moreover, Turkey represents over 90% of UNHCR’s projected 2018 resettlement needs in Europe.<sup>lxxxv</sup>





Even without Turkey or any other country flooding Europe with illegal immigrants, the future indicates that more of the same lies ahead for the Continent. Even with zero additional migration, Pew estimates the Muslim population will grow to over 35 million by 2050.<sup>lxxxvi</sup>

In the high migration scenario – if, for instance, Erdoğan unleashes the hostile hordes he now claims he holds at bay – Pew says the figure will be more like 75 million.<sup>lxxxvii</sup> That would leave Sweden more than 30% Muslim, with Austria and Germany just under 20%, and France, the United Kingdom and Norway at 17-18%.<sup>lxxxviii</sup>

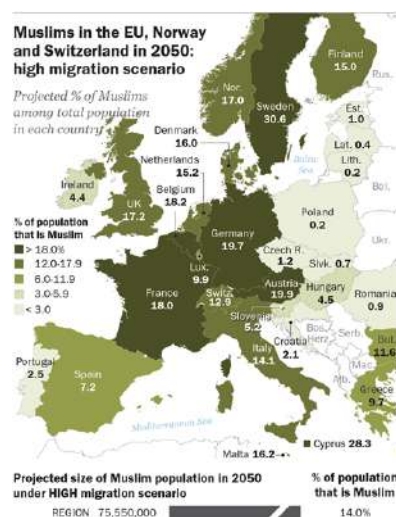


Image credit: Pew Research Center on Religion and Public Life, available at [http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/pf\\_11-29-17\\_muslims-update-23/](http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/pf_11-29-17_muslims-update-23/), accessed January 16, 2018.

The reality is that, as Daniel Pipes has argued “from Senegal to Morocco to Egypt to Turkey to Chechnya, Muslims form a membrane around Europe, with vast numbers of potential migrants able with relative ease to enter illegally the continent by land or sea.”<sup>lxxxix</sup>

### **The Chicken Coop: A Submissive Europe**

If that does not concern you, consider this: Across Europe, explicitly Muslim political parties are cropping up, such as the DENK party in the Netherlands, the Equality and Justice Party (PEJ) in France, and the NBZ Party in Austria.<sup>xc</sup> According to one critic, “These purport to help downtrodden Muslim minorities, but are in fact part of a network controlled by Turkey’s AKP party that organizes Muslims under an anti-assimilation platform.”<sup>xci</sup>

For instance, the PEJ, the critic charges, “is an element of a network of political parties built by Turkey’s President Erdoğan and AKP to influence each country of Europe, and to influence Europe through its Muslim population.”<sup>xcii</sup> “The first party in France established by Turks,” the PEJ, has already participated in March 2015 Provincial General Assembly elections, but was eliminated in the first round.<sup>xciii</sup>

The French magazine *Marianne*, which counted 68 PEJ candidates in that election, calls the party “Erdoğan’s hand in France’s polls.”<sup>xciv</sup> The piece charges that PEJ is closely connected to Council for Justice, Equality and Peace (COJEP), an international NGO which “represents, everywhere it is based, an anchor for AKP”, Erdoğan’s political party in Turkey.<sup>xcv</sup> Don’t believe it? Well, reports another outlet, “many managers of PEJ are also in charge of COJEP”.<sup>xcvi</sup>

And what, pray tell, is PEJ’s platform? “[A]bolishing the founding secularist law of 1905, which established the separation of church and state; mandatory veils for schoolgirls; and community solidarity (as opposed to individual rights) as a priority. All that is wrapped in the not-so-innocent flag of the necessity to “fight against Islamophobia”, a concept invented to shut down the push-back of all people who might criticize Islam before they can even start.”<sup>xcvii</sup>

That’s right: Mandatory veils for schoolgirls.

Austria has one of these Erdoğan stalking horses as well. In 2016, “Turkish citizens” – wait, who vote in Austria? – founded the New Movement for the Future (NBZ) party.<sup>xcviii</sup> NBZ’s goal is “to give Turks a voice in politics across Austria.” The NBZ backs Erdoğan and – surprise! – damns the Gülen movement roundly.<sup>xcix</sup>

The Netherlands's DENK party, "long been accused of being a mouthpiece for" Erdoğan, in March 2017 became the first-ever ethnic minority party in the Dutch parliament, winning three seats in the recent election, which was focused on immigration.<sup>c</sup>

All of this is nothing compared to Bulgaria. The Muslim population there is made up of Turks, Shi'ites, Bulgarians, and Roma.<sup>ci</sup> Accordingly, Bulgaria sports *three* Muslim political parties. The eldest of these is The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (HÖH), founded in 1990 by Ahmet Doğan.<sup>cii</sup> In 2014, HÖH held 38 seats in Bulgaria's 240-member parliament – and had four MEPs in the European Parliament (EP) as well. HÖH is in a coalition with the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), and so helps run the country.<sup>ciii</sup> Because Erdoğan is not satisfied with HÖH, however, he has worked to create other pro-Turkish parties in Bulgaria as well.<sup>civ</sup>

Finally, many Germans of Turkish descent have gotten involved in established German parties.<sup>cv</sup> Notably, a party known as the Allianz Deutscher Demokraten ("Alliance of German Democrats", or ADD) has arisen there as well, apparently as a reaction to the German Parliament's recognition of the Armenian Genocide.<sup>cvi</sup> ADD is friendly toward Erdoğan and has been trying to establish an electoral base within immigrant and Muslim communities, but has struggled; for instance, the party had difficulty collecting the 1,000 signatures necessary to participate in a May 2017 state election.<sup>cvi</sup>

According to Kamel Daoud, an Algerian writer writing in *Le Point*:

[An Islamic party's] purpose is to conquer the world, not just have a mandate. Its mechanics were already established....Islamists took power in the name of democracy, then suspended democracy by using their power....Convert the clothes, the body, the social links, the arts, nursing homes, schools, songs and culture, then, they just wait for the fruit to fall in the turban....An Islamist party is an open trap: you cannot let it in. If you refuse it, your country switches to a dictatorship, but if you accept it, you are at risk of submission."<sup>cvi</sup>

Submission – not just to Sharia, but in this case to Erdoğan as well.

### **Extracting the Fox from the Hen House**

What is to be done?

First, Europe and its allies must acknowledge that Erdoğan is no longer an ally, and as such declare his catspaw political parties and civil society groups foreign actors as appropriate by country.<sup>cix</sup> Second, it must recognize the threat from Sharia-supremacist illegal immigration, changing its policies to deport illegals within the Schengen Region as called for by Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán.<sup>cx</sup> Third, the EU must harden its outermost borders, including especially in this context by dramatically ramping up maritime security in the waters around

Greece and creating defensible barriers on the land bridge from Turkey to both Greece and Bulgaria.

Fourth, thus prepared for Erdoğan's reaction, the EU should go beyond freezing negotiations over Turkey's accession to breaking them off. Along those lines, the European Parliament should eliminate its EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee. Similarly, Europe should expel Turkey from the Council of Europe, which has through the European Court of Human Rights has condemned the country a towering 2,812 times since 1959.<sup>cxii</sup>

Last, of course, the NATO alliance should expel Turkey. No one can seriously believe NATO currently includes Erdoğan under its nuclear umbrella. If that is true, regardless of whether NATO's governance includes specific provisions to expel a member country, Turkey must be sidelined as quickly as possible, as it acts ever-more like an enemy, not an ally.

### A Hen House Full of Foxes

Centuries ago, Muslims invaded and transformed the Christian Byzantine Empire into the Ottoman Empire, an Islamic caliphate.<sup>cxiii</sup> Jan Sobieski defeated that Caliphate army on the battlefield in 1683. Today, a resurgent Turkey seeks to recreate that Empire – and it may not have to attack Europe to do so.

If Europe and its allies fail to act, and illegal immigration explodes again, demographic shifts continue, and Islamic and pro-Turkish political parties flourish, a neo-Ottoman Empire under Erdoğan may defeat the West yet – more like a fox in a henhouse than a barbarian at the gates.

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#### Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1923*, Basic Books, pp. 286–87; cited in “Battle of Vienna,” *Wikipedia*, available at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Vienna](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Vienna), accessed January 19, 2018.

<sup>ii</sup> Baron Bodissey, “The Other September 11th,” *Gates of Vienna*, September 11, 2006, available at <http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.com/2006/09/other-september-11th.html>, accessed January 19, 2018.

<sup>iii</sup> Norman Davies, *God's Playground, a History of Poland: The Origins to 1795* (New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1982), p. 487; cited in “Battle of Vienna,” *Wikipedia*, available at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Vienna](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Vienna), accessed January 19, 2018.

<sup>iv</sup> Stephen R. A'Barrow, *Death of a Nation: A New History of Germany* (Book Guild Publishing, 2016), p. 73; Richard Overy, *A History of War in 100 Battles* (Cambridge, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 58; cited in “Battle of Vienna,” *Wikipedia*, available at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Vienna](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Vienna), accessed January 19, 2018.

<sup>v</sup> S.C. Tucker, *A Global Chronology of Conflict*, Vol. Two (ABC-CLIO, LLC: Santa Barbara, Calif., 2010), p. 661; cited in “Battle of Vienna,” *Wikipedia*, available at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Vienna](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Vienna), accessed January 19, 2018.

<sup>vi</sup> Walter Leitsch, “1683: The Siege of Vienna,” *History Today*, July 1983: 33 (7), available at <http://www.historytoday.com/walter-leitsch/1683-siege-vienna>, accessed January 16, 2018, which reads in part, “The defeat of the Ottoman Army outside the gates of Vienna 300 years ago is usually regarded as the beginning of the decline of the Ottoman Empire. ...[I]t marks a turning point: not only was further Ottoman advance on Christian territories stopped, but in the following war that lasted up to 1698 almost all of Hungary was reconquered by the army of Emperor Leopold I. From 1683 the Ottoman Turks ceased to be a menace to the Christian world. ...The battle of Vienna was a turning point in one further respect: the success was due to the co-operation between the troops of the Emperor, some Imperial princes and the Poles. ...However the co-operation between the two non-maritime neighbours of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, the Emperor and Poland, was something new.”

<sup>vii</sup> Philip Carl Salzman, “Multiculturalists Working to Undermine Western Civilization,” *The Gatestone Institute*, December 16, 2017, available at <http://www.meforum.org/7105/multiculturalists-work-to-undermine-western->

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<sup>x</sup> Salzman, <http://www.meforum.org/7140/mass-migration-uninvited-guests>.

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<sup>xii</sup> Daniel Pipes, “Erdogan: ‘Turkey Is Not a Country Where Moderate Islam Prevails,’” *Lion’s Den*, June 14, 2004, updated September 14, 2004, available at [http://www.danielpipes.org/blog/2004/06/erdo287an-turkey-is-not-a-country-where?utm\\_source=Middle+East+Forum&utm\\_campaign=b779b4f2b8-bekdil\\_mef\\_2017\\_12\\_09&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_086cfd423cb779b4f2b8-33884745&goal=0\\_086cfd423cb779b4f2b8-33884745](http://www.danielpipes.org/blog/2004/06/erdo287an-turkey-is-not-a-country-where?utm_source=Middle+East+Forum&utm_campaign=b779b4f2b8-bekdil_mef_2017_12_09&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_086cfd423cb779b4f2b8-33884745&goal=0_086cfd423cb779b4f2b8-33884745), accessed January 19, 2018.

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<sup>xvii</sup> Pew Research Center on Religion and Public Life, “Europe’s Growing Muslim Population: Muslims are projected to increase as a share of Europe’s population – even with no future migration,” November 29, 2017, <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/>, accessed January 16, 2018. By contrast, compare A. Paul and R. Schweinfurth, “Dramatischer Appell,” *Bayerische Staatszeitung*, October 16, 2015, available at <https://www.bayerische-staatszeitung.de/staatszeitung/kommunales/detailansicht-kommunales/artikel/dramatischer-appell.html>, accessed February 2, 2018: “By the year 2020, [Christian Social Union member Uwe Brandl] forecasts around 20 million people of Muslim background in the Federal Republic of Germany: ‘This will ensure a profound change in our society.’” Pew has a dramatically lower estimate, even at its extreme upper bound and projected forward to 2050: “in a ‘high’ migration scenario in which both regular migration and the heavy flows of refugees from the Middle East were to continue indefinitely into the future, Germany’s Muslim population would be expected to more than triple by 2050, growing from 4.9 million (6.0%) to 17.5 million (19.7%).” Moreover, the earlier Pew-Templeton estimate for 2020 was 5,530,000, according to projections available at the Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures Project, “Explore the Data,” available at [http://www.globalreligiousfutures.org/explorer/custom#/?subtopic=15&chartType=bar&data\\_type=percentage&year=2020&religious\\_affiliation=all&countries=Germany&age\\_group=all&pdfMode=false&gender=all](http://www.globalreligiousfutures.org/explorer/custom#/?subtopic=15&chartType=bar&data_type=percentage&year=2020&religious_affiliation=all&countries=Germany&age_group=all&pdfMode=false&gender=all), accessed February 2, 2018.

<sup>xviii</sup> Pew, <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/>.

<sup>xix</sup> *Ibid.*; Clare Lopez of the Center for Security Policy reports that she has seen the French figure challenged credibly, and believes that it is well in excess of 10%. For instance, as early as 2007, the conservative National Front party estimated that six to eight million Muslims resided in France, according to Jonathan Laurence and Justin Vaïsse, *Intégrer l’Islam*, Odile Jacob, 2007, p. 35; were that true, the percentage would have been as high as 12.9%, given a total population of 61,966,193 that year, according to PopulationPyramid.net, “France: 2007,” available at <https://www.populationpyramid.net/france/2007/>, accessed February 2, 2018. The U.S. government put the figure at approximately 10% in 2009; see “Background Note: France,” U.S. Department of State, December 10, 2009. State also assessed that “There are an estimated 5 million to 6 million Muslims (8 to 10 percent of the population), although estimates of how many of these are practicing vary widely,” according to the 2008 Report on International Religious Freedom, U.S. Department of State, September 2008. See also Thomas F. X. Noble, *et al.*, *Western Civilization: Beyond Boundaries* (6th ed.), Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2009. Likewise, Interior Minister Claude Guéant said that as of June, 2010, before the illegal immigration crisis of 2015, “We estimate that there are about 5 to 6 million Muslims in France today.” However, note that those figures were based on geographic origin. Other studies found that only about a third of the five to six million identified as Muslims based on geographic origin – so approximately two million – actually said they were practicing believers. See Michael Cosgrove, “How does France count its Muslim population?” *Le Figaro*, April 7, 2011, available at <http://plus.lefigaro.fr/note/how-does-france-count-its-muslim-population-20110407435643>, accessed February 2, 2018. One critic

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estimated that France's population was 11% in 2011; see Jean-Paul Gourévitch, *La croisade islamiste*, Pascal Galodé, 2011, p.136.; Jean-Paul Gourévitch, *Les migrations en Europe*, Acropole, 2007, p. 362. In 2016, a French polling company known as IFOP estimated that three and four million Muslims lived in France, making up 5.6% of those older than 15, and 10% of those younger than 25, and criticized those calling their growth a "great replacement" of French of Gaullic extraction; see "Religion, famille, société : qui sont vraiment les musulmans de France," *Le JDD*, available at <http://www.lejdd.fr/Societe/Religion/Religion-famille-societe-qui-sont-vraiment-les-musulmans-de-France-810217>, accessed February 2, 2018.

<sup>xx</sup> Pew, <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/>.

<sup>xxi</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>xxii</sup> "File:Turksineurope.png," WikiMedia Commons, accessible at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Turksineurope.png>, accessed January 16, 2018.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Nick Squires, "A year on from EU-Turkey deal, refugees and migrants in limbo commit suicide and suffer from trauma," *The Telegraph (UK)*, March 14, 2017, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/03/14/year-eu-turkey-deal-refugees-migrants-limbo-commit-suicide-suffer/>, accessed January 16, 2018; another source puts the figure at \$6 billion (Ceylan Yeginsu, "Refugees Pour Out of Turkey Once More as Deal With Europe Falts," *The New York Times*, September 14, 2016, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/15/world/europe/turkey-syria-refugees-eu.html>, accessed January 16, 2018.).

<sup>xxiv</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), "UNHCR Projected Global Resettlement Needs 2018," 23<sup>rd</sup> Annual Tripartite Consultations on Resettlement, Geneva, 12-14 June, 2017, p. 37, available at <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/protection/resettlement/593a88f27/unhcr-projected-global-resettlement-needs-2018.html>, accessed January 19, 2018.

<sup>xxv</sup> Squires, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/03/14/year-eu-turkey-deal-refugees-migrants-limbo-commit-suicide-suffer/>.

<sup>xxvi</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>xxvii</sup> UNHCR Refugees Operational Portal, available at <http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean?page=1&view=grid&Type%255B%255D=3&Search=%2523monthly%2523>, accessed January 16, 2018.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Drew H. Kinney, "Civilian Actors in the Turkish Military Drama of July 2016," *Eastern Mediterranean Policy Note No. 10*, Cyprus Center for European and International Affairs, September 19, 2016, pp. 1-10, available at [http://www.emgr.unic.ac.cy/wp-content/uploads/EMP\\_N\\_10.pdf](http://www.emgr.unic.ac.cy/wp-content/uploads/EMP_N_10.pdf), accessed January 16, 2018.

<sup>xxix</sup> Nick Schiffrin, "Erdogan's crackdown targets every aspect of Turkish society," *PBS News Hour*, August 30, 2017, available at <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/erdogans-crackdown-targets-every-aspect-turkish-society>, accessed January 16, 2018; another report suggested instead that more than 290 were killed and only 1400 wounded. See Duncan Robinson and Mehul Srivastava, "US and EU leaders warn Turkey's Erdogan over post-coup crackdown: Brussels official suggests Ankara is using pre-prepared lists for purge," *Financial Times (UK)*, July 18, 2016, available at <https://www.ft.com/content/b82ef35a-4cc3-11e6-88c5-db83e98a590a>, accessed January 16, 2018.

<sup>xxx</sup> Robinson and Srivastava, <https://www.ft.com/content/b82ef35a-4cc3-11e6-88c5-db83e98a590a>.

<sup>xxxi</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>xxxii</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>xxxvii</sup> Alix Culbertson, "Europe on 'BRINK OF WAR' as Turkey gathers boats to ship migrants to Greece over EU anger," *The Express (UK)*, November 30, 2016, available at <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/737480/Europe-war-Turkey-migrants-Greece-EU-Erdogan>, accessed January 19, 2018.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Yeginsu, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/15/world/europe/turkey-syria-refugees-eu.html>.

<sup>xxxix</sup> Daniel Pipes, "Italy's Apocalypse," *The Washington Times*, November 2, 2017, available at <http://www.danielpipes.org/18001/italy-apocalypse>, accessed January 15, 2018.

<sup>xl</sup> Robert Fisk, "Fethullah Gülen is facing extradition to Turkey by Donald Trump – so he should read up about his country," *The Independent (UK)*, July 13, 2017, available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/robert-fisk-gulan-turkey-erdogan-isis-extradition-middle-east-terrorist-raqqa-kurdish-america-a7838861.html>, accessed January 16, 2018.

<sup>xli</sup> See Quran 4:34, "Men are in charge of women by [right of] what Allah has given one over the other and what they spend [for maintenance] from their wealth. So righteous women are devoutly obedient, guarding in [the husband's] absence what Allah would have them guard. But those [wives] from whom you fear arrogance - [first] advise them; [then if they persist], forsake them in bed; and [finally], strike them. But if they obey you [once more], seek no means against them. Indeed, Allah is ever Exalted and Grand." Quran.com, 4:34, SAHIH INTERNATIONAL, available at <https://quran.com/4/34>, accessed February 2, 2018.

<sup>xlii</sup> Fisk, <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/robert-fisk-gulan-turkey-erdogan-isis-extradition-middle-east-terrorist-raqqa-kurdish-america-a7838861.html>.

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<sup>lviii</sup> The letter from 166 lawmakers in the Bundestag, the lower house of the German parliament, read in part, "Intellectual debate is the best instrument against terrorism, which paradoxically is what he is being accused of." AFP, "German lawmakers urge Turkey to free Die Welt journalist," *The Local*, February 25, 2017, available at <https://www.thelocal.de/20170225/german-lawmakers-urge-turkey-to-free-die-welt-journalist>, accessed January 19, 2018.

<sup>lix</sup> Ned Levin, Ruth Bender and Andrea Thomas, "Merkel Denounces Arrest in Turkey of German Journalist," *The Wall Street Journal*, available at <https://www.wsj.com/articles/merkel-denounces-arrest-in-turkey-of-german-journalist-1488315732>, accessed January 19, 2018.

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ci Mamou, <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/10509/france-islamic-party>. Note that *contra* Pew's estimate, *supra*, of Muslims comprising 11.1% of the Bulgarian population, M. Mamou claims that Muslim "Turks, Shi'ites, Bulgarians, and Roma...together represent 7-8% of the total population" of Bulgaria. As a source, M. Mamou links to <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim>, accessed February 2, 2018, which appears to have no direct reference to Bulgaria.

cii Mamou, <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/10509/france-islamic-party>. Note also that according to Clare Lopez, Center for Security Policy, the long-time communist Bulgarian dictator Todor Zhivkov had been ousted only in November 1989, and communists were still in control of Bulgaria in 1990, albeit beginning to call themselves 'socialists.' Thus Dogan's party was *allowed* to form that year – allowed by the KGB and Bulgarian security forces.

ciii Mamou, <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/10509/france-islamic-party>.

civ *Ibid.*

cv *Ibid.*

cvi *Ibid.*

cvi *Ibid.*

cvi *Ibid.*

cix My CSP colleague Clare Lopez has long made this fundamental point. See e.g. Clare Lopez, "A Counterjihad Security Architecture for America," *Pundicity*, February 25, 2016, available at <http://lopez.pundicity.com/18654/counterjihad-security-architecture>, accessed of February 8, 2018, which includes the section "Whither Turkey?" that reads, "The Turkish regime under President Recep Tayyip Erdogan harbors neo-Ottoman jihadist aspirations and under current leadership cannot be considered a viable NATO or Western ally unless its behavior significantly turns toward supporting U.S. and NATO objectives. Rather, Turkey is a destabilizing force in the Middle East, especially because of its apparently fixed resolve to oust the Syrian regime of Bashar al-

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Assad. Further, this jihadist Turkish leadership views Israel as a Jewish enemy and Iran and Saudi Arabia both as Islamic rivals for regional domination. Turkey has supported IS since its inception because it views the group as a capable proxy force against Bashar al-Assad. Turkey also supports other jihadist militias including Ahrar al-Sham. Ankara's permission for IS and other jihadis to use Turkey as a gateway to Syrian battlefields, establish terror training camps on its territory, and find safehaven there, eventually will threaten Turkey itself. Turkey's enduring enmity towards the Kurds, both within Turkey and elsewhere, ensures ongoing, destabilizing efforts by Ankara to attack, counter, and degrade the Kurds' equally determined nationalist aspirations. Pro-West, anti-jihadist Kurds are a natural ally for the U.S. and should be recognized and aided as such."

<sup>cx</sup> See Marton Dunai, "Hungary PM says EU should deport all illegal migrants: website," *Reuters*, September 22, 2016, available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-hungary-orban/hungary-pm-says-eu-should-deport-all-illegal-migrants-website-idUSKCN11S0TU?il=0>, accessed February 8, 2018.

<sup>cxi</sup> These specific ideas are drawn from Lévy, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/stand-up-to-erdogans-brutality-1518046582>.

<sup>cxi</sup> Salzman, <http://www.meforum.org/7140/mass-migration-uninvited-guests>.