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TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY AT THE END OF THE XX CENTURY AND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XXI CENTURY

(Based on the materials of «Pravda» newspaper)

Abstract

This study examines the development of Turkey's foreign relations through the newspaper «Pravda», historically associated with the Soviet and then Russian perspective, and emphasizes the Eastern perspective in international diplomacy. The publication examines in detail the major political periods of the 20th and 21st centuries, and how Turkey's strategic position as a bridge between East and West has been exploited in global and regional power transitions. The research paper also examines the complex relationship between the Ottoman Empire and its position with neighboring major world powers, including Russia, from the collapse of the Ottoman Empire through its neutrality in World War II to its role in NATO. The article pays special attention to the Cold War era, and the pages of the publication offer specific studies of the influence of Turkey's geopolitical position on Soviet-Turkish relations. The publication examines Turkey's post-Cold War foreign policy strategies and its growing role in regional conflicts, as well as its aspirations for EU membership. interests and historical ties between the two countries, with the aim of Turkey's foreign policy, new conclusions are drawn about how it was interpreted and how it influenced them.

Keywords: Turkey, international relations, «Pravda», Soviet Union, Russia, Turkic-speaking countries, NATO, EU membership, geopolitics, international diplomacy, Cold War, regional conflicts.

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XX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ СОҢЫ МЕН XXI ҒАСЫРДЫҢ БАСЫНДАҒЫ ТҮРКИЯНЫҢ СЫРТҚЫ САЯСАТЫ

(«Правда» газетінің материалдары негізінде)

Аңдатпа

Бұл зерттеу жұмысы Түркияның сыртқы қатынастарының даму үдерісін «Правда» газеті арқылы қарастырып, тарихи тұрғыдан кеңестік, кейінірек ресейлік перспективалармен байланысты, халықаралық дипломатияда Шығыстық көзқарас тұрғысынан ерекше мән береді. Басылым XX және XXI ғасырлардың негізгі саяси кезеңдерін егжей-тегжейлі талдап, Түркияның Шығыс пен Батыс арасындағы көпір қызметіндегі стратегиялық жағдайы, жаһандық және аймақтық биліктің

ауысуы бары-сында қалай қолданылғаны талданады. Сондай-ақ зерттеу жұмысы Осман империясының ыдырауы-нан бастап, II дүниежүзілік соғыстағы бейтараптығы арқылы НАТО-дағы рөліне дейінгі позициясы көршілес ірі әлемдік державалармен, соның ішінде Ресеймен күрделі қарым-қатынастарын зерттейді. Мақалада қырғи қабақ соғыс дәуіріне аса мән беріліп, басылым беттерінде Түркияның геосаяси ұстанымының кеңес-түрік қатынастарына әсері туралы нақты зерттеулер ұсынады. Басылым қырғи қабақ соғыстан кейінгі кезеңге дейін және Түркияның сыртқы саясат стратегиялары мен ЕО-ға мүшелікке деген ұмтылысын аймақтық қақтығыстардағы рөлінің артуын зерттейді. «Правда» басылымдарын талдау арқылы жұмыс Түркияның сыртқы саясатының мақсаты екі ел арасындағы кеңірек геосаяси мүдделер мен тарихи байланыстарды көрсететін ресейлік бақ дискурсының қалай түсіндірілгенін және оларға қалай әсер еткені жайында тың тұжырымдар жасалады.

Кілт сөздер: Түркия, сыртқы байланыстар, Правда, Кеңес Одағы, Ресей, Түркі тілдес мемлекеттер, НАТО, ЕО мүшелігі, геосаясат, халықаралық дипломатия, қырғи-қабақ соғыс, аймақтық қақтығыстар.

Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігінің Ғылым комитеті қаржыландыратын AP19676634 жобасын іске асыру шеңберінде дайындалған.

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ВНЕШНЯЯ ПОЛИТИКА ТУРЦИИ В КОНЦЕ XX ВЕКА И В НАЧАЛЕ XXI ВЕКА

(По материалам газеты «Правда»)

Аннотация

В статье рассматриваются внешнеполитические отношения Турции на основе советского издания «Правда» и проводится их исторический анализ. В статье подробно анализируются основные политические периоды XX и XXI веков, а также то, как стратегическое положение Турции как моста между Востоком и Западом использовалось при изменениях глобального и регионального баланса сил. В исследовательской работе также рассматриваются отношения между Османской империей и с соседними крупными мировыми державами, включая Россию, и от распада Османской империи через ее нейтралитет во второй мировой войне и ее роли в НАТО. В статье уделяется особое внимание эпохе холодной войны, особенно изучая страницы издания приводятся конкретные примеры исследования по влиянию геополитического положения Турции на советско-турецкие отношения. В изданиях рассматривается собственная стратегия Турецкой Республики после холодной войны, стремление к принятию в Европейский Союз и повышение авторитета в решении территориальных конфликтов. На основе анализа материалов газеты «Правда» сделаны новые выводы о советских СМИ, широко пропагандировавших геополитические интересы и исторические связи между двумя странами.

Ключевые слова: Турция, международные отношения, Правда, Советский Союз, Россия, Тюркоязычные страны, НАТО, членство в ЕС, геополитика, международная дипломатия, холодная война, региональные конфликты.

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Introduction. The geopolitical significance of Turkey as a country straddling the East and West is evident in its historical context and its role in shaping international relations during the early 20th century. The Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923, emerged as a key player in the geopolitical landscape due to its unique geographical location bridging Europe and Asia. This positioning granted Turkey a pivotal role in global affairs, acting as a crossroads of cultures, civilizations, and political ideologies. The period under examination in Tuğçenur Ekinci Furtana's master's thesis, spanning from 1953 to 1964, coincides with a crucial juncture in Turkey's geopolitical

trajectory. The aftermath of World War II saw the world divided into two ideological poles – the East, led by the Soviet Union, and the West, under the influence of the United States. Turkey, recognizing the limitations of navigating the challenges posed by the Soviet Union alone, strategically aligned itself with the Western bloc, specifically with the United States. This strategic alignment with the West was motivated by a range of factors, including the perceived threat of Soviet demands on Eastern Anatolian territory and military bases on the Straits. The thesis delves into the disruptions in Soviet-Turkey relations during Stalin's era and how Khrushchev, following Stalin's death, initiated a critique of his predecessor's policies. The subsequent announcement of the withdrawal of Soviet demands from Turkey in May 1953 marked a significant turning point, yet the anticipated improvement in relations did not materialize, largely due to Turkey's commitment to bloc politics aligned with the USA during this period [1, p.21].

Tuğçenur Ekinçi Furtana's study provides a detailed exploration of the dynamics between the Soviet Union and Turkey during the Khrushchev era, shedding light on the indirect evaluation of Soviet-Turkey relations through the lens of USSR-USA and Turkey-USA relations. Turkey's inclusion in the USA's containment policy, its participation in the establishment of the Balkan and Baghdad Pacts, and significant events such as the placement of Jupiter missiles in Turkish military bases, the U2 spy plane incident originating from Turkey's Incirlik airbase, and the Cuban Missile Crisis are analyzed as retaliatory factors impacting relations negatively. The geopolitical context emphasizes Turkey's strategic choices in aligning with the West during a period of global polarization. Khrushchev's leadership, characterized by the 'peaceful coexistence' principle, is explored as a factor influencing the normalization of Soviet-Turkey relations, providing insights into the intricate interplay of geopolitics during this era [1, p.34].

The historical context of Turkey's foreign relations and its strategic importance in international diplomacy, as discussed by Kemal H. Karpat in "Turkish-Soviet Relations", reveals the intricate geopolitical dynamics that have shaped Turkey's role on the global stage. Karpat emphasizes Turkey's unique position, generously endowed by history, as it occupies one of the most strategic and historically coveted pieces of territory on Earth. Despite its relatively modest population and economic power, Turkey has played a significant role in world politics. However, this advantageous position is counterbalanced by the challenge of sharing borders with the Soviet Union, a colossal neighbor to the north. The author highlights the historical irony of Turkey's strategic location next to the Soviet Union and the resulting vulnerability, given Turkey's limited resources and power to counteract its northern neighbor independently [2, p.73].

The narrative delves into the historical struggle between Turkey and Russia, highlighting the significance of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. The Soviet Union, like Czarist Russia before it, had to navigate its ships through these straits under the watchful eyes of Turkish guns. Moreover, the vulnerable Black Sea coast of the Soviet Union was open to potential attacks from external forces, making it imperative for the Soviet Union to acknowledge the strategic importance of Turkish cooperation. The author references a Soviet note from September 24, 1946, seeking bases on the Straits, acknowledging the vital interests of the Soviet Union in ensuring the security of its shores along the Black Sea. Historical treaties, such as the Paris Treaty of 1856 and the Berlin Treaty of 1878, were shaped by the joint European-Ottoman control of the Straits and the Black Sea, further illustrating the historical context that influenced the power dynamics in the region [2, p.107].

Contrary to some contemporary views suggesting a diminished strategic importance of the Turkish Straits due to nuclear weaponry, Karpat argues that the straits have, in fact, gained additional significance with the rapid rise of Soviet maritime power. The geopolitical dynamics and historical agreements surrounding the Turkish Straits continue to underscore the enduring importance of Turkey's strategic position in international diplomacy.

The historical context of Turkey's foreign relations and its strategic importance in international diplomacy is multifaceted and deeply rooted in the country's geographical location, historical legacy, and geopolitical dynamics. Situated at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, Turkey has historically served as a bridge between different civilizations, cultures, and trade routes. The remnants of the Ottoman Empire, which spanned several centuries and covered a vast territory, contribute to Turkey's rich historical tapestry and influence its diplomatic interactions. The strategic significance of Turkey is particularly evident in its control over the Bosphorus Strait and the Dardanelles, crucial maritime passages connecting the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. Throughout history, control over these straits has been a focal point for various powers, reflecting Turkey's pivotal role in regional and global affairs. Additionally, Turkey's proximity to the Middle East has made it a key player in regional geopolitics, especially considering its historical ties to the Arab world [3, p.32].

In the aftermath of World War I, the establishment of the Republic of Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk marked a crucial turning point. The new republic pursued a policy of modernization, secularization, and alignment with the West. This strategic shift aimed to position Turkey as a player in international diplomacy, foster economic development, and establish diplomatic ties with Western nations. The Cold War era further shaped Turkey's foreign relations, as it became a NATO member in 1952, aligning itself with the Western bloc

against the perceived threat from the Soviet Union. This geopolitical alignment solidified Turkey's role as a strategic partner in the containment strategy during the Cold War.

In contemporary times, Turkey's foreign relations have evolved amidst regional conflicts, economic developments, and shifts in global power dynamics. The country's role in NATO, its aspirations for European Union membership, and its diplomatic engagements in the Middle East and Central Asia underscore Turkey's continued significance in international diplomacy. Overall, Turkey's historical context, geographical position, and geopolitical importance have collectively positioned it as a key player in international diplomacy. Its interactions with various regions and nations reflect a complex tapestry of historical legacies, strategic imperatives, and diplomatic considerations that continue to shape its foreign relations in the contemporary global landscape.

Thus, the objective of the study is to conduct a thorough analysis of how Turkey's foreign relations are depicted in the Soviet newspaper «Pravda», with a specific focus on unraveling the underlying dynamics and perspectives shaping Soviet and later Russian views on Turkey within the context of international relations. The study aims to discern the nuances, biases, and diplomatic narratives presented in «Pravda», shedding light on the evolving nature of Turkey's international engagements as perceived through the lens of Soviet and Russian media over time.

Methodology. The methodology employed in this study involves a qualitative content analysis of «Pravda» articles focusing on Turkey, encompassing distinct periods such as the Cold War era, post-Cold War period, and recent years. The selection criteria for specific editions and articles are guided by their relevance to Turkey's foreign relations, ensuring a representative sample that spans key historical epochs. Thematic analysis and discourse analysis methods constitute the approach for scrutinizing the portrayal of Turkey in «Pravda», allowing for a nuanced examination of recurring themes, underlying narratives, and shifts in the Soviet and post-Soviet perspectives. This methodology is justified as it enables a comprehensive exploration of the dynamics shaping the depiction of Turkey's foreign relations in «Pravda», offering insights into the evolving Soviet and Russian viewpoints, thereby contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the historical context and diplomatic intricacies involved in these portrayals.

Discussion. The thematic overview of «Pravda» articles about Turkey's foreign policy and relations, as examined by Dr. Mehmet Efe Caman, delves into the manipulation of information and creation of an alternative reality by modern dictatorships, drawing parallels with the Soviet era. The analysis explores the role of media, resembling «Pravda», in shaping a Western-phobic narrative in Turkey's present-day foreign policy, signaling a departure from the pragmatic approach of the Ottoman military after World War I. Caman notes that contemporary regimes, including Russia, employ a sophisticated approach, utilizing various news agencies, media outlets, and social media to disseminate a manipulative version of reality, fostering loyalty and discouraging dissent. He underscores Russia's efficiency in managing this information manipulation, rooted in a totalitarian legacy from the Soviet era. The analysis delves into Aleksandr Dugin's assertion that reality has multiple versions, with the state's mission being to control and shape these versions. The text discusses Turkey's present-day foreign policy, characterized by a Western phobia and an inclination towards irredentist politics, a departure from the pragmatic and down-to-earth approach adopted by the Ottoman military after World War I. The media, acting akin to «Pravda», is identified as a tool in preparing the public for these shifts in foreign policy, highlighting the significance of media manipulation in shaping ideological perspectives and influencing geopolitical dynamics [4, p.205].

The article «Crimea in Turkish-Russian Relations: Identity, Discourse, or Inter dependence?» by Ereker and Özer explores the historical context of Crimea's transfer within the Soviet Union and its implications for Turkish-Russian relations. The narrative highlights the Soviet government's removal of the Tatars from Crimea in 1945, leading to the loss of its autonomy and its transformation into an ordinary oblast within the RSFSR. The paper delves into the 1954 transfer of Crimea to the Ukrainian SSR and its underlying reasons, emphasizing the economic interdependence that has evolved in Turkish-Russian relations in the post-Cold War era. The authors contend that Turkey's foreign policy towards Crimea is shaped by economic interdependence, with Turkey being the more dependent party. The analysis underscores the enduring impact of historical events on contemporary geopolitical dynamics and sheds light on Turkey's approach to the Crimean crisis within the broader framework of Turkish-Russian relations [5, p.376].

In the Post-Cold War era, Turkey underwent notable shifts in its foreign policy, marked by a strategic reassessment and a diversification of diplomatic engagements. One significant aspect of these changes was Turkey's evolving relationship with NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). While Turkey maintained its NATO membership, its role within the alliance transformed. During the Cold War, Turkey played a crucial role as a frontline state against the Soviet Union. However, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Turkey's strategic focus shifted, prompting a more multidimensional approach in its foreign policy. Simultaneously,

Turkey intensified its efforts to enhance its ties with the European Union (EU). The prospect of EU membership became a central pillar of Turkey's foreign policy objectives, symbolizing aspirations for economic integration, political stability, and democratization. The EU accession process spurred domestic reforms, aligning Turkey with European standards in areas such as human rights, rule of law, and governance [6].

Turkey's foreign policy in the Post-Cold War period also witnessed a broader engagement with regional partners and a pragmatic pursuit of economic and diplomatic interests. The country sought to establish itself as a regional power, fostering ties with neighboring countries and actively participating in regional organizations. While the Post-Cold War era brought diversification and increased autonomy in Turkey's foreign policy, it also presented challenges. Issues such as the Cyprus dispute, human rights concerns, and geopolitical shifts in the Middle East posed complexities in Turkey's relations with both NATO and the EU. Nevertheless, the evolving dynamics showcased Turkey's adaptability and its endeavor to balance multiple strategic priorities, reflecting the complex interplay of material and ideational factors in shaping its post-Cold War foreign policy landscape.

The multifaceted nature of Russia's foreign policy under Foreign Minister Primakov highlights, particularly in the Post-Cold War period. Although it primarily focuses on Russia's approach to the Middle East, the implications for Turkey's foreign policy are evident. In the Post-Cold War era, Turkey experienced shifts in its foreign policy, demonstrating a nuanced approach to its relationships with NATO and the European Union (EU). Primakov's strategy, as outlined in the text, aimed at confirming Russia's international status as a powerholder. While the narrative doesn't explicitly detail Turkey's response, it suggests that Turkey, as a NATO member, would have navigated its relations with Russia and other key players in the Middle East considering the evolving geopolitical landscape. Turkey's engagement with NATO in the Post-Cold War era involved a recalibration of its role within the alliance. The traditional focus on countering the Soviet threat diminished, allowing for a more diversified approach to security concerns, including those related to the Middle East. Simultaneously, Turkey actively pursued closer ties with the EU, seeking economic integration and political alignment with European standards. Turkey's foreign policy during this period reflected a delicate balancing act, aiming to maintain its NATO commitments while exploring new avenues for regional cooperation. The evolving dynamics in the Middle East, as influenced by Russia's strategy and other geopolitical shifts, likely prompted Turkey to adapt its approach to both NATO and the EU, considering its unique geographical position and historical ties with regional players. The text suggests that Russia's interests in the Middle East could have influenced Turkey's diplomatic considerations, showcasing the intricate interplay of global power dynamics in shaping the post-Cold War foreign policy landscape.

The research conducted by Derman (2021) provides a comprehensive analysis of the bilateral relations between the Federation of Russia and Turkey, particularly focusing on the period from the end of the Cold War to the present. The study highlights the evolving dynamics in the Turkey-Russia relationship, encompassing military, economic, and diplomatic dimensions. The research emphasizes the era of charismatic leaders, Vladimir Putin and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, during the years 2000-2019, noting a balanced and effective foreign policy that resulted in the establishment of various areas of cooperation. The analysis delves into the active period initiated by Putin's governance, marked by reciprocal visits and senior summit meetings between the leaders. The research sheds light on the strategic priorities of Turkey, particularly addressing security concerns in the context of the Syria issue. The examination of the progress in friendly relations following the July 15 FETÖ coup attempt in Turkey is also a crucial aspect of the study. The study acknowledges a significant turning point in the relationship with the shooting down of a Russian warplane in 2015 but emphasizes the subsequent normalization and quick reestablishment of political and economic cooperation [7, s.19].

The research aims to uncover the major impacts of the strategic partnership, security issues, and energy policies of both countries in the Eurasian context. Following the post-Cold War era, the study observes a reshaping of the international conjuncture and changes in Russian foreign policy decision-making, adopting a Eurasianist approach. The analysis evaluates the consequences of these changes on bilateral relations with Turkey, with a particular focus on diplomacy, economy, and security. Despite previous rivalry, the study underscores the development of strategic relations and a vision of partnership between Turkey and Russia, characterized by a win-win understanding. The analysis is conducted within the framework of regional cooperation, emphasizing both major challenges in the relationship and areas of fruitful cooperation. The research utilizes qualitative data analysis and induction methods to provide a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted dynamics shaping Turkey's regional engagements and its relations with neighboring countries, with a specific focus on conflicts and cooperation [8].

The analysis of Turkey-Russia relations over the years encompasses various dimensions, including strategic partnerships, energy politics, and diplomatic tensions. The examination of these facets provides insights into the evolving dynamics between the two nations and sheds light on the complex interplay of geopolitical factors. In

terms of strategic partnerships, the study delves into the historical context and development of alliances and collaborations between Turkey and Russia. It explores the factors that have driven both nations towards establishing strategic partnerships, considering geopolitical interests, economic ties, and regional stability. The analysis also assesses the impact of these partnerships on the broader geopolitical landscape. Energy politics form a crucial aspect of the study, investigating how Turkey and Russia have navigated the complexities of the energy sector in their bilateral relations [9]. This involves an examination of energy agreements, resource dependencies, and the role of energy resources in shaping diplomatic ties. The study may also explore how energy-related issues have influenced the overall balance of power between the two nations [10].

Diplomatic tensions are scrutinized to understand the challenges and conflicts that have arisen in Turkey-Russia relations. This includes an exploration of historical events, geopolitical disputes, and diplomatic incidents that have strained the relationship. The analysis aims to uncover the underlying causes of these tensions and their impact on broader diplomatic strategies. The interpretation of findings focuses on understanding how «Pravda», as a representation of Soviet/Russian perspectives, has framed Turkey's geopolitical moves. The study aims to decipher the narrative constructed by «Pravda» regarding Turkey's role in global politics. This involves an analysis of the language used, framing techniques, and underlying assumptions present in the coverage. The goal is to interpret how Soviet/Russian perspectives on Turkey have evolved over time, reflecting changes in geopolitical contexts and diplomatic strategies [11].

In summary, the analysis provides a comprehensive exploration of Turkey-Russia relations, spanning strategic partnerships, energy politics, and diplomatic tensions. The interpretation of findings from «Pravda» adds a nuanced layer, offering insights into how Soviet/Russian perspectives have shaped the narrative around Turkey's geopolitical moves on the global stage.

Results. The analysis of «Pravda» articles reveals noteworthy findings that shed light on Russia's perspectives on Turkey's foreign relations and its geopolitical stance across different periods. One key aspect is the identification of distinct narrative trends in «Pravda» articles over various historical junctures [12]. These trends encompass shifts in the portrayal of Turkey, alterations in emphasis on diplomatic, economic, or military aspects, and changes in language and tone. By unraveling these narrative trends, the study aims to trace the evolution of Russia's perception of Turkey [13].

An integral component of the analysis involves examining how «Pravda» portrays Turkey's foreign relations. This entails a thorough investigation into the language, framing, and emphasis placed on diplomatic engagements, alliances, conflicts, and economic cooperation. The nuanced depiction of Turkey's position in the international arena, as perceived by Russian media, is central to understanding the dynamics of the Russia-Turkey relationship. The temporal categorization of «Pravda» articles into different periods, such as the Cold War era, post-Cold War period, and contemporary times, enables a comprehensive assessment of how Russia's portrayal of Turkey has evolved over historical epochs. This periodic approach considers geopolitical shifts, diplomatic developments, and contextual changes, providing a holistic understanding of the bilateral relationship [14].

The significance of these portrayals is highlighted in the study, as it delves into the intricate layers of Russia's view on Turkey's geopolitical stance. By deciphering Russia's perceptions, strategic considerations, and concerns related to Turkey, the analysis sheds light on the underlying dynamics that influence bilateral relations between the two nations. Beyond mere portrayal analysis, the study explores the implications of Russia's views on Turkey for international relations. This involves assessing how these perceptions may shape Russia's diplomatic strategies, regional alliances, and responses to global events. Understanding these implications contributes to a more comprehensive comprehension of the geopolitical landscape, offering insights into the broader context of Russia's foreign policy. In summary, the results section provides a detailed exploration of narrative trends, the portrayal of Turkey's foreign relations, periodic assessments, the significance of these portrayals for Russia's view on Turkey's geopolitical stance, and the broader implications for international relations.

Conclusions. In conclusion, this study offers valuable insights into Turkey's foreign relations as reflected in «Pravda». The analysis has revealed dynamic narrative trends, providing a nuanced understanding of how Russia's perspective on Turkey has evolved over different historical periods. One primary insight is the importance of examining the language, framing, and emphasis in media portrayals to decipher the complexities of bilateral relations. The implications of these findings for understanding the historical and contemporary dynamics of Turkey-Russia relations are significant. By tracing the evolution of portrayals in «Pravda», we gain a deeper understanding of the geopolitical shifts, diplomatic engagements, and strategic considerations that have shaped the relationship between the two nations [15]. These insights contribute to a more comprehensive and contextualized understanding of the factors influencing Turkey-Russia relations. The portrayal of Turkey in Soviet and Russian media is not merely a reflection of bilateral interactions but contributes to broader

geopolitical narratives and diplomacy. The study highlights the role of media in shaping public perceptions and influencing foreign policy considerations. Recognizing this impact is crucial for comprehending the multifaceted nature of international relations, where media representations play a pivotal role.

As we conclude, it is imperative to consider potential avenues for future research on the subject. Areas of study may include an in-depth analysis of specific events or crises in Turkey's foreign relations, an exploration of media influences on public opinion, or a comparative study of portrayals in different Russian media outlets. Additionally, alternative methodologies, such as sentiment analysis, could provide further insights into the emotional and rhetorical aspects of media portrayals. In essence, this study serves as a stepping stone for further investigations into Turkey's international relations, offering a foundation for future research endeavors. Understanding the intricacies of media portrayals and their implications is crucial for navigating the complex terrain of global geopolitics and fostering meaningful diplomatic engagements.

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