

NATIONAL REPORT TURKEY

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1. Basic views of CFSP/ESDP in Turkey. Priorities for the government in CFSP; key issues for Turkey.

Turkey is not yet a member of the EU. However, being a European country, a NATO member since 1952, an associate state of the EU since 1963 and a candidate for EU membership since 1999 Turkey is directly related to the development of the CFSP/ESDP. In line with its aspiration to accede to the EU, Turkey supports the development of the CFSP since this is a vital policy area regarding the EU's effectiveness and success. Turkey's recent policy towards the development of the ESDP has been supportive with reservations. These reservations were due to the fact that Turkey was a non-EU European member of NATO and attached importance to preventing discrimination against and exclusion of non-EU European allies as a result of NATO-EU cooperation in the ESDP. Consequent to the Berlin plus arrangements regarding NATO-EU cooperation, the agreement reached during the Brussels European Council of October 2002 and the Copenhagen European Council of December 2002 and the NATO-EU joint declaration of 16 December 2002, Turkey lifted its veto over the use of NATO assets and capabilities by the EU's rapid reaction force. In this regard Turkey supports the development of a European Security and Defence Policy that supplements and strengthens the trans-Atlantic partnership. Turkey is against a duplication of efforts by the EU and NATO and supports EU action in situations where NATO as a body is not engaged.

In the post-Cold war era, the EU should commit itself to a greater role for its security and defence. However the following points should be taken into consideration in this regard:

- ♦ The regions adjacent to the EU and the regions that have a direct bearing on the security of Europe such as the Balkans, Middle East and the Caucasus are also in the vicinity of Turkey. Moreover, these regions have a central place in the global policies of the US. Accordingly it should not be forgotten that security for Europe is based on cooperation with global and regional actors and cooperation between NATO and EU is important for the success of the CFSP/ESDP.
- ♦ The success of CFSP/ESDP is based on solidarity among the membership of the EU and flexibility arrangements, the workability of which will be ascertained in time. Moreover, EU member states should be ready to shoulder the burden of greater financial and political commitment to a security and defence policy. The sensitivity of the issue area and the heterogeneity of the membership in terms of geo- strategic priorities make it difficult to achieve a consensus as demonstrated by the recent Iraqi crisis. A realistic appraisal of the current situation shows that the CFSP/ESDP is still in its infancy and greater effort is needed to develop it.
- ♦ The integration process of Turkey to the EU is important for the success of the CFSP/ESDP. Lying on the south-easternmost region of Europe, Turkey's location is of strategic importance due to its relevance for many of the security threats to the rest of the continent. The inclusion of Turkey to the evolving CFSP/ESDP and

cooperation between EU member states and Turkey within NATO is vital for the provision of security and an effective defence against new threats. Without Turkey the EU would miss an important partner in achieving its aims regarding foreign and security policy.

The evolving CFSP/ESDP aims at peace and stability and the preservation and improvement of welfare in Europe. The priorities for action should focus on the vital importance of the following issues for the security of the region:

- International action and cooperation against terrorism and terrorist organizations
- Peace and stability especially in volatile regions such as the Balkans, the Middle East and the Caucasus
- Support for democratization and human rights
- Fight against illegal arms trade
- Fight against weapons of mass destruction
- International cooperation in managing illegal immigration and human trafficking

2. National perceptions and positions with regard to CFSP/ESDP issues

- The perceived success and /or failure of CFSP/ESDP (e.g. taking into account current developments like the Iraqi conflict, September 11th, the missions in Bosnia and Macedonia)

Turkey supports the development of the CFSP/ESDP in tandem with the wider security context within NATO and other European organizations. The general perception is that the EU is successful in limited operations such as the missions in Bosnia and Macedonia. However, in global issues such as the fight against terrorism or the recent confrontation between the US and some members of the EU over the Iraqi conflict the view is that the EU is not successful in implementing a common foreign and security policy not only because it does not have the necessary instruments but more essentially because it cannot arrive at a consensus among its membership.

- The position of your country towards NATO (in relationship with the ESDP)

The use of NATO assets and capabilities by the EU has been a controversy within NATO since 1999. Turkey being a member of NATO but not of the EU wanted to have a say over the use of those assets and capabilities for EU-led operations. The issue was finally settled during the Brussels European Council of October 2002 and the Copenhagen European Council of December 2002 and proclaimed by the NATO-EU joint declaration of 16 December 2002. Turkey lifted its veto. In line with this recent cooperative attitude Turkey supports the development of the European security and defence identity within NATO and the strengthening of the European pillar. However, Turkey is also aware that security problems facing Europe today such as regional conflicts, ethnic wars, terrorism and drug trafficking, can only be managed at the international level by close cooperation within several European organizations. NATO is one of those organizations and has shown its resilience and usefulness in the post-Cold War era as may be evidenced by its missions in Kosovo and Afghanistan. Turkey is generally of the view that NATO serves some vital functions for European security in the contemporary scene and that maintaining the core functions of NATO, including collective defence and the preservation of the transatlantic link are of prime

importance. Turkey also supports the strategic partnership between NATO and the EU on European security and defence, attaching importance to the participation of the non-EU European allies in ESDP.

- The role of the EU in crisis management e.g. Kosovo, the Middle East

Turkey is a country that has assigned almost all of its armed forces to NATO. Moreover it actively participated in NATO air operations in Kosovo and the international force in Afghanistan. Turkey gives importance to peace and stability in its region and the wider world and values international cooperation in this regard. Accordingly Turkey wholeheartedly supports international efforts of crisis management. Thereby Turkey supports the EU's initiatives in this area and wishes to participate in EU-led operations involving Petersberg tasks in line with the principles arrived at the Washington Summit and at subsequent meetings, the Berlin plus arrangements, The Brussels European Council conclusions (Annex II: ESDP: Implementation of the Nice Provisions on the Involvement of the non-EU European Allies), the agreement reached during the Copenhagen European Council regarding EU-NATO cooperation, and the NATO-EU joint declaration of 16 December 2002, Turkey attaches importance to ensuring the fullest possible involvement of non-EU European Allies in EU-led crisis response operations.

- The perceived impact of EU enlargement on CFSP/ESDP (old versus new Europe)

Turkey fully supports the enlargement of the EU. The general view is that the acceding countries will give a renewed dynamism to the integration process and increase the relevance of the EU in alleviating the region's problems and providing for the continent's security. This process will necessitate the adaptation of the EU to accommodate the interests of the new members. Increasing heterogeneity within the Union will make decision-making more difficult. Attaining solidarity among the increased membership and achieving consensus especially in the area of CFSP/ESDP will be more difficult than before. However after a process of adaptation the Member States should find a method of working together and understanding each other. In this process the result of enlargement will not be a division of the EU into rival camps but the evolution of common strategies and approaches to international issues.

3. European Convention: Reform of EU External relations, CFSP/ESDP

Have there been any official contributions or proposals brought to the Convention by your country's representatives with regard to external relations, CFSP and ESDP?

Turkey took part in the meetings of the European convention as a candidate for EU membership. In these meetings Turkish representatives supported a more active and effective foreign and security policy for the EU to be able to face international challenges and meet the expectation of EU citizens and of international society at large.

- External representation: What is the position of your country on the appointment of a European foreign minister and a president of the European Council? Is your country in favour of double hatting?

Turkey supports a stronger role for the EU in the international arena and argues that this requires an appropriate internal organization as well as sufficient capacity to represent the EU externally. Therefore Turkey supports a single voice for the EU and merging of responsibilities of the high representative and of the Commissioner responsible for external relations.

- Decision-making: Does your country opt for an extension of qualified majority voting in the field of CFSP? What is the position on forms of flexibility such as enhanced cooperation or constructive abstention?

Turkey supports an extension of qualified majority voting in general. However, in sensitive issues regarding security and defence Turkey also feels that it is necessary to retain national prerogatives. Enhanced cooperation and constructive abstention are regarded as appropriate tools to make the common foreign and security policy more effective. Such innovative mechanisms are useful since the priorities and interests of the member states regarding foreign and security policy may not always converge due to geographical location, historical context and cultural affiliations.

- Crisis management: What is the official position on updating the Petersberg tasks and making reference to tasks that involve military resources?

In today's world the provision of security and defence has become a much more diversified and complex task. Threats to a country's security are no longer limited to conventional military attack but may emanate from a diversity of sources. One of the most notable of these security threats emanate from terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, illegal arms and drug trafficking. Greater flexibility and vigilance is needed to be able to cope with these challenges. Especially recent developments in the world scene may necessitate updating the Petersberg tasks for the EU to be a relevant and effective actor in the foreign and security policy field.

- Defence: Which of the proposals raised by the European Convention is most strongly endorsed by your country e.g. armament's issues, solidarity clause, flexibility? What is the official position of your country on the proposal of four on European defence policy?

Turkey endorses the proposals of the Convention for greater efficiency and effectiveness of the evolving security and defence policy of the Union. The establishment of a European Armaments, Research and Military Capabilities Agency would be instrumental in upgrading the technological base of the member states' military resources. The solidarity clause is vital for a 'common' policy in any sense although putting it into practice may prove to be difficult. Turkey also supports the flexibility issue since it is a functional solution to the blocking of the EU's security and defence policy due to problems in achieving a consensus. However, action that might be taken by a group of member states under the flexibility arrangements should not undermine the strategic interests of excluded member states. Turkey also notes with approval that the draft constitutional treaty makes reference to "the obligations of certain Member States... under the North Atlantic Treaty...".

As regards the proposal of four on European defence policy, it should be mentioned that Turkey supports enhanced cooperation among the EU member states. Europe should certainly do more for its security and defence. Turkey, being a non-member and the only candidate

country with which accession negotiations have not started yet, is nevertheless a European country and is directly involved and related to developments regarding European security and defence. Western Europe's security and defence has been provided within the framework of NATO since 1949. NATO has transformed its strategic concept and mission in line with the developments in the post-Cold war era. Owing to the complex and divergent threats to security that might emanate from regions adjacent to Europe NATO still provides the main framework for European security and defence. In this sense the recent proposal may only start off a process that is destined to take along time to fully realize its potentialities. Therefore care should be taken that;

- The political and military cooperation within the framework of NATO that took half a century to build and develop is not impinged on.
- The rift between the member states of the EU that has surfaced during the recent Iraqi crisis does not have an adverse effect on the development of the common foreign and security policy and the sense of solidarity and cooperation in the other policy areas of the EU.

4. Mapping of activities in CFSP-related research

- Please indicate major experts, universities and research institutions working in the CFSP field in your country.

(In alphabetical order of universities)

- Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi

Website: <http://www.ibu.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations
Assist. Prof. Dr. Kamer Kasým

- Akdeniz University

Website: <http://www.akdeniz.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Esra Çayhan

- Ankara University

Website: <http://www.ankara.edu.tr>

Faculty of Political Sciences
European Community Research and Implementation Center (ATAUM)
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çağrı Erhan

- Bilkent University

Website: <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr>

Prof. Dr. Duygu Sezer
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gülnur Aybet
Prof. Dr. Ali Karaosmanoğlu

- Bosphorous University

Website: <http://www.boun.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations
Center for European Studies
Prof. Dr. Kemal Kirişçi
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hakan Yılmaz

- Galatasaray University

Website: <http://www.gsu.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations
Prof. Dr. Beril Dedeoğlu

- İşık University

Website: <http://www.isikun.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations
Prof. Dr. Cengiz Okman

- Istanbul University

Website: <http://www.istanbul.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations
Prof. Dr. Faruk Sönmezoğlu
Dr. Özlem Terzi

- Istanbul Bilgi University

Website: <http://www.bilgi.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations
Prof. Dr. Aile Kut
Dr. Serhat Güvenç

- Istanbul Kultur University

Website: <http://www.iku.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mensur Akgun
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ülkü Demirdöğen

- Izmir University of Economics

Website: <http://www.izmirekonomi.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations and the European Union
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çýnar Özen

- KahramanmaraşSütçü Ýmam Üniversitesi

Website: <http://www.ksu.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations

Assist. Prof. Dr. Harun Arýkan

- Koç University

Website: <http://www.ku.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Puhnaz Yýlmaz

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Deniz Yalçýn

- Marmara University

Website: <http://www.marmara.edu.tr>

European Community Institute

Dr. Münevver Cebeci

Assist. Prof. Dr. Esra Hatipođlu

Department of International Relations

Dr. Erhan Dođan

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gülden Ayman

- Middle East Technical University

Website: <http://www.metu.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations

Center for the EU

Prof. Dr. Atilla Eralp

Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Bađcý

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sevilay Kahraman

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Meliha Benli Altunýlýk

- Sabancı University

Website: <http://www.sabanciuniv.edu>

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Meltem Müftüler Baç

- Uludağ University

Website: <http://www.uludag.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations

Prof. Dr. Ýbrahim Canbolat

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Veysel Bozkurt

- Yýldýz Technical University

Website: <http://www.yildiz.edu.tr>

Department of International Relations

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gencer Ozcan

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nur'ım Güney

Research institutions

- Center for Strategic Research (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi SAM)
E-mail: strategy@mfa.gov.tr

- Turkish Foreign Policy Institute (Türk Dış Politika Enstitüsü)
Website: <http://www.foreignpolicy.org.tr>

- Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı)

Website: <http://www.tesev.org.tr>

- Economic Development Foundation (İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı)
Website: <http://www.ikv.org.tr>

- Eurasia Strategic Research Center (Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi ASAM)
Website: <http://www.avsam.org>

- Turkish University Association for European Studies TUNAECS
Website: <http://www.tunaecs.org>

- Yıldız Technical University Strategic Research Center
Website: <http://www.stratejik.yildiz.edu.tr>

5. Country specific remarks (e.g. on the relation between national foreign and security policy and CFSP, on costs/benefits of one country's membership in the EU with regard to CFSP/ESDP)

Turkey is a candidate for EU membership. It is currently undergoing the pre-accession strategy although membership negotiations have not started yet. 2004 will be the year when the European Council will judge Turkey on the basis of the Commission's regular report and decide whether or not to open accession negotiations. In making this critical decision Turkey's potential contribution to the EU in the area of common foreign and security policy –among others- will no doubt be taken into account. In this sense Turkey's contributions may be summarized as follows:

- Turkey's close cooperation with most of the EU member countries in the security and defence realm since the founding of NATO.
- Turkey's large, highly skilled, organized and disciplined armed forces
- Turkey's pivotal role in the region; its proximity to three of the most strategically important regions of the world

- Turkey's historical legacy and ties with many of the countries in the region that go back to the Ottoman Empire
- Turkey's cultural affinity with the countries in its vicinity due to common historical experiences and cultural exchanges
- The fact that Turkey is a secular country with a predominantly Muslim population and can thus serve as a model for other Muslim countries and provide an alternative route other than religious fundamentalism

Due to all these characteristics Turkey is a country that incorporates many seemingly contradictory traits and can thus serve vital roles in the relations between East and West especially in our globalizing world where differences have become starker, more noticeable and radicalized.

Sources used:

Ministry of National Defence White Book on National Strategy:

Website: <http://www.msb.gov.tr>

Main issues in Turkish foreign policy

Website: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr>

Turkey's contributions to the Convention on the Future of Europe:

Website: <http://www.euturkey.org.tr>

Annex II of the Conclusion of the Brussels European Council, 24-25 October 2002, "ESDP: Implementation of the Nice Provisions on the Involvement of the non-EU European Allies":

Website: <http://www.europa.eu.int/abc/doc/off/bull/en/200210/i1015.htm#anch0034>

"The Turkish general staff view on ESDI", Proceedings of the 11th Antalya conference on security and cooperation, *Insight Turkey*, Vol.3, No:2, April-June 2001, 87-95.

Demirdöğen, Ülkü, "Avrupa Ordusuna Türk Rýzasý (Turkish Consent to European Army)", *Görü*°, No:53, January-February 2003, 52-59.

Özen, Çýnar, "Consequences of the European Security and Defence Policy for the European Non-EU NATO Members", *Ankara Avrupa Çalyþmalarý Dergisi* (Ankara Journal of European Studies), Vol.1, no: 1, 2001, 139-153.

Yýlmaz, Puhnaz, "Newly Emerging European Security Architecture: Implications for Trans-Atlantic Relations, *Insight Turkey*, Vol.3, No: 2, April-June 2001, 141-152.