

**TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY
AND SECURITY PERSPECTIVES
IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

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AND SECURITY PERSPECTIVES
IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

Edited by

SERTIF DEMIR



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*Turkey's Foreign Policy and Security Perspectives in the 21st Century:
Prospects and Challenges*

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Dedicated to my beloved wife Nafiye and my son Berkay

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It has been my longstanding desire to edit a book on Turkish foreign and security policy involvement in, and teaching of security and foreign policy issues at various universities. The idea of this study basically stemmed from my education, my career experiences both domestic and foreign, and especially the support of my colleagues. Meanwhile, Turkey has been struggling with the most challenging situation regarding security and foreign policy issues since its foundation. Therefore, not only as a lecturer but also as a citizen of this beautiful country, it felt appropriate to edit a book about these issues. Furthermore, my aim has been to publish a book which narrates the basic facts without ideological bias in foreign and security matters, as scientific ethics require such objectivity.

Writing such a book has required tremendous effort so, first of all, I would like to thank all the authors for their contributions to produce such an exhaustive work. I have closely witnessed how hard they have worked in order to timely, professionally and proficiently deliver their manuscripts, which are obviously crucial for this publication. It was my pleasure to work with them.

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Sertif Demir

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASALA	Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia
ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
BHN	Basic Human Need
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
BTCP	Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline
CENTO	The Central Treaty Organization
CIS	The Commonwealth of Independent States
CMI	Civil Military Integration
CMR	Civil Military Relations
CoE	Council of Europe
COGS	Chief of General Staff
CRR	Rapid Reaction Force
CSTO	The Collective Security Treaty Organization
DIKO	The Democratic Party
DOD	Department of State
DOS	Department of State
EC	The European Community
ECHR	European Convention of Human Rights
ECJ	The European Court of Justice
EEC	The European Economic Community
EMASYA	<i>Emniyet, Asayiş ve Yardımlaşma Protokolü</i> , Protocol on Cooperation for Security and Public Order
ENP	European Neighborhood Policy
EOKA	<i>Ethnici Organosis Kyprion Agoniston</i> -National Organization of Cypriot Combatants
EPP	European People's Party
EU	European Union
EULEX	The European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo
EUPOL	European Union Police Mission
FYROM	The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia)
G-20	Group 20
GCASC	Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus
GEIR-F	Great Eastern Islamic Raiders-Front- <i>İslami Büyüköğru Akıncılar Cephesi-IBDA-C</i>
HCNM	High Commissioner on National Minorities
HRC	The Human Rights Committee
HÜDAPAR	Free Cause Party -Hür Dava Partisi
ICCPR	The International Covenant of Political and Civil Rights
ICO	Islamic Conference Organization
IED	Improvised Explosive Devices

TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY PERSPECTIVES

IFOR	Implementation Force
IHH	Humanitarian Relief Foundation
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organizations
ISIL	Islamic States Iraq and Levend
ISIS	The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
JDP	Justice and Development Party-Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-AKP)
KCK	Union of Kurdistan Communities- <i>Kürdistan Topluluklar Birliđi-Koma Civakên Kurdistan</i>
KDP	Kürdistan Demokratik Partisi (Partiya Demokrat a Kurdistanê/PDK - Kurdistan Democratic Party
KGB	The Committee for State Security- <i>Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti</i>
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KONGRA-GEL	Kurdistan Freedom and Democratic Congress- <i>Kürdistan Özgürlük ve Demokrasi Kongresi</i>
KYB	Kürdistan Yurtseverler Birliđi (Yetikiya Niştimanperwerê Kurdistan/YNK - Patriotic Union of Kurdistan/PUK)
MENR	The Ministry of Energy and National Resources
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MGP	Military Guest Personnel
MIT	Turkish National Intelligence Agency
MLAPU	Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit - <i>Marksisist-Leninist Silahlı Propaganda Birliđi-MLSPB</i>
MOND	Minister of National Defense
MPFSEE	Multinational Peace Force for South Eastern Europe
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDKT	Crimean Tatar National Movement
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NKVĐ	People's Commissariat for Interior Affairs,
NSC	National Security Council
NSS	National Security Strategy
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIC	The Organization of Islamic Cooperation
OKND	The National Movement of Crimean Tatars
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PKK	The Kurdistan Workers' Party-Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan
PLA	The People's Liberation Army
PYĐ	Democartic Union Party- <i>Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat-Demokratik Birlik Partisi</i>

QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
RL	Revolutionary Left
RP	Revolutionary Path -Devrimci Yol-Dev Yol
RPLP-F	Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front- <i>Devrimci Halk Kurtuluş Partisi-Cephesi -DHKP-C</i>
RTUK	<i>Radyo ve Televizyon Yüksek Kurulu</i> -The Radio and Television High Council
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SECI	Southeast Europe Cooperation Initiative
SEEBRIG	South Eastern Europe Brigade
SEECF	South-East European Cooperation Process
SEEI	South Eastern European Initiative
SFOR	Stabilization Force
TAF	Turkish Armed Forces
TANAP	The Trans-Anatolian Pipeline
TCC	Turkish Criminal Code
TFSC	Turkish Federated State of Cyprus
TIKA	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
TMT	<i>Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı</i> -Turkish Resistance Organization
TPAO	Türkiye Petrolleri Anonim Ortaklığı
TPLA	Turkish People's Liberation Army- <i>Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu THKO</i>
TPLP/F	The Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front- <i>Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Partisi/Cephesi-THKP/C</i>
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
TRWPP	The Turkish Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Party- <i>Türkiye İhtilalci İşçi Köylü Partisi TİİKP</i>
UAV	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle
UK	United Kingdom
UNAMA	The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNDP	United Nations Development Programs
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNMIK	The United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNOSOM	UN Operation in Somalia
UNPROFOR	UN Protection Force
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWII	World War II

TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY PERSPECTIVES

YÖK
YPG

Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu-High Education Council
Yekîneyên Parastina Gel-Halk Koruma Birlikleri-People's
Defense Units

INTRODUCTION

Sertif Demir

This book aims at analyzing Turkish foreign and security policies in the 21st century. Turkey's foreign and security policies have become the focus of academic discussions since Turkey is located in the middle of the most unstable region in the world. Turkey's self-assured foreign policy has similarly attracted the attention of academicians worldwide. Meanwhile, Turkey's security policy has also been the subject of discussions as the country has been struggling with ethnic terrorism for 35 years. Furthermore, the US invasion of Iraq and the recent Syrian civil war, along with other factors, have caused religious radicalism to expand its power throughout the Middle East, which has heavily impacted on Turkey's security. Turkey's longstanding problems with its neighbors have also affected the general characteristics of its foreign policy, particularly leading to its securitization. Against this background, this book covers the major issues in foreign policy and security fields that significantly affect Turkey. Of course, Turkey is affected by a diverse range of internal and external security and other dynamics. However, a few of them have had a particularly impact on Turkey's foreign policy and security architecture. Accordingly, this book mainly focuses on those fields that substantially affect Turkey's foreign and security policies. The most influential of these are Turkish foreign policy strategy, Turkish-American relations, Turkey-EU relations, regional concerns in the Middle East, Caucasus and Balkans, energy security, terrorism and civil-military relations.

Chapter one, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Dynamics in 21st Century" scrutinizes Turkish foreign policy mainly in 21st century. This study focuses on how contemporary Turkish foreign policy has been reconstituted and on the motives taken into account in outlining it. Associate Prof. Sertif Demir first discusses the very early Republican period and its major foreign policy dynamics, which can be characterized as "non-irredentist" "neutral", "pragmatic" and "non-intrusive". He then reviews subsequent Turkish foreign policy with the internal political power transition up to 2002. The original general tenets of the Turkish Republic's foreign policy remained largely intact. However, since 2002, Turkish foreign policy has undergone extensive changes, slowly but decisively. The Islamic-rooted Justice and Development Party (JDP) has altered the principles of traditional foreign policy by utilizing Turkey's objectives and historical, cultural and religious dynamics. Demir examines the JDP's foreign policy dynamics by considering how it has utilized internal and external actors by implementing its "zero problems" policy and "strategic depth" concept while establishing its new foreign policy ap-

proach. The writer concludes that in the new millennium, while taking into full account the motto “peace at home; peace abroad”, Turkey must implement a comprehensive foreign policy that seeks to increase stability beyond providing regional security in its neighborhood, to resolve regional conflicts through mutual understandings, and to follow a multi-purpose, multi-directional foreign policy, supported by soft power dynamics.

Turks' contacts with America date back to the Ottoman Empire in the late 1700s. The more than two-century-old relationship has been somewhat like a long-lasting marriage, replete with ups and downs. Globally, Turkish-American relations have been based on mutual interests, interdependence and assumed labels such as “indispensable ally” or “strategic partner”. Whenever interests have coincided, a period of warmer relations has emerged; when they have conflicted, a period of cold relations has ensued. Consequently, despite the rhetoric of friendliness, Turkey's attitude towards the USA has vacillated between pro- and anti-Americanism, as both countries ultimately need to pursue their own interests. Time will reveal whether they can maintain friendly relations, experience further alienation, or establish viable relations based on mutuality and equality. This relationship is analyzed in chapter two, in which Associate Prof. Zafer Parlak first provides a historical overview of Turkish-American relations with reference to specific key events and turning points that highlight the changing nature of the relationship. He then focuses on the global and regional significance of current issues that concern both countries and affect their policies and choices. Finally, he makes some predictions concerning their relations, especially regarding regional and global security, energy and trade. To strengthen his analysis, Parlak adopts a multi-focal and multidimensional approach.

Turkey has long been struggling to gain membership of the European Union (EU), which has been a historical objective as an important part of Atatürk's concept of civilization. However, Turkey's significant efforts failed to yield a successful outcome for several reasons: its relatively underdeveloped economy compared to Europe's, its large population, cultural and religious differences between Turkey and Europe, historical concerns formed through a centuries-long history of rivalry and conflict, the antipathy of several major European states towards Turkey, partly out of a fear of losing supremacy in Europe's institutions, Turkey's disputes with its neighbors, and its location within and unstable region. However, despite those difficulties, Turkey focused on its European Union membership bid, speeding up democratization and expanding freedoms between 1999 and 2005. Although the EU agreed to start accession negotiations with Turkey in 2005, the process was disrupted just a year later because of a dispute over the Additional Protocol of the Ankara Agreement related to the Cyprus issue.

Chapter three focuses on Turkey's relations with the EU regarding German and French opposition to Turkey's EU membership. Assistant Prof. Uğur Burç Yıldız explains the role of France and Germany in preventing

Turkey gaining EU membership. He argues that their opposition stems from three reasons: preventing Turkey becoming one of the driving forces for EU integration by keeping it out of the EU's legislative institutions (the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament); the argument of Christian Democrats in Germany and France regarding cultural differences between Turkey and the EU; the preference for keeping Turkey outside the EU as a barrier between Europe and the Middle East. Yıldız ends by exploring how Turkey should overcome the resistance of those states while offering some suggestions to Turkey.

Since the Second World War, Turkey's traditional foreign policy and security concept has allied it with the West. Therefore, Turkey has attached great importance to belonging to Western security, political and economic organizations. Among these, NATO has seemed to best satisfy Turkey's security needs. As Turkey-NATO relations are an important part of Turkey's foreign and security policy, Assistant Prof. Dr. Biçer examines these in respect to NATO's tasks and functions. Biçer particularly focuses on how NATO will transform itself and how Turkey's relations with NATO will evolve during this process.

Chapter five focuses on regional/global security in Turkish foreign policy and its implementation in the Middle East in 21st century. It is mostly accepted that during the 1990s Turkish foreign policy became securitized, with hard power as a significant element. In contrast, the JDP government has preferred to use soft power assisted by constitutional amendments and harmonization packages to align the state's policies with the EU's political criteria for EU membership. At the same time, however, Turkey has been facing diverse threats from various Middle Eastern countries in terms of terrorist activities, failing states, ethnic, religious, or civil wars, and refugee flows from neighboring states, such as Syria and Iraq. Additionally, Turkey's ambitious foreign policy has resulted in an 'intrusive foreign policy' towards Middle Eastern states, with the Turkish government once again resorting to hard power as regional security threats from neighboring states forcing responsibilities to be handed over to military actors and instruments. To explore the return of hard power in Turkish foreign policy since 2007, Assistant Prof. Sezgin Mercan presents the institutional background for understanding Turkey's foreign policy, military security and threat perceptions. He then concentrates on the increasing use of hard power in Turkish foreign policy since 2007 through three cases: Turkey's strained relations with Iraq, its reaction to the civil war in Syria, and its domestic terrorism problem. The chapter also explains the Turkish government's perceptions of military security and threats, using conceptual tools from the Copenhagen School's securitization approaches. From this analysis, Mercan concludes that, taking into account local conditions in Iraq and Syria, Turkey will continue securitization as long as it is surrounded by international crises and domestic terrorism, which threaten its territorial integrity. The basic point is that Turkey's geopolitical and geo-

strategic location necessitates a hard security perspective in foreign policy. The Iraq and Syria cases also demonstrate that Turkey has the potential both to desecuritize currently securitized relations and securitize currently desecuritized relations. It is also possible to claim that the new determiners of Turkey's security perceptions will be formed by new securitization of the Middle East foreign policy in 21st century.

The Cyprus is another major foreign policy issue that has affected Turkey's security due to remaining unresolved for so long. It affects both Turkey's relations with Greece and with the EU. Cyprus' economic and natural wealth cannot be economically utilized because of the lack of a peace settlement. For example, it has meant that the recently discovered marine gas reserve near Cyprus cannot be developed. Despite several peace negotiation attempts, no solution has yet been found. In chapter six, Prof. Dr. Muzzaffer Ercan uses novel methods to explore the Cyprus issue, focusing on the psychological barriers separating the two Cypriot communities and identifying their root causes from a historical perspective. From this analysis, he emphasizes the need for adequate psychological preparation before negotiating a settlement in terms of general legal, political and substantive issues. To achieve this, Ercan recommends building inter-communal confidence and helping both parties create an infrastructure that sustains present and future peace efforts.

The Balkans also play an important role at Turkish foreign policy because of Turkey's very deep historical and cultural links with a region that remained under Ottoman rule for six centuries. The JDP government has re-established very strong relations with the Balkans, including soft power elements, since it considers this region to be one of the main elements of Turkey's foreign policy. Additionally, the Balkans have seen various major crises since the end of the Cold War. These instabilities have affected surrounding areas. In chapter seven, Assistant Prof. Dr. Ağır and Assistant Prof. Dr. Arman examine Turkish foreign policies towards the Western Balkans in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo, from the 1990s to the present day. They find that Balkan countries have tended to develop relations with the EU rather than with Turkey despite the JDP government's "strategic depth policy" towards these neighboring countries. However, as EU accession talks with Western Balkan states have slowed, Turkey has found new opportunities to expand relations throughout the region. Ağır and Arman conclude that the JDP has discomfited these countries by putting too much emphasis on religion and Ottoman history, overlooking local perceptions and misperceptions, exaggerating its own potential, and by adopting a neo-Ottomanist discourse.

Turkey's relations with Russia have always been challenging due to Russia's historical aim of establishing warm-water ports and enlarging its territory by occupying Turkish lands. Relations with the Soviet Union were quite friendly between 1922 and 1938 as both states needed each other's help and

support against major European powers. During the Cold War era, however, Turkey and the Soviet Union remained on opposite sides when Stalin threatened Turkey over establishing bases in the Bosphorus and demanded land in Eastern Turkey towards the end of the Second World War. Since the Cold War ended, Turco-Russian relations have improved, focusing mostly on tourism and other economic activities. However, previous mutual distrust has not disappeared so quickly, while conflicts in the Caucasus, the Balkans and the Middle East, energy rivalry, Turkey's deepening relations with Turkic Republics, and the situation of Turkish and Moslem communities there have led to confrontations. Among these many issues, the latter has rarely been considered by academicians. In particular, the Crimean Tatars have experienced catastrophe. The Tatars, Crimea's original inhabitants, were forcibly driven out of their homeland into exile in Siberia by Stalin after the Second World War, only being able to return after the end of the Cold War. During the intervening years, however, Crimean Tatars lost most of their numbers, currently comprising only 12 percent of Crimea's population, as the country became part of Ukraine after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Their future remains uncertain as Russia annexed Crimea in 2014 after the Ukraine crisis. In chapter eight, Associate Prof. Sezai Ozcelik studies the Crimean Tatar issue from the perspectives of all three conflicting parties, namely the Russians, Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars.

Energy security is one of the critical dynamics of a country's security. Alongside other factors, growing inter-state dependency and high growth rates have boosted energy consumption. Energy has also become a critical strategic asset as the world has globalized and boomed economically. Energy is considered a strategic asset for two important reasons. First it has become essential to modern societies, playing a crucial role in their development. Second, it is undergoing a process of 'securitisation'¹ because energy resources are concentrated in certain regions while it is difficult to develop alternative energy sources. Turkey is highly vulnerable regarding energy as it imports 70 percent of its consumption requirements, while ongoing conflicts in and around energy basins and transportation routes also increase its vulnerability to energy cutoffs. This energy dependency has a negative effect on Turkey's foreign policy. In short, Turkey's energy security has become critical issue requiring careful handling. At the same time, Turkey is also an important factor in global energy security regarding energy transportation. In chapter nine, Associate Prof. Dr. Idris Demir explores Turkey's unique energy security position in a global context. Specifically, he locates this within the context of concepts of 'dependence', 'independence' and 'interdependence' as Turkey is an actor as a consumer, transporter, investor, regional hub and security provider in global energy geopolitics.

¹ Raphaël Metais (2013). "Ensuring Energy Security in Europe: The EU between a Market-based and a Geopolitical Approach", *EU Diplomacy Papers*, No. 3.