

Azawee Header-Adil

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Ukraine

THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION COURSE OF TURKEY AS A FACTOR OF ITS NATIONAL SECURITY

Republic of Turkey gives primary importance for national and regional (European) security. To do this, it aims to use opportunities of various regional organizations. If during the Cold War the North Atlantic Alliance was the main security instrument, in the post-bipolar era functions of maintaining regional security and stability are inherent to other structures, especially to the European Union with its Common Foreign and Security Policy. Official Ankara does not want to remain outside the process of decision-making in European institutions where it is not a member. But in the eyes of European functionaries such weaknesses as instability of the economy, the issue about protection of human rights and national minorities hinder Turkey's accession to the EU. Moreover, stereotypical view at Islamic culture as a hostile to Christian Europe remains enough strong. In fact, secularized Turkey has enough capacity to compete in the future with the traditional "engines" of the EU.

Key words: security, integration, membership criteria, human rights.

One of the main directions in foreign and security policy of Turkey is European integration. But, although since the XV century the Ottoman Empire actively influenced international political events in Europe, in the XIX century was involved in activity of the "European concert of nations" and was a significant factor in global diplomatic life, other - "civilized" and Christian - states did not perceive High Porte as equal to them. In the "Eastern question", which was associated with predominantly European possessions of Turkey, this country received the role of an object, but not a full partner. Yet, as the Ottoman Empire lost its mightiness and was influenced by great powers, especially France and Britain, officials and military leaders of High Porte saw the model for development of the country in Europe. This opened the way for European values of state building, governance and social behavior. Modernization and Europeanization were affirmed in the Republic of Turkey after the triumph of the Kemalist Revolution in 1919-1923.

European aspirations of Turkey received a new impulse after the Second World War, largely due to support of the US. When in February of 1952 Turkey joined NATO country was seen as a counterbalance to the Soviet Union on the southern flank of western defense. And its first application for membership in the European Community, Turkey filed on July 31, 1959; however military coup which followed next year became an obstacle for practical steps to implement European integration policy.

Therefore, in 1961 and in 1962 the government of İsmet İnönü re-submitted the application, and as a result of negotiations on September 12, 1963 the Association Agreement between the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Republic of Turkey was signed. Art. 28 of this Agreement potentially provided granting of full membership in the EEC to Turkey. At the first stage of integration, which lasted for five years with the possibility of prolongation, preferences for export of Turkish agricultural products were introduced; Turkey received loans for infrastructure development¹.

According to the Additional Protocol signed on November 23, 1970, the second, transitional, stage of the European integration of Turkey started when Convention on Association signed in 1971 came into force on January 1, 1973. Since then Turkey has committed itself to reduction of customs duties, taxes and charges, abolishment of quantitative and equivalent to them restrictions and acceptance of external tariff of the Community. It also had to reduce restrictions on Turkish industrial exports; and for 22 years to set preferences for around 90% of exports of agricultural products.

At the third stage was planned to create a customs union and to adopt Regulation on migration of Turkish capital and labor in Europe. Despite the failure to obtain promised aid from the Community, Turkey has fulfilled its obligations in time and became a member of the EU customs union in 1996; and in

¹ Турция между Европой и Азией. Итоги европеизации на исходе XX века (2001). Москва: Институт востоковедения РАН, 343.

1999 at the Helsinki Summit has achieved the status of country associated for EU membership.

But with the end of the Cold War, the need for the West to deter the USSR by all forces disappeared, so doubts about Turkish belonging to European space began to be heard, especially due to the fact that only 5% of the Turkish territory is situated not in Asia. Guided by political considerations, EU prioritized eastward enlargement by post-communist countries. European integration of Turkey, instead, temporarily became secondary issue.

EU summit in Copenhagen in June, 1993 became the new milestone in relations between the EU and Republic of Turkey, as far as official Ankara has to fulfill the criteria for EU membership, adopted at the meeting. Except for the item about developed market economy, there were political criteria requiring that candidate countries should achieve stable democracy, respect for human rights, respect for the rule of law, protection of rights of national minorities¹. But economic benefit from EU membership was more important for Turkey, especially after market liberalization of Turgut Özal government. The Copenhagen criteria were mechanism to defend EU against expansion unwanted at the time, and discrepancy of legal situation in Turkey was a strong argument for those who protested against its accession to the EU. Luxembourg summit in 1997 has caused further estrangement of relations between official Ankara and Brussels. At this summit Turkey was not recognized as a candidate and instead developed a strategy for acquiring this status.

However, at the Nice summit in 2000 EU tried to improve relations with Ankara. Among the reasons for alleviation of a course are US pressure on Brussels to improve Greek-Turkish relations and formation of more balanced German position on Turkey. So, after the Nice summit was signed the Document on Partnership for accession of Turkey, which contained a list of short- and medium-term tasks to perform by candidate country and monitoring mechanism. It was noted that the date of accession of Turkey to the EU depends on the proper implementation of the Document.

The most important among political issues remained: policy on national minorities, the role of military men in government and the Cyprus issue. As for the obligations of Turkey in improvement of human rights, the official Ankara has taken a number of reforms. In particular, powers of the police during arrests were limited, barriers for investigation of cases of corruption were abolished, the number of civilians in the National Security Council was increased, criminal code and anti-terrorism law were amended. The most notable achievement was abolition of the death penalty: in August 2002, with the exception of wartime, and in October 2005 - the complete abolition (so called "harmonization laws").

But the European Union continues to closely monitor the treatment of national minorities, in 1923 by the Lausanne agreement Greeks, Armenians and Jews were recognized as such. Reservations of Ankara to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights concerning the rights of minorities, as well as to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights concerning the right to education, cause some concerns in Brussels. Also Turkish Republic did not accede to the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, drawn up under the auspices of the Council of Europe. Also, the question of obstacles of schooling for children from already mentioned minorities and for Romani people permanently rises.

One of the most painful problems in relations between Ankara and Brussels is the Kurdish problem. According to the CIA, Kurds in Turkey make up 18% of the 80 million of the republic's population² and live mostly in Southeast Anatolia and in major cities, including Ankara and Istanbul. By early 2000s Turkish authorities did not recognize Kurds as minority; it originated from the time of Atatürk and establishment of the state based on Turkish identity. In other words, everyone who lived in Turkey could become citizens of the new state in case of refusal from their own nationality. As a result, existing Muslim minorities were subjected to gradual assimilation. Until now, the Kurds continue to face closing of schools, where Kurdish language is taught and removal of records with national music. The situation in eastern and south-eastern provinces, where the majority of population is of Kurdish origin, remains alarming with the resumption of active hostilities by Marxist Kurdistan Workers' Party. Although the state of emergency was canceled, in some provinces enhanced security regime is still in force. Human rights activists fear that security services may react inadequately, resulting suffering of civilians.

The main obstacles for integration of Turkey into the European Union have political nature, but there are also economic reasons for inability of entry at the moment. Currently, the population totals nearly 80

¹ Larrabee, F. Stephen (2003). *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 50.

² *The World Factbook. China*. <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>> (2015, October, 29).

mln people, on this indicator in the EU only Germany is ahead. By the middle of this century Turkey could become the most populated country in Europe, but in terms of GDP income per capita Turkey is even behind Latvia and Croatia, while official unemployment rate is almost 10%. Disproportionate development of the provinces exists, some of which, especially eastern, remain less industrialized and lagging. Turkey continues to struggle with high inflation, which last year reached 8.9%. Another drawback is slow pace of privatization and its corruptness. All above indicates the gap between economic situation in Turkey and in the European Union, which can create excessive burden on structural funds and financial policies of the Union.

The fact that Brussels did not clarify, how quickly Ankara's European aspirations will be implemented, led to the fact that the latter frostily takes part in development of the European Security and Defense Policy. Modern Turkish political elite believes it was removed from decision-making within this initiative, and this, again, proves indispensability of NATO and the US for foreign policy of Turkey. Ankara has repeatedly blocked EU attempts to get permission to use NATO assets for their needs.

The sphere where Turkey will make a positive contribution to the EU is energy supply. Across its territory lie important transportation networks that combine Western Europe with the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. The pipeline Baku - Ceyhan is one of them. The cooperation of Turkey and the EU in this area will reduce dependence on gas from Russia. The question is whether Turkey must be taken to the European Union for this.

Axis "Ankara – Washington" allows combining European regional subsystem with the global system of international relations. As the US is the only superpower today, naturally, Washington carries out political, economic and ideological influence both at regional subsystems and the world as a whole. It is advantageous for USA to link Turkey to the EU, because its accession to the Community will guarantee long-term economic stability and democracy.

In any regional association appears the question of leadership. Having a large area, human resources, natural resources, support of the United States, the keys of power supply from Asia to Europe and control over the Mediterranean straits, Turkey may become an influential state in the EU and dominate over the south of Europe. In addition, Turkey, as a country close with the United States, will, to some extent, increase their influence in the region. Clearly, "old Europe" looks anxiously at this.

When we say that economic benefits are the main causes for European integration of Turkey, we're not mistaken. However, in recent years, some groups in the country are trying to use high parameters of political life in the EU. For example, minorities advocate Turkey's accession to the European Union, because developed system of human rights protection enable them to better defend their rights. Islamist groups and parties, including the ruling Justice and Development Party, will be able to achieve greater place of religion in public and political life, despite the fact that secularism remains strong pillar of Turkey. Official Ankara stresses that the accession to the European Union is important for the following reasons: it will allow joining the area of peace and prosperity in Europe. The future involvement in development of EU foreign policy strategy will not only strengthen the security of the Republic of Turkey, but also serve as evidence of importance of Turkey in Europe.

Thus, relations of Turkey and the European Union are a major component of Ankara's regional policy in Europe. Turkey's desire to ensure sustainable economic development and political stability faced with the demands of Brussels and fears of ordinary Europeans. Because of mental-subjective and objective factors Turkey remains a "stranger" for much of Europeans. It is necessary to overcome the barrier of negative stereotypes and fears, originating since the capture of Constantinople by Ottoman troops in 1453. Western European and Turkic (or in a broader sense Islamic) culture are different by civilizational measure.

Assumption as to whether EU requires a member state with a large population, ability to compete in agriculture and mobile workforce are grounded. The launch of the Mediterranean Union initiated by France is connected with a desire to restrain the progress of Turkey's European integration, as some forces are trying to portray it as an alternative to joining the EU by Turkey. This negative trend may block negotiations between Ankara and Brussels on integration. Instead, Turkey has sufficient potential in future to play a significant role in the EU and European regional subsystem.

The Army today is the guarantor of democracy and secularity of government in Turkey. Its position remains strong in society and government echelons. Since Turkey recognizes its vulnerability because its location not far from zones of instability (Middle East, Caucasus, Balkans), everything related to the state security is put at the first place in the foreign policy strategy. Several institutions operate in the framework of the European regional subsystem; cooperation with them may guarantee for Turkey safety and security

in a hostile environment. These are NATO and Common foreign and security policy.

Political and military cooperation with the United States predated Turkey's accession to the North Atlantic bloc. After World War II the Soviet Union took a course to strengthen its position in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. In the early 1950s this policy transformed into Armenian and Georgian SSR territorial claims to Turkey and statements about the desire to revise the regime of the Straits. In parallel, the US adopted the doctrine of "containment" of communism, to be exact of the Soviet attempts to extend its sphere of influence.

H. Truman's doctrine, called so after appeal of the US President to Congress on March 12, 1947, was a part of implementation of "containment" in life. In this doctrine the head of the United States pledged US support for all nations threatened by totalitarianism. On July 12, 1947 US-Turkish agreement was concluded, according to which Turkey received financial assistance, which has been used for military and security purposes. The purpose of the agreement was to support and guarantee Turkish territorial integrity to protect the freedom and independence and preserve economic stability. Turkey's military modernization was carried out using US military advisers and weapons revenues from the United States. Creation of militarily powerful Turkey's greatly facilitated its acceptance into NATO. Also in the doctrine of "containment" and according to US-Turkish agreement of July 4, 1948, the country was among recipients of economic aid by the Marshall Plan. This allowed the Republic of Turkey significantly strengthen its economic potential, develop industry, private business. Note that the US supported Turkey since it was an important outpost for keeping the Middle East and southern European defense lines against Soviet expansion.

Turkey joined the North Atlantic Treaty on February 18, 1952. Today NATO's policy principles set out in the "White Paper on defense" of the Turkish Republic. Turkey's membership in NATO is a cornerstone of its defense and security¹. Ankara recognizes that NATO is not an organization that only protects the territory of its members, and now "Alliance contributes to the security of the Euro-Atlantic region." Turkey recognizes and supports the adaptation process of NATO. Participation in peacekeeping and humanitarian missions outside NATO has been a part of the security policy of Turkey. Thus, the Turkish armed forces were involved in air operations in Kosovo and multinational peacekeeping force KFOR. Official Ankara believes that nothing can weaken the role of NATO or reduce its powers.

The last statement refers rather to ratio of powers between NATO and European Union in the field of security. Identity of Common Foreign and Security Policy has become one of dimensions for NATO's transformation within the Brussels Summit in 1994. The decision about ESDI was adopted in 1996 at the joint ministerial meeting of NATO and the Western European Union. On the other hand, EU member states prepared the initiative "European Security and Defense Policy" (ESDP) - one of the mechanisms to implement the Common Foreign and Security Policy. These decisions provoked a question about how a state outside the EU, including Turkey, will accept new powers of the Community. Thus, 1999 NATO Strategic Concept stipulates that ESDP initiative will be taken into account by the NATO and all European nations should be engaged in strengthening of the security and defense dimension of the EU on the basis of future agreements with NATO and WEU. When in 2003 the EU agreed to establish a separate military headquarters, NATO perceived it as the greatest threat to solidarity within the Alliance.

Unfortunately, Turkey and the EU disagree on participation in ESDP of those NATO members which are outside the EU. Turkey fears that it will remain outside the decision-making process, which may relate to its security. It is expected that the EU crisis response force will be placed in neighboring with Turkey regions, so official Ankara fears losing control over its Balkan geopolitical field. In a broader sense it comes to whether Turkey is considered as a part of Europe. Because of its concerns Turkey blocked access to assets and capabilities of NATO for EU countries. The problem of Turkish veto was finally removed in December 2002 in the Common Declaration of the NATO and the EU.

USA, in turn, is concerned about strained official relations between Brussels and Ankara in regard to European defense. That is the fault line which Washington considers dangerous for maintaining solidarity and unity among member countries. US insist that Turkey, along with other non-EU NATO members, should acquire a special status to participate in security initiatives of the Community. At the moment Turkey is not satisfied with the situation. If, for example, the EU carries out military operations adjacent to

¹ *Beyaz Kitap*. Genel Plan ve Prensipier Dairesi Başkanlığı.

<<http://www.msb.gov.tr/Birimler/GnPPD/GnPPDBeyazKitap.htm#WHITE%20PAPER>> (2015, September, 25).

Turkey but without utilization of NATO powers, Turkey will be able to join the operation only after official invitation of the EU. Then, if Turkey is invited in an operation involving NATO, it can only participate in making military decisions relating to the performance of a particular task, but not political or strategic side of the issue.

In fact, due to the events within the architecture of the European security, Turkey suffers from decreasing its security status. Turkish Republic belongs to the Balkan and Mediterranean subregions, Black Sea and Caspian and Middle East regions. Thus, Turkey is situated in strategically important area where interests of not only regional, but also extra-regional players are intersected. They have an opportunity to get Turkey's support in these systems, but any attempts to reduce the impact of official Ankara in its geopolitical field lead to destructive reactions of the latter. Mentioned veto of Turkey was used to amplify her voice in NATO's cooperation with the EU, but this negative behavior could not last long.

In addition, before the decision on the start of negotiations on Turkey's accession to the European Union, Ankara has decided once again not to aggravate relations with partners and demonstrate the ability to compromise. In exchange for Turkish concession at the European Council summit in Copenhagen it was agreed that member states which are not parties to the "Partnership for Peace", namely Cyprus and Malta, will not take part in operations using NATO assets. In the Declaration on ESDP on December 16, 2002 the European Union pledged broader involvement non-EU NATO members in its operations.

Because of the above problem obscure issues about the nature of the Common Foreign and Security Policy are in the center of Turkey's concerns. Ankara disagrees when ESDP firmly opposes itself with NATO. This may happen if the ESDP is perceived purely in the context of further institutionalization of the European Union, and its purpose will be solving its own security issues relating only to the EU member states.

An attempt to put to an end Turkey's fears to remain outside processes that determine the state of security in the region became documents adopted in 2001 in Ankara. The first section, which sets out the obligation to disuse ESDP against allies, was the most decisive for Turkey in the whole package. The section on the manner in which non-EU members, but allies within ESDP, may join the EU operations, involves the invitation of allies by the Council to participate in autonomous EU operations. Considerations of allies on their security will be considered. Moreover, if the EU operation will be planned in close proximity to non-EU member ally, its participation in the operation will be decided after consultations. In 2002 these documents were finally agreed by heads of states and governments of the EU and were called the Nice Implementation Agreement. Joint Declaration EU-NATO about the beginning of partnership between them, was released on December 16, 2002; it met the requirements of Ankara at most.

Thus, the Turkish Republic gives paramount importance to national and regional (European) security. To do this, it aims to use opportunities of various regional organizations. If during the Cold War, the North Atlantic bloc was the main tool for this, in the post-bipolar era the functions of maintaining regional security and stability are inherent to other structures. Official Ankara does not want to remain outside the process of decision making in European institutions where it is not a member state. This entails a conflict with the abovementioned organizations.

References

- Turtsija mezhdru Jevropoj i Asijej. Itogi jevropeizatsii na ishode XXI veka* (2001). Moskva: Institut vostokovedenija RAN.
- Larrabee, F. Stephen (2003). *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.
- The World Factbook. Turkey. <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tu.html>> (2015, October, 19).
- Beyaz Kitap. *Genel Plan ve Prensipler Dairesi Başkanlığı*. <<http://www.msb.gov.tr/Birimler/GnPPD/GnPPDBeyazKitap.htm#WHITE%20PAPER>> (2015, October, 17).