

Turkey in Europe: Changes and Challenges

Per Häggström

Conference Report
May 2006



*Central Asia- Caucasus Institute
Silk Road Studies Program*

Turkey in Europe: Changes and Challenges

Per Haggström

Report from the Conference organized by the Joint
Center's Turkey Initiative in cooperation with
the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Rosenbad, Stockholm, 5 May 2006



REGERINGSKANSLIET



*In cooperation with the Office of Policy Analysis
Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs*

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A Joint Transatlantic Research and Policy Center
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“Turkey in Europe: Changes and Challenges” is published by the Turkey Initiative at the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program in cooperation with the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and the Silk Road Studies Program are a joint transatlantic independent and privately funded research and policy center. The Joint Center has offices in Washington and Uppsala, and is affiliated with the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University and the Department of Eurasian Studies and Peace and Conflict Research of Uppsala University. It is the first Institution of its kind in Europe and North America, and is today firmly established as a leading focus of research and policy worldwide, serving a large and diverse community of analysts, scholars, policy-watchers, business leaders and journalists. The Joint Center aims to be at the forefront of research on issues of conflict, security and development in the region; and to function as a focal point for academic, policy, and public discussion of the region through its applied research, its publications, teaching, research cooperation, public lectures and seminars.

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ISBN: 91-85473-13-8
Printed in Sweden

Distributed in North America by:
The Central Asia-Caucasus Institute
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Distributed in Europe by:
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1. Introduction

Turkey has for half a century been a strong partner carrying a heavy burden in European security. Although its relationship with the European Union has been rocky in the past few decades, the country's recent reform efforts have accelerated its process of integration with the EU, and Turkey in 2004 began negotiations that brought it onto a track to eventual membership in the European Union.

The Silk Road Studies Program at Uppsala University, part of a Joint Center with the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute of Johns Hopkins University-SAIS, has from its creation had a mandate to conduct applied research on Turkey's politics, economy and society. The increasing interest for Turkey in Europe led the Program to launch a specific *Turkey Initiative* in 2006. The purpose of the *Turkey Initiative* is to develop – in cooperation with institutions of research and learning in Sweden and Turkey but also Europe and North America – a nexus on expertise on Turkey that will cater not only to the academic community but to society at large, including government institutions and parliament, the business community, NGOs, media, and the wider public.

In this founding period, the *Initiative* is grateful for the support it has received from both Swedish and Turkish actors; and especially proud to include several respected experts as senior advisors. Foremost among these is Ambassador Ann Dismorr, Sweden's Ambassador to Ankara in 2001-2005, who is an Ambassador-in-Residence with the Silk Road Studies Program during 2005-2006, and whose contribution was important in the planning of this conference and in chairing two panels. We are also thankful to Thomas

Gür, Zeyno Baran, and Kemal Kaya for agreeing to advise the *Initiative*.

The *Turkey Initiative* aspires to function as a 'switchboard of resources', bringing together and linking existing resources to itself and to one another through cooperation in research, teaching and outreach activities. Such cooperation implies first and foremost close cooperation with the expertise on Turkic languages and culture present at Uppsala University's Department of Linguistics and Philology; but also with the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul and the Section for Swedish-Turkish Cooperation at the Consulate General in Istanbul, as well as interaction and cooperation with other academic institutions, think tanks, government and business in Sweden and Turkey as well as other countries.

The *Initiative* takes pride in its focus on applied research that weds academic integrity and rigor with relevance to the needs of actors in society, including both governments and business. The activities of the *Turkey Initiative* fall chiefly under three headings: Research, Teaching, and Outreach. This conference, entitled 'Turkey in Europe: Changes and Challenges', constitutes the first significant outreach activity under the auspices of the *Initiative*. The conference sought to bring together leading Turkish experts on Turkey's security and its relations with Europe, in order to discuss Turkey's contribution to European security in a time of new and changing challenges.

We are grateful to the Policy Analysis Office at the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs for its gracious support, which made this conference possible. Aside from financially supporting the conference, I would also like to stress the very fruitful cooperation we have enjoyed with the staff of the department, who worked hard over the weeks preceding the conference to make it possible. In particular, our gratitude goes to the Office's Director, Ulla Gudmundson, and its Deputy

Director, Lena Sterté-Jacobsson, for their enthusiasm in making this conference a success.

In addition, I would like to express the center's gratitude to Gustavia Capital Asset Management Ltd. For their generous sponsorship of a conference dinner.

This conference report was written by Mr. Per Häggström, coordinator of the *Turkey Initiative* and of this conference. His efforts were crucial in making this conference a reality, as were those of Niklas Nilsson.

Svante Cornell
Director, Turkey Initiative
Research Director, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute &
Silk Road Studies Program

2. Opening Speakers

2.1 Prof. Dr. Anna Sågvall Hein

Dean, Faculty of Languages, Uppsala University

Dear Guests, Colleagues, and Friends!

It is my pleasure, on behalf of Uppsala University to welcome you all to this challenging conference on Turkey in Europe.

Uppsala University has a long history in Oriental studies including Turcology that goes back 400 years. Swedish political relations to the Turkic world have in all periods stimulated academic interest in the study of the languages, cultures, history, religion and social structure of the largest Turkic people, the Turks of Turkey.

The political ambitions of the Swedish monarchs to have a good relation to the Ottoman Empire often helped scholars working at Uppsala to pursue studies in the Turkic speaking world. Several dragomans who acted as guides and interpreters made significant contributions to our knowledge and understanding of Turkey. The rich collection of Oriental manuscripts at the university library is a witness of this deep scholarly interest. Parts of the collection were exhibited last year on the occasion of the 400 anniversary of the first chair in Oriental languages at Uppsala University.

The Swedish government's recent initiative to reinforce competence related to Turkey has been welcomed with especially great enthusiasm at Uppsala University. Our university has the national responsibility for research and education in Turkic languages. It offers a program in Oriental studies with a specialization in Turkish language combined with area-related studies in political science, economics or history of religions. A new initiative that was made possible by a grant from the Swedish Research Council is the establishment of a Turkish-Swedish language



Professor
Anna Sågvall Hein
Photo: Uppsala University

database to be used in teaching, research and experiments on machine translation and other language technology applications.

Uppsala University will serve as a center for studies on Turkey and the rest of the Turkic speaking world. In the pursuit of this aim we seek cooperation with Turkish universities. Since 2004 Turkey fully participates in the Socrates program, i.e. the European Community Program in the field of higher education.

This program promotes the exchange of teachers and students in the member countries. Our faculty has several bilateral agreements and plans to start joint master program with Turkish universities.

Let me finish by directing a special welcome to his Excellency Mr. Ambassador Necip Egüz, and our distinguished guests from Turkey who will make the conference a very special and rewarding occasion. I also want to thank the ministry of foreign affairs via its state secretary Annika Söder for funding the conference and making it possible.

2.2 Ms. Annika Söder

State Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs

First of all, I want to take this opportunity to thank all our participants for having taken of their valuable time to participate here today, not least those of you who have travelled from far away. We feel honoured by your presence. You are warmly welcome.

I would also like to express my appreciation to Uppsala University where Dr Cornell and his team have made an impressive effort, together with our own Policy Analysis Office, as well as the Department for EU Affairs, here at the Ministry, to arrange this event. I would also like to thank ambassador Egüz for joining us and taking part in this endeavor.

• Uppsala University will serve as a center for studies on Turkey and the rest of the Turkic speaking world.

I would like to cover three areas: why we are here today, the challenges ahead and the way forward. As Professor Sågvall said, the good relations between Turkey and Sweden date long back, and they have continued to develop very well over the last few years. Our ties are strong. Around 100.000 people with a background from Turkey live in Sweden today. More than 400.000 Swedes visit Turkey every year. Trade is growing. The number of official visits continues to increase. In just a few weeks time His Majesty the King of Sweden visits President Sezer in Turkey and the speaker of the Turkish parliament will come here in a few weeks time.

Our seminar today takes place within the framework of the Swedish Government's "Turkey Programme". This programme has been launched for the purpose of further increasing and deepening contacts between the Turkish and the Swedish societies. The "Turkey Programme" is primarily implemented by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida, and by the Section for Turkish-Swedish Cooperation at the Swedish Consulate General in Istanbul. Resources have been made available to support and encourage cooperation between Swedish and Turkish municipalities, government agencies, non-governmental organisations and of course the academia.

For our meeting today we have sought a broad perspective. We feel that Turkey's importance in terms of its regional and strategic roles with regard to an expanding Europe, as well as to the new security challenges we need to manage, is often overlooked. I am sure that our distinguished speakers here today will help us deepen our analysis and understanding of important aspects of Turkish politics and society.

Turkey has a critical location; geographically and geopolitically. Its policies, its stability as well as its



Ms. Annika Söder
Photo: Pawel Flato

development will continue to influence the region – and the EU – on the whole. The role that Turkey can play in, among other things, addressing illegal migration, the fight against terrorism, against trafficking of human beings and drugs, as well as other forms of organized crime, will affect us all. Its strategic importance, the security hub notion, is another important aspect.

Turkey's growing economy provides us with many goods and services. Turkey is also an important export market for many EU companies. Trade serves economic growth and development but it also serves contacts and peace, the basic EU concept. This strength was clearly underscored by the constructive role played by the Turkish Government when the so called *cartoon crisis* recently escalated.

I am really pleased to see how well our programme today addresses these and other issues. I hope that in the coming years, as we have done so far, we will continue to find time for events such as this one. The work we do, in our different fields and areas of responsibility as researchers, practitioners and policy-makers will continue to benefit from reflection and exchange of ideas.

I would like to give you in brief the Swedish Governments view on the challenges ahead since “Changes and challenges” is our overarching theme today. Over the last few years Turkey has undergone dramatic and positive changes. For decades Turkey's human rights record continued to throw a dark shadow over its EU ambitions. But then things began to move more systematically in the right direction.

The major shift may have begun at the occasion of the Helsinki European Council in 1999, when Turkey was granted status as a EU candidate country. But it is mainly during the last three years that reforms have really accelerated. Major amendments were made to the Constitution, the death penalty was

unconditionally abolished, and uncompromising legislation against torture was introduced. Women's rights have been substantially improved. I must underline that this is important for both Turkey's EU ambitions but it is also in accordance with the aspirations of many Turkish citizens.

It was this intensified process by the Turkish government that finally made it possible for the European Commission, in October 2004, to assess that Turkey "sufficiently" fulfilled the political Copenhagen criteria – not yet for becoming a member state – but for recommending the opening of negotiations. Let us not forget this important milestone in Turkey's EU process.

Because today, as we remember the optimism of that moment, we have also become increasingly aware of the challenges ahead. These challenges have become more apparent, on the one hand, *within the EU*, but on the other hand, *within Turkey* too.

The European Council's invitation to open negotiations with Turkey came at a time when – for other and different reasons – the Union was facing an internal crisis, in the wake of the rejections of the new Treaty by the Dutch and the French populations. Despite the promising progress of Turkey, as well as the earlier commitments made by the EU, enthusiasm for the continued process was fading in some member states. Against this background it was in fact a success to secure the start of the negotiations. I believe that in the years to come this is likely to be seen, more and more, as a watershed in the modern history of Turkey.

Having said this, there was also – let's face it – a growing sense in many places that Turkish legislation was one thing – good as it was – but that implementation was quite something else. Some even claim that the reform process has come to a standstill.

- *The challenges ahead have become more apparent, on the one hand, within the EU, but on the other hand, within Turkey too.*

The Turkish judiciary is still in the process of digesting and applying the wide range of new laws adopted over the last few years. The new Penal Code is of course of key importance in this context. Training of judges and prosecutors is ongoing.

It is evident that in order for Turkey to fulfil its determination to join the EU, there remains much to be done in terms of letting new laws and the spirit of reform permeate society as a whole. This seems to be particularly valid with regard to freedom of expression, freedom of religion, and minority rights.

We are also convinced that in order for Turkey to succeed, it will be necessary to address the social, economic and cultural issues of the Southeast. The Kurdish question needs to be addressed with a comprehensive approach. In this context we particularly welcome statements earlier made by Prime Minister Erdogan indicating his government's awareness and readiness to work further on this issue.

The separation between political and military power must continue in the promising direction we have seen during recent years. There should be no doubt that the latter is under the full control of the former. While terrorism must be fought, that struggle must also be undertaken, as in all other countries, with maintained and full respect for international law, for the rule of law, and for human rights.

So, how do we move forward? It is often said that the EU is going through a phase of "enlargement fatigue". I will not contest that. While one can question the basis for this scepticism it is true that in some Member States questions are raised about the Union's ability to welcome new members. The facts are that enlargement has served the Union, and Europe as a whole, very well. It has contributed to consolidate democracy in the new Member States, thereby providing political stability for old Member States. It has injected new dynamism and growth in the economy. It has served to

modernise agriculture, industry and infrastructure. It has brought about cleaner environment, and made the fight against organised crime more efficient, for the benefit of all of us.

Through its history the EU has also continued to enlarge and deepen its cooperation at the same time. There is thus no contradiction between letting enlargement proceed at the pace of progress of the candidate countries themselves, and the continued deepening of the Union as such. Sweden and others who continue to believe in the benefits of enlargement need to make further efforts to ensure a more balanced debate. By focusing too much on issues of absorption capacity we risk losing the visionary element of enlargement. The problems ahead should not be underestimated but it is clear that the benefits of continuing this historical process by far outweigh the disadvantages.

We should highlight the role that Turkey can play in the European Union; how its experiences and strengths, its growing economy, its role as a regional energy hub, its young population, its culture and diversity, can serve to support the EU in its internal challenges, as well in the role it wants to play on the international arena.

The EU's opening up for Turkey - it being a secular state but with a predominantly Muslim population - will also send a strong message to the world, including to the many millions of Muslims who already live in Member States, many of them as citizens of those countries. This message is that the Union is *not*, as some would claim, a "Christian Club" but a community based on universal values. This should serve, among other things, to increase the EU's credibility as a *local* and a *global* actor.

To promote further enlargement we will also continue to apply *strict conditionality*. This is in the interest of the integrity of the Union; to maintain its qualities and

• *The separation between political and military power must continue in the promising direction we have seen during recent years.*

international standing. But it is also for the benefit of *all* candidate countries, and *all* their citizens. No one should doubt the EU's determination to preserve its standards, which are in fact one of the reasons for the Union's power of attraction.

While the EU must honour the commitments it has made, it will rest on Turkey to demonstrate its continued determination to achieve what it has set out for itself. The negotiations are in fact largely about *adaptation* to the EU *acquis*.

In terms of meeting the political Copenhagen criteria, Turkey has made an impressive start over the last few years. The challenge now will be to take further steps, to make sure that the political criteria are indeed fulfilled not only sufficiently for negotiations but "fully", to actually meet the conditions for membership.

Sweden of course remains a strong supporter of this process. We look forward to continue to cooperate with Turkey towards the objective of a full membership, the day Turkey meets the conditions.

It may take several years. It may look difficult at times. That's another reason why events like ours here today are important - to help us put things in a perspective.

2.3 H.E. Mr Necip Egüz

Ambassador of the Turkish Republic to Sweden

Ladies and gentlemen, Turkey's adventure with the European Union started 1963. This voyage has at times been bumpy at best but has recently struck a new path on the road to European integration. The decision last year of commencing negotiations represents an important milestone on Turkey's road to the European Union. Full membership has been the ambition and stated goal of Turkey all along. Although slow and

even hindered at times Turkey's road towards democracy have always continued over these years.

As previously stated by Ms. State secretary Annika Söder, the speed of this process has accelerated in recent years. Fundamental changes in the Turkish Republics constitution have been made which has slowly started to change the mentality of the nation in a positive way.

Last month on April 12 the government announced the ninth reform package that will be up in parliament for voting by the end of spring. This package contains among other things a new judicial ombudsman and improved rights for minorities in Turkey.

We continue to put strong emphasis on the reform process in Turkey and it is our quest that this continues towards the long awaited membership. This focus on the negotiation process continues to change and challenge Turkey on our road to the European Union.

During the course of the last decades the union has overcome many challenges and the peoples of the union has always succeeded to handle its differences by means of negotiation and debate. Although hard at times, these debates continue to foster stronger ties and bring people of diverse background closer together.

A quick glance at the map of Turkey is all you need to appreciate the rough neighborhood we live in. Turkey has many historical connections to this region and it is not just our ambition but also our obligation to foster a more stable environment for our eastern neighbors. A Turkey that advances towards full membership of the European Union will help bring such stability to this troubled part of our world.

Ever since its creation the continuing enlargement process has been putting pressure on the European Union but it has also added a valuable piece to the stability of Europe. As this process continues I think it

is necessary that we are realistic about the road ahead. On this day we do not know neither what kind of European Union nor what kind of Turkey we will have ten years down the road. What we do know however is that the negotiations talks are propelling change and reform in Turkey, reform that are vital for us to realize our goal of European integration.

Having reforms on the paper does not however mean that they are fully grounded in every day society. Implementation takes time, patience, training, education and a new philosophy and angle by which to approach the future. Since a few years back this is happening. Slowly but steadily the winds of change are blowing through Turkey bringing with it new blood and new people hungry for the challenge of building the Turkey of tomorrow.

These changes in the political climate have created a national pulse that builds momentum for progress in Turkey. This momentum moves Turkey towards a mature democracy with focus on human rights, transparency, rule of law and gender equality in line with the values of the European Union. The support of the European countries is vital in strengthening and perpetuating this positive momentum. That is why events like these are so important. Here today we see eminent scholars, diplomats and columnists from both Turkey and Sweden building bridges in fruitful discussions. This initiative acts as an ideal arena for discussion on the changes and challenges of the future for Turkey and Europe. Exchanges like these are what the European Union is built and they continue to be of vital importance for the stability for Europe and its neighbors.

As we move forward together in the enlargement process, fruitful discussions like these will be the building blocks of the European Union of the future.

• This focus on the negotiation process continues to change and challenge Turkey on our road to the European Union.

3. Challenges and prospects in Turkish-European Relations

The Turkish Republic forms both a potential bridge and barrier between the European Union and strategically important states and regions in the border areas of Europe. Though a NATO-member since 1952, Turkey's road to the European Union has been an outdrawn and problematic process. Internal problems with minorities, human rights issues, and the role of the military in political life have all affected the integration process negatively. With EU-membership firmly on the agenda for the present government, these issues are being firmly addressed with a marked positive effect over the last few years. The beginning of membership negotiations last year therefore marks a turning point in the Turkish Republics dynamic political history. The conference introductory panel, chaired by Dr. Svante E. Cornell, discussed the challenges and prospects of the European integration process for the years ahead.

3.1 Overcoming Historical Myths

Mr. Yavuz Baydar, columnist from Turkey's Sabah newspaper, opened the panel by focusing on the challenge of overcoming historical myths surrounding Turkey on its road to European integration. According to Mr. Baydar, 'Turkey' clings in negative terms in many European countries as a result of what he termed as "mental blocks" both in Turkey and in Europe on a whole. These myths depicting Turkey in a negative way can be found in many European languages and Mr. Baydar points to how the term Turk is defined in most of the popular



From left: Mr. Baydar, Prof. Ergil, Dr. Cornell, Mr. Gür and Amb. Dismorr

dictionaries. Webster's dictionary defines Turk as: "one who is cruel and tyrannical"; Oxford dictionary continues with defining a Turk as: "a ferocious, wild or unmanageable person"; and finally Random House dictionary defines it as: "a cruel, brutal, or domineering man".

According to Mr. Baydar these definitions help to advance and strengthen the image of turkey as a threat to the Christian identity on which Western Europe is built. This image of course predates the Turkish republic founded in 1923. Already Martin Luther defined turks as a menace which he compared to deceases like the plague or natural disasters like floods. The French philosopher Voltaire talked of Turks as the tyrants of women and the enemies of arts.

Mr. Baydar claimed that these images and myths has been so deeply rooted in the European culture that it severely effects the westernization of Turkey today. Mr. Baydar pointed to the case of the Armenian tragedy as an example of this by stating that: "it is clear that the Armenian tragedy haunts Turkey and darkens its justified western aspirations. Make or break with the myths has a very thorny passage in this question".

Mr. Baydar then went on to discuss how these myths have changed over the years from being myths based on the religious element of culture to the political element of culture. Whatever form these myths take the delay the progress for Turkey towards the European Union. According to Mr. Baydar support for Turkish membership in the European Union is sliding in both Turkey and Europe as a result of these myths. In Turkey this gives rise to the discussion on the Sevres-syndrome where, according to Mr. Baydar, the Turks asks themselves: "what is the intent of the West, what is their agenda?"

Overcoming these myths should be at the top of the agenda both for Turkey and Europe according to Mr.

• It is clear that the Armenian tragedy haunts Turkey and darkens its justified western aspirations.

Baydar because it is “only through the enlightened public opinion in Turkey and Europe that we can expect a realistic and less problematic adventure into membership, fears an prejudice must be fought with. All success depends on how well we fight against these myths.”

3.2 Turkey and the EU: The Context of Developing Relations

Professor Doğu Ergil from Ankara University continued the first panel by speaking about the context of developing relations between Turkey and the EU. Professor Ergil started by picking up where Mr. Baydar left off and emphasized the importance of battling the myths and prejudice that inhibits progress. Professor Ergil likened prejudice and myths to “blocks of stone that the minds jumps onto the other side of the river of ignorance in the absence of a bridge of reliable information.” He insisted that this process is vital because the human soul and mind needs to dwell on these prejudices and myths in order to develop the lines of communication and interaction between us. “Through these interactions the stranger in our cognitive world can become a cognitive neighbor”, according to Professor Ergil.

He then proceeded to focus on the subject of the future identity of the European Union by asking whether the EU will choose to become “a collection of nations states, as hinted by France and Holland that declined to endorse the European constitution, or a post-colonial state that can be labeled as *New Europe*, open and global?” Professor Ergil continued by speaking about the EU as trying to define itself as a space of economy and democracy rather than on security terms, although some states were less inclined to loose sovereignty over key issues of national security and foreign policy. This insistence feeds “into the persistence of the nation states as noted in the Iraq war”.

• *Through interactions the stranger in our cognitive world can become a cognitive neighbor*

This persistence poses a serious challenge to the EU and the concept of the New Europe, according to Professor Ergil. “The EU and its enlargement can no longer ignore the need for security and geo-political concerns as much as democracy at a time when both are challenged by two illiberal axis. The first one in the Middle East: Iran, the new Iraq, Syria and their smaller allies like Hamas, Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad. The second one in Asia with China, Russia and other minor despotic regimes. This challenges the future of, not only Turkey and Europe, but of the world as a whole.”

Professor Ergil then went on to discuss the role of Turkey in this changing world. He argued that Turkey's place in the New Europe, apart from its democratization and economic stability, depends on the decisions that the New Europe will make about its own power or ability and role in the post 9/11 world.

“The fundamental question concerning the nature of European identity and the very meaning of Europe itself is Turkey's inclusion into the future identity of Europe. Will Europeanization be an inward oriented process based on cultural essentialism and particularism, or a broader multi cultural project in which we will all take part?”

According to Professor Ergil the inward oriented EU has only limited prospects of playing the role of a genuine global actor that can promote democracy and prosperity through a multilateral agenda. The EU's ability to accommodate Turkey rests on the member states vision of a inward or multilateral Europe

The issue of Turkish membership to the EU is a question of whether the EU will be based on civilization or culture. Professor Ergil defines civilization as a universal concept, inviting and expansionist that anyone can and should join. Culture on the other hand is more local and, contrary to civilization, more exclusive and uninviting. If Turkey

• *The fundamental question concerning the nature of European identity and the very meaning of Europe itself is Turkey's inclusion into the future identity of Europe*

where to be barred from EU the concept of civilization will be rejected and all that the future Europe will be left with will be culture.

“Future progress in Turkey-EU-relations depends heavily on the ability of key actors to come to terms with the principles of multi dimensionality and multi culturalism as an inclusive civilization process. “If Europe holds on to the identity of Old Europe, particularistic and exclusionist, it will lose its power and never achieve its goal of being a global actor”, Professor Ergil concluded.

3.3 Turkey’s Internal Challenges: Minorities and Human Rights

Ambassador Ann Dismorr continued where Professor Ergil left off by speaking on the internal challenges of Turkey, and specifically issues pertaining to minorities and human rights. Ambassador Dismorr spoke about her first time meeting Turkey’s Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in November 2002. Back then the issue of the Kurdish minorities’ rights was still highly sensitive if not taboo, she recollected. Today, some three and a half years later, considerable changes for the better have been made although many challenges remain.

Ambassador Dismorr spoke of these changes and pointed to the abolition of the death penalty as the first major change soon to be followed by political reform aimed at improving Turkey’s record when it comes to issues of torture, freedom of expression and the Kurdish question. According to Ambassador Dismorr, the Kurdish issue still remains a problem that challenges Turkey today. The recent renewal of violence in the southeastern part of Turkey is a clear indication of this. Despite the improvements over the recent years considerable challenges to developing, stabilizing and expanding political, cultural, economic and social rights still remain. Ambassador Dismorr pointed to the fact that a clear divergence exists among

Kurds in Turkey when it comes to the definition of Kurds as a minority. Some Kurds prefer to be equal citizens of Turkey and that being labeled a minority has negative connotations. This group no longer yearns for independence but sees integration rather than separatism as the preferred option. Others believe that the only way to achieve their rights is in an internationally recognized way. According to Ambassador Dismorr it is clear that there at the moment exists no real unifying voice who speaks for all the Kurds.

Another internal challenge for Turkey today is the issue of women's rights that, according to Ambassador Dismorr, strikingly has increased in the last 2-3 years. Former Prime Minister Yilmaz once said, "Turkey's road to the European Union goes through Diyarbakir" and the same, Ambassador Dismorr pointed to, can be said about women's rights. She exemplified the improvements in women's rights with the implementation of the new penal code that has brought important improvements and in which process the Turkish civil society played an impressive and crucial role. The Turkish government's efforts of combating human trafficking is a success story that deserves attention. However, major areas such as the issue of domestic violence, so-called honor crimes, high illiteracy rates, low levels of participation in politics and children's rights all need more attention in Turkey.

Summing up the challenges for Turkey in the years ahead, Ambassador Dismorr spoke on the need to vigorously defend human rights and fend off aggressive nationalism and that this requires the constant and demonstrated commitment of both individuals and the state. Threats to meeting these challenges are found in poverty, alienation, hopelessness and the socio-economic situation in the southeastern part of the country. These threats are best combated by enforcing implementation of the reforms so that they do not only

• If Turkey succeeds in the field of democracy and human rights it could become a beacon of light in the region.

stay on paper, changing the mentality surrounding the culture of impunity, strengthening the civil society's role in the policy formulation process and by increasing the human rights education of the broader public.

In conclusion, Ambassador Dismorr pointed to the prospects of creating a firm foundation for democracy and human rights to ensure that the reform process is irreversible. So far the EU enlargement has been successful in creating stability and prosperity and there is an obvious linkage between progress in the sphere of political stability and the economic growth during past three years. In the long term this can ensure irreversible development not only for Turkey but for its neighbors too. Ambassador Dismorr then quoted the leading Arabic journalist Rami Khouri who said that: "I wish that Turks and Arabs had more regular encounters so that the modern Turkish experience could rub off on us and inspire us."

If Turkey succeeds in the field of democracy and human rights Turkey could become a beacon of light in the region. As an example of religious freedom and tolerance achieved. Ambassador Dismorr ended by quoting Eleanor Roosevelt who famously stated that: "Promoting respect for human rights is a fulfilling- but never fulfilled - obligation".

3.4 Dealing With Europe: Changing Approaches in the Turkish Political Scene

Mr. Thomas Gür ended the first panel by speaking of the changing approaches in the Turkish political scene in dealing with Europe. Mr. Gür started by speaking of Turkey and Europe as "the coalition of the unwilling" due to the expansion-fatigue that is apparent since the negative responses in the EU constitution referendums in France and the Netherlands.

Since October last year there has also been an evident and predicted reorientation of Turkey's political scene towards the domestic. According to Mr. Gür this is explained by the upcoming presidential election and the need for the AKP to secure good results in that and the predicted parliamentary elections that will follow. Because of this reorientation Mr. Gür predicted that 2006 would be a lost year in the relationship between EU and Turkey.

Mr. Gür went on to talk about the sentiments that are affecting the Turkish domestic political scene. At present there is a strong current of anti-Americanism that has been growing since the Iraq-intervention in 2003. Since then issues of security have become central again in the Turkish debate with a parallel rise in nationalism among both Turks and Kurds. According to Mr. Gür this has resulted in nationalism becoming a political supra-ideology in Turkey, one which all political actors have to orient themselves in relation to and have an opinion of. "The paradox of the U.S. strive to bring democracy to the Middle East is that by intervening in Iraq, the U.S. have strengthened the military aspects of Turkish politics."

Despite this Turkey's relations with the EU is not lost. Mr. Gür pointed to the Turkish concept of Europe as central to the understanding of the developments of Turkish-EU-relations. There exists today two different images of Europe in Turkey, Europe as: "Müasır medeniyet düzeyi" – the contemporary level of civilization, or Europe as "Emperyalist Avrupa" – imperialist Europe as a civilization in decline. According to Mr. Gür "the Turkish political scene flexes between these two images depending on the domestic political goals of the political actors". The fears of Emperyalist Avrupa can be exemplified by an old quote by the Ottoman emperor Sultan Abdülhamid who in his memoirs wrote of the expansionist Europe pre World War I. "The reform demands of the great powers never end" ...They wish to create first "the

• *The paradox of the U.S. strive to bring democracy to the Middle East is that by intervening in Iraq, the U.S. have strengthened the military aspects of Turkish politics.*

impression in our public opinion that all reforms are done because of their recommendations and pressures, and thereby put us down in the eyes of our own nation; and second to enhance the position of the Christians in our country, and to make them come forward with even more excessive demands from us.”

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the treaty of Sevres and the creation of the Turkish state this image of Emperyalist Avrupa created a Hobbesian Leviathan state that changed the concept of freedom in the Turkish society. A national survey conducted by OSIAF-Bogazici in 2003 points to the fact that the Turkish images of the EU of today is similar to the images of the Europe of a hundred years ago. According to the survey 54 percent of Turks agree with the statement that “Europeans have always tried to divide Turkey”, 46 percent agree to the fact that a “crusader’s spirit shapes European policies v. Turkey”.

Because of this Mr. Gür pointed to the need for major changes in the Turkey-EU-relations and he concluded by speaking on the future challenges by stating that: “whether 2007 also will be a lost year, as 2006, or not is written in the stars but Turkey has to wake up considering its paranoia on Europe and Europe has to understand both that anti-Turkish-ness is a historical past and also understand its own success.”

4. Turkey's Role in An Expanding Europe

At a time when Turkey is moving closer to the European Union, Europe itself is changing and moving Eastward and Southward – not only in terms of the EU but of the larger concept of Europe and through other organizations of Euro-Atlantic cooperation such as NATO and the Council of Europe. Both the EU and NATO are enlarging to the western shores of the Black Sea, and the states of the South Caucasus and Ukraine are on an increasingly firm course toward Euro-Atlantic integration. These processes are shifting Europe's center of gravity toward the Southeast, making the Black Sea region, in which Turkey is a central actor, a new hub in European Security.

The second panel of the conference was chaired by Ambassador Dismorr, and discussed Turkey's changing role in European Security from the following three perspectives.

4.1 Turkey's Role in an Expanding EU

Ambassador Sven-Olof Petersson, Head of the Permanent Representation of Sweden to the European Union, introduced the panel by speaking on Turkey's role in an expanding Europe. Ambassador Petersson spoke on Turkey's European integration process and stated that the recent progress was the “result of determined efforts from Turkey to come closer to the EU, and also the consequences of Turkey's own efforts to reform in order to become more open, more prosperous and more democratic”.



From left: Prof. Aydin, Prof Bagci and Amb. Petersson

Ambassador Petersson spoke further on the positive effects of European Union enlargement. “For over three decades, through five enlargements, the Union

has actively contributed to anchor democracies that were coming out of dictatorships. This was the case for Greece, Spain and Portugal. In the 1990s with the collapse of communism, the enlargement of the EU sealed the peaceful reunification between Western and Eastern Europe.”

The enlargement process is however at the moment criticized. In Ambassador Petersson’s opinion, this is due to the perceived threats to national identity, cultures and the economic and social consequences of enlargement. Ambassador Petersson asked the question of “why it is that that such an historic process seems to lose some of its support in the EU public opinion?” Mr. Ambassador Petersson explained that there are two important aspects of enlargement that needs to be addressed: “First, the perceived impact of globalization in certain member states has contributed to blur the advantages of the European project. The Polish plumber and re-localization have become the symbol of globalization and instead of seeing EU as the only means at our disposal to handle negative effects of globalization, EU is perceived as an engine of globalization and rapid – too rapid – change. Second, there is incapacity among some of the old member states, especially some of the larger ones, to adapt to the challenges of a new world. Third we have the no-votes in the referendums on the Constitutional Treaty in 2005. These no-votes stand as symbols of the internal difficulties in many of the member states.

According to Ambassador Petersson the fear of globalization together with the incapacity for reform gives rise to protectionism, of which he sees the enlargement fear as a sub part of. Overcoming these fears is of strong importance to the EU and sticking to its commitments towards among others Turkey is according to Ambassador Petersson vital to the union. Enlargement under conditionality is the best way to develop the EU and so far it has “inspired bold and

significant reforms in Turkey”, said Ambassador Petersson.

Ambassador Petersson also spoke on the importance of rejecting the dangerous idea of defining the borders of the EU. “Almost everyone understands the negative consequences such an endeavor might have in countries which would find themselves on *the wrong side of the border*; negative consequences that might well spill over to the EU.” Ambassador Petersson spoke the necessity of commencing the negotiations with Turkey last year as the EU “needs a stable democratic and prosperous Turkey on our southern border”. In this process he spoke further on the importance of “understanding that the negotiations are not about *whether or to what extent* Turkey will adopt the EU legislation. It is only and exclusively about *how and when* this will happen.” Becoming an EU member state implies, according to Ambassador Petersson, “the transfer of sovereignty. It means accepting the EU approach, with a permanent search for compromise in a common European interest”.

He spoke further on the need to keep up the momentum in the reform process building further on the achievements in fields such as freedom of expression, cultural and women’s rights, domestic violence, so called honor crimes and the difficulties of non-Muslim religious communities.

Ambassador Petersson defended the strong approach by the EU to push through reforms such as these by stating that “some people think that EU has a patronizing approach in pushing for the accession criteria so strongly. In today’s world of complete interdependence I think that we all, from time to time, need a guardian to keep us on the narrow road”.

Ambassador Petersson concluded his speech by envisioning what kind of EU Turkey will be joining in 2014. According to Ambassador Petersson, the EU of 2014 will be characterized as a ‘neo-medieval empire’

- *The negotiations are not about whether or to what extent Turkey will adopt the EU legislation. It is only and exclusively about how and when this will happen.*

where the enlargement process will increase the various forms of divergence. “The Union will not resemble a model of clear-cut concentric circles constituted by first and second class members, and the European Neighborhood Policy will gradually dilute the gap between full membership and EU external relations.” Regarding the Turkey of 2014, Ambassador Petersson envisioned that “a danger would arise if the union were to accept Turkey as a full member on laxer conditions than those specified by the accession process. The only possibility for Turkey, according to my view, is for it to develop into a civic nation in which religious, regional, linguistic, cultural and ethnic diversity is fostered and respected. If this is the situation I think that accession will prove beneficial to all parties and Turkey’s membership would offer a clear potential to enhance the credibility of EU’s policies towards the Middle East, the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Mediterranean region.”

4.2 The Transatlantic Link and Turkey’s Global Role

Professor Hüseyin Bağcı continued the panel by addressing the issue of Turkey’s global role and the transatlantic link with the United States. Professor Bağcı pointed to the shallowness of the European Union and criticized the lack of understanding that the EU showed towards the specific nature of Turkey. According to Professor Bağcı, “everything in EU is based on the word *common*, common foreign and security policy, common immigration policy, common energy policy. But if you take away the *common*, what do you have?”

According to Professor Bağcı, there are fundamental differences between the EU and the U.S. in their view of Turkey. “The EU opinion is that Turkey should work to become a secure *and* democratic state at the same time. The U.S. opinion on the other hand is that this is not possible but that Turkey should first strive

to become a secure state *then* democracy can follow suit.” This opinion creates a fundamental difference in these two major actors’ approach to Turkey and are by definition contrary to each other.

This has created and is creating a need for Turkey to balance these two differing approaches in order to manage its security. The EU is needed for the development of the Turkish economy but does not understand nor appreciates the “360 degree foreign and security policy” that Turkey must adhere to. “Having Norway, Great Britain and France as your neighbours are far less problematic than Iran, Iraq, Syria and Russia.” The U.S. on the other hand understands these security concerns of Turkey, and Turkey trusts the U.S. more when it comes to security, but is not a major trade partner and therefore the balance between them is critical for Turkey.

Professor Bağcı then raised the question of why the EU started negotiations with Turkey and what Turkey has gained from this. He argued that the decision to start negotiations rested on several key factors. First, the U.S. put pressure on the EU to start negotiations with Turkey in order to improve relations after the Iraq issue. Second, the EU wanted to send a message to the Islamic world, Russia and the U.S.. To the Islamic world, the message was that Europe is not averse to opening its doors to a large Muslim country and that democratization pays off. To Russia, that the EU’s enlargement is continuing; and the the United States that Europe is a coherent actor that is behaving responsibly as regards Turkey. Turkey on the other hand gained the prospect for economic stability and the potential to act with the global actors but as a soft power showing the Islamic world that Islamic countries can actually be democratic.

4.3 Revisiting Turkey’s Eastern Vocation

Professor Mustafa Aydın ended the final panel by focusing on the debate on Turkey revisiting its eastern

• *Everything in EU is based on the word common, common foreign and security policy, common immigration policy, common energy policy. But if you take away the common, what do you have?*

vocation, that is its relations with the Middle East and the Islamic world. According to Prof. Aydın, the Turkish republic has always been leaning towards a western vocation rather than an eastern one, from its foundations.

Notwithstanding, the eastern vocation is one of serious concern to Turkey today. “Turkey is sandwiched between east, north and south in many ways: economically, politically, psychologically and culturally.” Russia in the north, Iran in the east and the Middle East in the south create dynamics that Turkey has to relate to in its foreign and security policy.

Professor Aydın pointed to the fact that in Turkey there is a confusion between the concepts of modernization, Europeanization and westernization and that this creates further dynamics that sandwiches Turkey between the east and the west in a debate on who the Turks really are.

According to Professor Aydın, there has since the end of the cold war been a shift in mentality in Turkish politics. The old dogma of not meddling with the political affairs of the Arab world has changed, which has opened up new possibilities for Turkey to engage in the politics of this geographical area. According to Professor Aydın, this change in politics is not merely the result of the end of the cold war. “The Cuba crisis and the following removal of missiles from Turkey led to a change in attitudes towards the U.S. that questioned and ultimately brought on a change in Turkey’s loyalties towards the West.”

Other signs of Turkey’s reorientation after the end of the cold war includes its contribution to creating organizations such as the Black Sea Cooperation Organization, which put Turkey in contact with new actors in the region that had prior to 1991 been unavailable. “World politics, of among others energy, today sandwiches Turkey ones again between the

• *Turkey is sandwiched between east, north and south in many ways: economically, politically, psychologically and culturally.*

Mediterranean and the Black Sea and consequently the powerful actors in the wider region.”

Professor Aydın then spoke on the EU’s role in this eastern vocation. The approach of the EU, he believed, lacks the necessary tools to really achieve what it has set out to do. “The common perception that EU from a distance can transform the neighborhood, which now is Turkey’s eastern vocation, is wrong. While Europe is emphasizing the power of its ‘soft power’, and decrying the American use of military power, “the world is sometimes a dirty place and you may have to dirty your hands”. Yet Europe is not prepared for this. The geographical, political, and cultural landscape of Turkey is well suited to carry this burden of building bridges so that the EU can achieve what it has set out to do.

5. Managing New Security Challenges

The recent years' dramatic increase in the spread and exchange of information, people and ideas have since the end of the cold war shifted attention from the state perspective in security discourse to the transnational and individual. As a result, Europe today faces a new set of security challenges transnational in nature: human trafficking, drugs and arms smuggling, organized crime and international terrorism. The third and final panel chaired by Ambassador Ann Dismorr focused on the difficult balance between the need to address these new security challenges while maintaining democratic leadership and the focus on civil liberties.

5.1 Balancing Security and Rights

Dr. Necati Polat from the Middle East Technical University introduced the panel with a discussion on balancing security and rights. According to Dr. Polat, the debate on balancing security and rights became popularized after the events of September 11,

2001. Dr. Polat opposed the fact that “habitually a contrast is drawn between security and basic rights. I believe that without basic rights it is very hard to achieve security. And we are talking about basic rights, because from a securitizing perspective on human rights, the most explosive rights are the basic rights such as free speech, freedom of association, right to a fair trial etc.”

Dr. Polat spoke further on the notion of security as the reason of state, that security of the state is the



From left: Amb. Dismorr, Prof. Icduygu, Dr. Polat and Dr. Cornell

overriding concern of the state and that it comes before law and morality. In Turkey the debate proceeding 9/11 had mainly focused on the politics of identity, generally known as republicanism, which is espoused mainly by the military and the civilian bureaucracy in Turkey. According to Dr. Polat “this particular brand of politics of identity occupies the centre in domestic politics.” This centre stands in contradiction to the periphery politics of rights where democratization as promised in the process of integration with Europe threatens the established order, signaling a re-shuffling of the relationships between the centre and the periphery. According to Dr. Polat this means that “The concerns of the elite in the centre are concerns about vacating the centre to the forces from the periphery, or sharing power. Yet they tend to *market* these concerns as those of security, namely the security of the country.”

The evident paradox however of this political maneuvering is according to Dr. Polat that “it was this particular identity politics, part and parcel of the *cultural revolution* of the early republican Turkey, to which we owe Turkey's European adventure: Turkey did not apply to the EEC in 1959 for either economic nor security reasons, but as a dictate of this politics of identity, which would only shy away from the European project in the early 1990s when it became increasingly clear that Europeanization also meant democratization.”

Dr. Polat ended with pointing to the fact that there also exist paradoxes in the debate on human rights in Turkey. According to him, the discourse of identity politics pursued by Kurdish nationalism and Islamism in the periphery, are also marked by paradoxes not dissimilar to those of republicanism. “Kurdish nationalism is hardly separable from terrorism which is nothing to do with rights and which is ruled by its own logic. And Islamism is mostly about monopolizing Islam, a facet of the larger identity of

• *The concerns of the elite in the centre are concerns about vacating the centre to the forces from the periphery, or sharing power. Yet they tend to market these concerns as those of security, namely the security of the country*

most Turks, who feel de-secured and in turn resent Islamism.”

5.2 The Black Sea Hub, Energy Security, and Turkey's Role

Dr. Svante E. Cornell, the Joint Center's Research Director, continued by speaking on the subject of Turkey's role in the Black Sea region and specifically on issues relating to energy security. He noted that Turkey holds an important role for the EU in non-traditional security issues. This includes terrorism, organized crime, disease, and migration issues, but increasingly the subject of energy is acquiring a leading position among these. In this context, the Black Sea area is being conceptualized as a region crucial for Europe's security.

Because of the expansion of the EU and NATO, as well as the pro-western governments coming to power through 'colored' revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine, he argued, the Black Sea region is becoming increasingly a unit of positive contact and integration and a security hub. In particular, the EU expansion to the Black Sea through the membership of Romania and Bulgaria, and Georgia and Ukraine emphasizing the Black Sea component of their foreign policy, this is taking place. Turkey, he added, is the dominant power in the Black Sea area in military as well as economic terms, and is therefore crucial to stabilize the region.

In terms of energy, Dr. Cornell mentioned the global trends of rising oil prices and Europe's dependence on Middle Eastern oil and Russian gas., at a time when Russia is increasingly unashamedly using the energy card as leverage, and the Middle East remains unstable due to problems in Iraq and the Iran controversy. This makes the Caspian region's oil and gas resources an important alternative to European security and diversity of supply. With the building of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan and the South Caucasus gas pipelines, moreover, Dr. Cornell emphasized that the western

coast of the Caspian sea is now connected to European energy infrastructure. This makes the prospect of exporting eastern Caspian resources – Kazakh and Turkmen oil and gas – to Europe a realistic possibility, whereas only several years ago it was an utopia.

In this context, Dr. Cornell stated that Turkey plays an increasingly crucial role as a stabilizing force in the Black Sea region and a transit corridor for Caspian energy resources to Europe, something that will further develop Turkey's own energy security. In this connection, however, Dr. Cornell raised the prospect of a major problem, namely Russian attempts to acquire the Turkish market through a variety of methods, some of which are questionable at best. Dr. Cornell mentioned the alleged corruption scandals involved in the building of the Blue Stream pipeline connecting Turkey and Russia, which increased Turkey's dependence on Russian gas supplies. Concomitantly, Dr. Cornell noted how Gazprom's role in Turkey preceded Gazprom's use of questionable tactics in Europe, for example its relationship with former German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, now on Gazprom's payroll, and the reports from high Azerbaijani officials that Gazprom representatives had urged them to 'forget about the Turkish market – it is ours'. Dr. Cornell ended by emphasizing the European interest in working closely with Turkey on energy issues and the east-west transportation corridor.

• *This makes the Caspian region's oil and gas resources an important alternative to European security and diversity of supply.*

5.3 Migration, Human Smuggling and Trafficking

Professor Ahmet İçduygu from Koç University ended the final panel by speaking on the subject of migration, human smuggling and trafficking. Professor İçduygu spoke of the central role of Turkey as a migration country in its relations to the EU. "Turkey is the number one source of migrants and asylum seekers to the EU with more than 750,000 migrants coming to the EU since 1980". This has resulted in large Turkish

communities in many of the EU member states such as France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, among other. At present the flow of migrants from Turkey to Europe is around 75,000 yearly and increasing. According to Professor İçduygu, the EU accession process could reduce this migration flow by positively affecting the economic and social climate in Turkey. On the other hand, Professor İçduygu stated, “without free movement of labor, migration will increase due to the economic climate in Turkey”.

Professor İçduygu then talked about Turkey as an immigration/transition country. “Since the oil crisis of the mid 1970s Turkey, like other Mediterranean countries, has turned into an immigration country.” This immigration is often politically motivated but also economically with people from Iran, Iraq and various African countries immigrating to Turkey on their way to North America and even Australia. “An estimated 500,000 Iranians have migrated through Turkey but only 20,000 have stayed.”

Turkey has also seen an increase in irregular immigration from the former communist states in Eastern Europe since the end of the cold war. In difference to the transitional nature of the previous groups of migrants the Eastern Europeans come to Turkey mainly as irregular labor. “In Turkey they work in various fields such as domestic help, agriculture, construction and the sex and entertainment industry.”

The central question in both transit and immigration is, according to Professor İçduygu, how these immigrants arrive in Turkey. Is it through regular or irregular channels? This question raises the importance of burden sharing or burden shifting between the transit country and the final destination. “Irregular migration demands transnational burden sharing” and according to Professor İçduygu, this is what the

• *Without free movement of labor, migration will increase due to the economic climate in Turkey.*

relations between Turkey and the EU should be focusing on.

Professor İçduygu ended his speech by focusing on the issue of smuggling and talked about the different types of smuggling relevant to Turkey. On the one hand there is human trafficking and smuggling of arms and drugs. In recent years Turkey has launched several initiatives in order to curb this flow of illegal goods through Turkey and this is also an area where the transnational nature of international cooperation is needed. On the other hand there is also a growing part of the smuggling focusing on traditional consumer goods. Since the war in Iraq the border between Iraq and Turkey has been heavily guarded but it hasn't stopped the flow of goods from Iran to Turkey. "Smuggling is a very well established economy in the region. Not only guns and drugs but goods that are cheap in Teheran and expensive in Van."

6. Conclusions

This conference discussed Turkey's relations with Europe and its importance for European security. A recurrent theme was the disconnect that still remains between Western European countries and Turkey, resulting from historical myths, suspicion, and to some extent distrust. Forces both in Turkey and present EU members are exploiting these currents, something Thomas Gür called the 'axis of the unwilling'. A most salient feature is the resurging Turkish nationalism, which is exploiting the increasingly liberal political climate in Turkey. The risk of a backlash against the EU in Turkey is clear and present, and already visible in falling support in public opinion for EU membership.

This conference did not discuss internal Turkish politics at length. Yet numerous issues there merit attention, specifically the role of the ruling Justice and Development Party, its increasing problematic relationship with both the military and the U.S.

government – and indeed the growing discussion regarding its very nature and the extent of its commitment to secularism and the ideals of the Turkish republic. Yet the conference’s subject was not Turkish politics, but Turkey in Europe. A recurrent theme was that Europe and the EU are changing, and that so is Turkey. Challenges are mounting within the EU; challenges are mounting in Turkish-EU relations, and both the EU, Turkey, and the Turkish-EU relationship is challenged by third parties – whether by the role and policies of the United States, Russia’s influence in Turkey and some EU members, or by the ‘illiberal axes’, in the words of Dogu Ergil. Especially given these multiple challenges, it is instructive to view the changing role of Turkey in a changing European security architecture. Facing new challenges and threats, and with a center of gravity moving to the Southeast with the future membership of Romania and Bulgaria, the EU sees itself increasingly compelled to focus on security issues in the wider Black Sea region, and not least the problems of terrorism, illegal migration, organized crime, and energy security. It is precisely in these areas that a strong pillar of mutual interests between Turkey and the EU can be built, because of the obvious crucial and stabilizing role that Turkey plays in this the European Union’s southeastern flank.

Program:

- 0830 Welcoming Remarks**
Prof. Dr. Anna Sagvall Hein
 Dean, Faculty of Languages, Uppsala University
- 0900 Opening Speakers**
Ms. Annika Soder
 State Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
- H.E. Mr. Necip Eguz**
 Ambassador of the Turkish Republic to Sweden
- 1000 Coffee**
- 1030 Panel 1: Challenges and Prospects in Turkish-European Relations**
- Panel Chair: Dr. Svante E. Cornell**
 Research Director, Silk Road Studies Program
- Overcoming Historical Myths**
 Mr. Yavuz Baydar, *Sabah* Newspaper
- Turkey and the EU: The Context of Developing Relations**
 Prof. Dr. DoĒu Ergil, Ankara University
- Turkey's Internal Challenges: Minorities and Human Rights**
 Amb. Ann Dismorr, Uppsala University
- Dealing with Europe: Changing Approaches in the Turkish Political Scene**
 Thomas Gur
- 1230 Luncheon**
- 1330 Panel 2: Turkey's Role in an Expanding Europe**
- Panel Chair: Amb. Ann Dismorr**
 Ambassador-in-Residence and Senior Advisor, Silk Road Studies Program
- Turkey's Role in an Expanding EU**
 H.E. Mr. Sven-Olof Petersson, Swedish MFA
- The Transatlantic Link and Turkey's Global Role**
 Prof. Huseyin BaĒcı, Middle East Technical University
- Revisiting Turkey's Eastern Vocation**
 Prof. Mustafa Aydın, TOBB University
- 1515 Coffee**
- 1530 Panel 3: Managing New Security Challenges**

Panel Chair: Amb. Ann Dismorr

Ambassador-in-Residence and Senior Advisor, Silk Road Studies Program

Balancing Security and Rights

Dr. Necati Polat, Middle East Technical University

The Black Sea Hub, Energy Security, and Turkey's Role

Dr. Svante E. Cornell, Uppsala University

Migration, Human Smuggling and Trafficking

Prof. Dr. Ahmet İçduygu, Koç University

1715 Summary

Dr. Svante E. Cornell, Research Director, Silk Road Studies Program

1730 Adjournment

1830 Boat Cruise & Dinner

M/S Gustaf III, Nybrokajen, Stockholm

Boat Cruise sponsored by Gustavia Capital Asset Management Ltd.



Participants

Mr. Yavuz Baydar, Sabah Newspaper

Mr. Yavuz Baydar is a columnist and ombudsman with the *Sabah* newspaper in Istanbul. Mr. Baydar is a regular and experienced columnist and one of Turkey's best-known journalists. He also managed the Reporting Project at Michigan University and served as president of the International Organization of News Ombudsmen.

Prof. Dr. Doğu Ergil, Ankara University

Prof. Doğu Ergil is professor of political science at Ankara University. He earned his advanced degrees from the University of Oklahoma and the State University of New York, Binghamton. He is the author of several works on the Turkish political system, nationalism, conflict, and conflict resolution. He has written widely on the PKK and their operations in the popular press and in academic journals. He is founder of TOSAM, an NGO dedicated to engaging and educating the public on the issues facing Turkey, including the Kurdish question. He was a fellow with the National Endowment for Democracy in 1999-2000 and again in 2005, and has recently published a new survey on attitudes among Turks and Kurds ten years after his first ground-breaking survey.

Amb. Ann Dismorr, Uppsala University

Ambassador Ann Dismorr was the Swedish Ambassador in Turkey from 2001-2005 and traveled extensively throughout the country. She has been a diplomat for 25 years and has extensive knowledge of the region and the Islamic world, having lived in Saudi Arabia, worked on the Middle East peace process, and served as an ambassador in Lebanon. Ambassador Dismorr was responsible for human rights issues at the Swedish UN Mission in Geneva during 1995-2000. She is currently Ambassador-in-Residence with the Turkey Initiative at Uppsala University's department of Eurasian Studies. She is writing a book on Turkey's reform process and quest for the European Union membership focusing on the recent crucial developments.

Mr. Thomas Gür

Mr. Cumhuriyet Thomas Gür is Senior Advisor of the Turkey Initiative. A child of Turkish immigrants to Sweden, he is a political commentator and columnist in the *Svenska Dagbladet* daily and a business consultant, with former employments as the press spokesman of the Swedish Armed Forces Headquarters and of the Swedish Ministry of Industry.

Ambassador Sven-Olof Petersson

Mr. Sven-Olof Petersson is Sweden's Permanent Representative to the European Union. An economist by training, Mr. Petersson served in the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lebanon, Tanzania, Algeria, France and the United States. He has served among other as Director of the European Integration Department and Director-General for Political Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Prof. Hüseyin Bağcı, Middle East Technical University

Professor Hüseyin Bağcı is a Professor at the Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey. Prof. Bağcı received his BA, MA and PhD from Bonn University. His main expertise are Middle East politics, Turkey, international political economy of oil and the politics of Caspian oil. Professor Bağcı teaches contemporary issues in international security, the security of Europe, Soviet foreign policy and the political developments of Eastern Europe.

Dr. Svante E. Cornell, Uppsala University

Dr. Svante Cornell is the Director of the Turkey Initiative at Uppsala University and Research Director of the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, a Joint Transatlantic Research and Policy Center affiliated with the department of Eurasian Studies, Uppsala University, and Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). Dr. Cornell holds a BA from the Middle East Technical University and a PhD from Uppsala University. His main areas of expertise are security issues, regional politics, state-building, and transnational crime in the Caucasus, Turkey and Central Asia.

Prof. Mustafa Aydın, TOBB University

Prof. Mustafa Aydın is the Head of the Department of International Relations at the Economy and Technology University in Ankara. He graduated from Ankara University's school of political science and obtained his MA and PhD from the University of Lancaster. He taught at Ankara University for ten years, before joining ETU. He also lectured and conducted research at numerous universities, including Harvard, Athens University, and the EU Institute of Security Studies. He is the author or editor of 17 books and numerous articles. He is also an expert on Turkish foreign policy, with specific focus on Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Dr. Necati Polat, Middle East Technical University

Dr. Necati Polat is Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations, at Middle East Technical University in Ankara. He holds a degree in Law from Istanbul University and a Ph.D. from Nottingham University. He teaches courses on

Turkey and the European Court of Human Rights, the politics of global space and critical theories of international relations. Dr. Polat has published works on the EU and the Cyprus Conflict and boundary issues in Central Asia, as well as works on theory of international relations and law. He has also published on Turkish identity politics and the EU accession process.

Prof. Dr. Ahmet İçduygu, Koç University

Prof. Ahmet İçduygu is currently professor at the Department of International Relations and Director of the Migration Research Program at Koç University. Professor İçduygu received his Ph.D. from the Australian National University, and has served as Associate Professor, and Associate Chair of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Bilkent University. He has also been a Research Fellow at Stockholm University (1991-1992). Professor İçduygu teaches on the theories and practices of citizenship, international organizations, civil society, nationalism and ethnicity, migration, and research methods. His research focuses on the mechanisms and dynamics of irregular migration and its labor consequences, the anatomy of transit migration, and the structure, environment, value and impact dimensions of civil society in a comparative perspective.