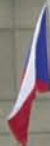


60 YEARS OF ALLIANCE: NATO AND TURKEY

-Summary-

CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STRATEGIC STUDIES

COŞKUNÖZ HOLDING



Report No: 2, April 2009

Ret. Major General Armağan KULOĞLU



CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STRATEGIC STUDIES (ORSAM)

Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM) was established in November 2008 and specifically concentrated on Middle Eastern and Eurasian studies. ORSAM's studies are sponsored by The Turkmeneli Cooperation and Culture Foundation.

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In fact, both the Middle Eastern and Eurasian territories are harbors to several relevant problems. But neither the Middle East and Eurasia, nor its people should be convicted to adopt an image that is identified with negative complications. With the support of their people, Middle Eastern and Eurasian states do have the potential to stimulate their interior dynamics and to launch a peaceful mobilization for development. To show respect to the people's will to live together, to show respect to the sovereign rights of the states and essential rights and freedoms of the individuals, are the principals of building domestic and international peace. In this context, Turkey must continue to make contributions for the prosperity of her near surroundings.

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In order to adopt an appropriate approach towards regional developments, ORSAM provides the public opinion and the decision-making units with guiding information about international politics, consistent with the perceptions regarding the Middle East and Eurasia. It presents ideas involving alternative options. In order to present efficient solutions, ORSAM encourages studies of capable researchers and intellectuals of different disciplines. Having strong organizational capabilities, ORSAM encourages the development of relevant Middle Eastern and Eurasian literature domestically & internationally and supports the sharing of knowledge and ideas with the Turkish and international public by welcoming statesmen, bureaucrats, academics, strategists, businessmen, journalists and NGO representatives to Turkey.

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COŞKUNÖZ HOLDING

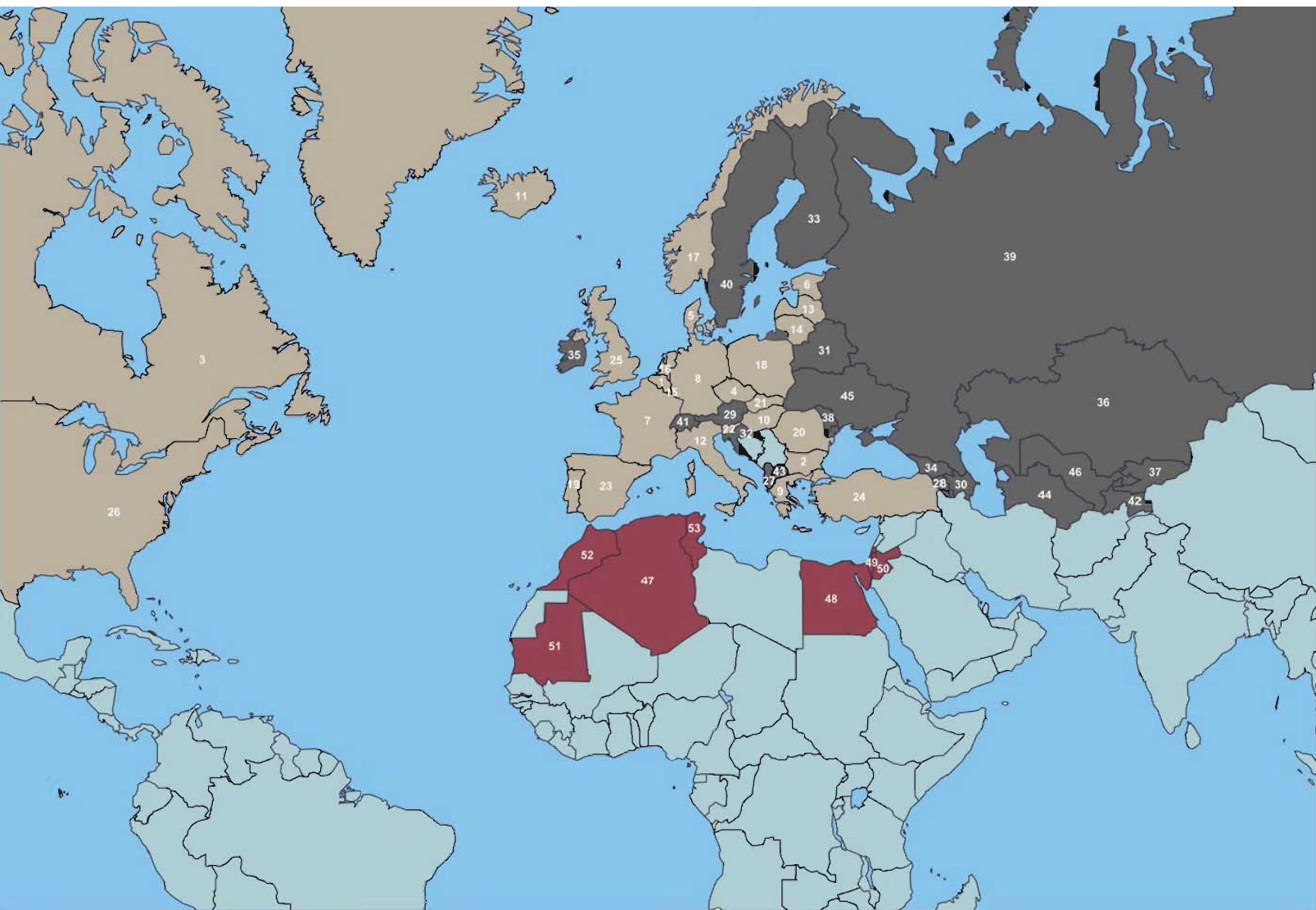


Coşkunöz Holding, whose headquarters are located in Bursa, is active in the automotive, machining, heating, defence & aviation industries. The group's first company Coşkunöz Metal Form was founded in 1973 and has 900 employees at present. The main production at Coşkunöz Metal Form is for the automotive industry, however the company also produces metal forming dies, hydraulic and mechanical press, welding machines, assembling and control fixtures. Coşkunöz Metal Form, which is one of the 500 largest companies in Turkey, has played a great role in the formation and growth of the Turkish automotive industry. Beltan Vibracoustic, Betaseals & Belka, who are part of the Coşkunöz Holding group, are in the rubber-metal industry and they specialise in anti-vibration parts, bearing seals and sealing element production. The company Coşkunöz Radyatör, which is in the heating industry, produces panel radiators and heated towel rails and is one of the three largest companies within this area. Coşkunöz Holding, who has been serving the defence industry for 20 years, established Coşkunöz Savunma ve Havaçılık (Coşkunöz defence & aviation) in the city Eskişehir and has been growing rapidly within the industry since its formation in 2006. In order to stay strong within this global competition, investment in technology has become a necessity and in 2005 the group formed Coşkunöz Ar-Ge (R&D) which has taken on all the Coşkunöz companies' research and development activities. Coşkunöz Ar-Ge's aim is to increase the value added by the engineers' contribution to the steel processing areas and also produce high technological machinery and equipment. Besides all the industrial investments, Coşkunöz Holding's strong corporate social responsibility drove the company's founder, Kemal Coşkunöz, to form Coşkunöz Eğitim Vakfı (Coşkunöz educational foundation) in 1988. This foundation specialises in vocational education. Every year a percentage of Coşkunöz Holding's turnover is set aside for the foundation so that unqualified people can be trained in order to gain a career. Coşkunöz educational foundation, which celebrated its 20th anniversary last year, has educated many individuals for the sector through scholarships, vocational education and the technical school, which Coşkunöz passed on to the government's educational department.



























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



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Member countries

- | | |
|---|---|
|  Belgium (1) |  Lithuania (14) |
|  Bulgaria (2) |  Luxembourg (15) |
|  Canada (3) |  Netherlands (16) |
|  Czech Republic (4) |  Norway (17) |
|  Denmark (5) |  Poland (18) |
|  Estonia (6) |  Portugal (19) |
|  France (7) |  Romania (20) |
|  Germany (8) |  Slovakia (21) |
|  Greece (9) |  Slovenia (22) |
|  Hungary (10) |  Spain (23) |
|  Iceland (11) |  Turkey (24) |
|  Italy (12) |  United Kingdom (25) |
|  Latvia (13) |  United States (26) |

Partner countries

- | | |
|---|--|
|  Albania (27) |  Kyrgyz Republic (37) |
|  Armenia (28) |  Moldova (38) |
|  Austria (29) |  Russia (39) |
|  Azerbaijan (30) |  Sweden (40) |
|  Belarus (31) |  Switzerland (41) |
|  Croatia (32) |  Tajikistan (42) |
|  Finland (33) |  the former Yugoslov Replublic of Macedonia* (43) |
|  Georgia (34) |  Turkmenistan (44) |
|  Ireland (35) |  Ukraine (45) |
|  Kazakhstan (36) |  Uzbekistan (46) |

Mediterranean Dialogue countries

- | | |
|--|---|
|  Algeria (47) |  Mauritania (51) |
|  Egypt (48) |  Morocco (52) |
|  Israel (49) |  Tunisia (53) |
|  Jordan (50) | |

* Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.



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Senior Advisor

60 Years of Alliance: NATO and Turkey

1. The Establishment of NATO and the Cold War Era

Communist Parties supported by the Soviet Army seized power by anti-democratic means in the states that were occupied by the Soviet Union after the WWII. In those years, there was notreaty or organization to mobilize political or military solidarity among Western states against the expansionist policy that the Soviet Union was then pursuing. In this context, Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg signed the “Brussels Convention” on March 17, 1948 and agreed to unite their military capabilities under the command of Marshall Montgomery in the case that an invasion were to occur. This organization is recognized as a preliminary step to the formation of NATO, and was also the basis for the creation of the organization called “The Western European Union,” in 1955. This beginning was the West’s first attempt at developing a joint-defense organization. On April 4, 1949, North Atlantic Treaty was signed and the organization now known as “NATO” was thereby established. In addition to the original five member states of the Brussels Convention, the nations that participated in the treaty’s negotiation process, Italy, Iceland, Denmark, Norway and Portugal, also joinedthe organization. Turkey and Greece joined the alliance in 1952, Germany in 1955 and Spain in 1982. The Cold War Era was ended by the efforts of these 16 states.

During its first 40 years, from its establishment in 1949 until 1989, the goal of NATO was, unarguably, to provide security for Europe. During this period the nature and extent of the threat was considerable, defense strategies and military structures were identified, organized and exercised in a purposive manner. Turkey guaranteed security against any potential invasion of its territory; both as a means of self-defense and as a member of NATO.

After the 1950’s, the US became the undisputed military and economic power and the dominant influence in Europe. The US presence lessened the heavy cost of European NATO members’ defense and security needs, and enabled them to transfer the savings to pay for the needs of the social state. Meanwhile, in order to obtain modern military weapons and equipment, Turkey chose to maintain a large army, far beyond its economic capability. In this way, Turkey compensated for NATO’s shortage of manpower and managed to rectify its technological deficiencies.

As Lord Ismay (NATO General Secretary from 1952-1957) said, NATO’s intentions can be briefly summarized: “to keep the USSR out, the US in and Germany down.” Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which was the basis for the collective organization of NATO, states that an armed attack against one or more of the members in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack

against them all and if such an armed attack occurs, all members will assist the attacked party by taking immediate action including the use of armed force. Although it is not stated in the text, the intent of this article was to encourage member states to act in unity and to mutually ensure each other's security against the possibility of an attack by the USSR.

Over time, US hegemony in the organization began to disturb the Western European members of NATO. During the progressive realization of the EU ideal, which took the last 50 years to result in the formation of a united European government, European states started seeking ways to break away from the US patronage. In 1984, when the US began to negotiate the long range missile limitation treaties with the USSR, and initiated the Star Wars project to shield North America, the Western European members of the alliance were led to begin to seek out and adopt new arrangements for their mutual security.¹

2. The Change:

NATO during the post-Cold War Era

It has been 60 years since NATO alliance was established. NATO operated in accordance with its own purposes and current threat perceptions from its establishment until the end of the Cold War, but began to question its own existence after the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the USSR and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. While the Warsaw Pact was a security organization established to oppose NATO, and could not do any more than cover the security needs of the East Bloc states in the bipolar global system, NATO not only provided for the security needs of the West, but also began to operate as a military, political and internal relations system, assuming functions regarding development and self-regulation.

Following the summit of July 1990, it was decided that NATO should undergo a restructuring process in order to accommodate the changing conditions. Obviously, the new uncertainties and risks that appeared after the

extinction of the Soviet threat played a major role in this re-organization. Threat assessments were reevaluated according to the new circumstances, and issues such as global terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the trafficking of illegal arms, humans and narcotics, and mass migration were identified as the new threats. In this context, beyond being just a collective security organization for Europe, NATO became² a cooperative security organization for the world at large, and grew beyond the terms whereby it had been established. Moreover, it was determined that the organization should enlarge its structure in order to expand its sphere of influence and to prevent the establishment of any new organizations presumed to destabilize security.

In the post-Cold War era, first Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland; and later, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovenia, Slovakia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania joined the alliance. In order to accommodate new members from the East Europe and the Caucasus, the "Partnership for Peace" (PFP) Program was introduced.

We have seen that NATO's political dimension grew more important during the post-Cold War era.³ Its relations with the Russian Federation were also transformed. First, Russia was permitted to observe NATO's decision-making processes in order to play the role of a sort of monitor and to establish reciprocal confidence. Then, Russia was integrated into the organization such that it could participate in decision-making processes, but with no right of veto. Though not specified in writing—in terms of the new threat assessments and its ongoing missions—NATO's area of responsibility was now considered to be global and inter-operability with the UN began to develop. These new circumstances brought technological improvements, new systems, new concepts, new doctrines and a new power structure with them. Concepts, organizational structures, procedures and methods have changed accordingly. A new military structure has been consolidated, consisting of specially equipped, well

trained, flexible, rapidly deployed, but smaller military units, using high firepower, excellent communication, command and control skills and high technology intelligence capabilities.

3. NATO, US and Russia

In order to avoid the proliferation of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, which are the major threats to the “New World Order”, according to the US, and in order to control energy sources and distribution, the US developed and launched the project known as the “Greater Middle East Project” (GMEP).⁴ The US wanted to include NATO in the GMEP to avoid giving the impression that GMEP is a project of strictly American origin. GMEP’s name was later reconfigured as the “Broader Middle East and North Africa (BMENA) Initiative.” During recent years, the US intervention in Iraq and subsequent developments gave birth to a new concept, commonly identified as the “New Middle East.”

The term, “New Middle East” represents the beginning of a new era for the Middle Eastern region. It is intended to describe a new Middle Eastern formation where new powers and actors appear and where hard power is replaced by soft power. It seems that US will try to maintain influence in the region via soft power (diplomacy), instead of hard power (the use of military force).⁵ The new US Government has announced that it is willing to adopt methods of dialogue and negotiation—for instance, in the case of Iran—but that military options will remain on the table, indicating that the US may use hard power in cases where the methods of soft power fall short.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the major threats that endanger Middle Eastern stability. Since Obama is well aware that he cannot solve this unrelenting long-term problem in a short period of time, he has not intervened personally in the Gaza issue, but plans instead to pursue diplomatic relations by way of the special envoys he has assigned.⁶

Afghanistan and Russia are two more important issues. Unlike his predecessor, Bush, Obama prefers to avoid crisis situations with these two nations. While victory over the Taliban is the main goal in Afghanistan, on the Russian front, the problems concern natural gas resources and logistical issues. Afghanistan is a major concern with respect to the future of NATO and the new US government has decided to send 17,000 additional troops to Afghanistan as an emergency measure.⁷ While Russia and the US are giving signals that encourage disarmament, it is obvious that they are involved in a power struggle in Central Asia themselves. In order to wage a more effective struggle against the Taliban and Al Qaeda, the US is planning to transfer troops from Iraq to Afghanistan. On the other hand, Russia is planning to curtail the expansion and influence of the US in Central Asia by making systematic moves. After a 1.7 billion dollar Russian investment initiative, Kyrgyzstan decided to close the Manas Military Base, which had been vital for providing logistical support to US forces in Afghanistan. Following Kyrgyzstan’s declaration, Russia offered logistical support to the US for its mission in Afghanistan, and indicated Moscow as the only option. Under these conditions, the US is expected to request logistic support from Turkey. But Kyrgyzstan still seems willing to re-discuss the Manas issue if USA makes an attempt. While the balance of power between Russia and the US continues to shift, Moscow hosted the Security Agreement Summit, where Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan decided to establish a NATO-like organization. According to this agreement, an armed attack against one of these members will be considered an attack against them all. The first action of this alliance was to make a resolution to form an emergency action force.

Whatever US-Russian cooperation may be possible, it is obvious that there will be no unilateral concessions. Obama may hope to obtain Russian support for his struggle against the

global financial crisis and to avoid any negative incidents involving the US presence in Afghanistan, but these hopes seem to have slim chances, and the US is well aware that it must keep Pakistan under control. Afghanistan's stability hinges on the attitudes of nations like Pakistan and Iran. In this situation, these states can make significant contributions to peace and stability in the region and the US is making a strenuous effort to maintain peace and stability with NATO.⁸ The US will definitely require NATO's assistance for its "New Middle East" policy.

4. Transatlantic Relations: NATO and the EU

Although they share "Western" values in common, Europe no longer wants to operate under the guidance of US, as it did during the Cold War Era. That is why Europe is attempting to wield more influence, not only in the economic domain, but also in politics and security. Although they share deep religious and socio-cultural common values, Europe and the EU's powerful influence on the global economy creates rivalry between the US and Europe. Well-balanced US-EU cooperation may be expected to dominate the global political system in the near future. In the future, NATO will become a significant discussion platform where security issues will be handled and both ends of the Atlantic will unite. In the struggle against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the need for NATO's capabilities is expected to increase. During the 2008 Defense Assembly, France—which had been trying to maintain the ESDP-NATO balance ever since 1966—reversed its policies and decided to re-join the military wing of NATO. This can be seen as an indication that NATO-EU relations are improving and that NATO and ESDP can operate in harmony.

5. The Importance of NATO as a Military Power

The importance of the energy security, energy resources and their transit routes will continue to increase during the years ahead. Hydrocar-

bons will maintain their dominant position in the area of energy until the 2030's. As a consequence of global warming, the North Pole will become available for prospecting and the exploitation of new oil resources. This situation will entail new political relationships. Inter alia, energy security, food and water supplies and environment will emerge as top priority problems. Global population growth should be included in this list. However, the aging population demographics of developed countries, the younger and more uneducated populations of developing and underdeveloped countries, and the migration patterns that will be their result, are likely to create an atmosphere of conflict. There are other threats that also should not be ignored. The origin of some new threats has yet to be detected. In these years to come, when states will be both the most important security providers and security threats in themselves, military power will continue to maintain its importance. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that NATO will not lose its importance as a military power.

6. Turkey and NATO's Fight against Terrorism

Global terrorism has altered the agenda of NATO as well as of the world. The operations of the UN, NATO, the EU and the OSCE are expected to continue to grow in scale. The nature of these new evolving threats means that NATO member states must arrive at a consensus on how respond to these threats effectively. The nature of the fight against terrorism was defined by the Washington Summit in 1999, and the concept of anti-terrorist struggle was endorsed at the Prague Summit in 2002. These developments announced the determination of states to fight jointly for international security and to fight against all terrorist activities targeting the peoples, forces, or territories of the alliance's members. In the adopted plan, it is envisaged that the measures to be taken be such as to enable the deterrence and prevention of, and self-defense against terrorism, and it was determined that these measures must

be implemented in all areas where NATO has interests. The NATO Summit held in Istanbul in 2004 created a joint approach for the effective conduct of the US's and the EU's struggle against global terrorism on the international stage and an important opportunity for cooperation. The Istanbul Cooperation Initiative was adopted at this summit. The Council of Gulf Cooperation was established and an important initiative was launched for the security and stability of the Eastern Mediterranean in the form of "Enhanced Mediterranean Dialogue."

Considering the points of agreement reached as a result of all the meetings held and the initiatives that have been undertaken under NATO's auspices, it is possible to see that a consensus has been achieved within NATO concerning the fight against terrorism. Members are ready to cooperate with this consensus and NATO disposes of the facilities and capabilities needed to achieve its goals. Furthermore, we can reasonably assert that NATO is open to international cooperation. At all NATO meetings until 2009, the issue of terrorism has kept all of its currency. However, it cannot be affirmed that there is a consensus on the fight against terrorism within NATO in practice. There are still ambiguities regarding the definition of terrorism and the common policy to be implemented in the fight against terrorism. NATO's expanding area of operations in Afghanistan, reaching a consensus on the Iraq issue and quarantining terrorist threats stemming from Iraq, and realizing the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative in coordination with the Mediterranean Platform have all served US interests. These NATO decisions have effectively served to legitimate US foreign policy.¹⁰

Turkey is the country that is most afflicted by terrorism and thus most sensitive country in fight against terrorism. Due to the sensitivity that results from being the country most affected by terrorism, and the importance that it attributes both to the NATO alliance and to human feelings, Turkey assists in the development of planning and doctrine programs

for the fight against terrorism and provides counter-terrorism training to NATO and non-NATO countries on both the operational and strategic levels. Turkey's contributions to the NATO force in Afghanistan and the "Center of Excellence Defense Against Terrorism" that it established for training purposes are good examples, here. As long as one country's terrorist is the freedom fighter of another, this struggle has no chance of success. Today, there is generally a common understanding among states regarding the magnitude of the terrorist threat. However, the main disagreement concerns how to decide which kinds of violence and which threats should be deemed to lie within the scope of terrorism.¹¹

As is the case with other international organizations, it is impossible to find a common definition of terrorism within NATO and it is impossible to affirm that there is agreement about who belongs on NATO's list of terrorist organizations. Turkey has been fighting against PKK terrorism for more than 25 years. NATO's sensitivity regarding terrorism is well known. While the updating of NATO's list of terrorist organizations—where the PKK is included—has gone on for years, problems are occasionally encountered concerning the inclusion of the PKK terrorist organization on the list. This approach is incompatible with the seriousness of NATO's stance on the anti-terrorism struggle. The PKK terrorist organization has offices in Europe. It is broadcasting from Europe. These European countries are NATO members. The PKK continuously harms a NATO member state, Turkey. Turkey's counter-terrorist efforts have been hampered either directly or indirectly for various reasons. Turkey's expectations should not be interpreted to mean that the nation wants to make NATO responsible for its fight against the PKK terrorist threat. Turkey has no intention of leaving its security to another country or organization. Turkey can maintain its own security. However, Turkey has strong ties with NATO and has long been its reliable ally, and therefore, Turkey's legitimate expectation of support from NATO should not

be regarded as strange. NATO, which has been in existence for 60 years, continually adapts to global developments and their requirements, and now ranks terrorism at the top of its new threat assessments. It has established new plans and strategies for counter-terrorism. For the first time since its foundation, it has enforced Article 5 of the Alliance Agreement for the sake of the intervention in Afghanistan. It has expressed its sensitivity against terrorism on every occasion. However, all of the member countries do not seem to be possessed of an understanding that can satisfy Turkey's expectations, in particular concerning its fight against the PKK terror organization. NATO must question itself in this respect.

7. The Latest Highlights of Relations between NATO, the US and Turkey

7.1. The Afghanistan Issue

Turkey continues to safeguard the security of the Afghan people in and around Kabul under the command of the ISAF and within the scope of NATO mission in Afghanistan. The success or failure of NATO in this region will be decisive for the future of the alliance.¹² This explains why the US requests that allied states increase the numbers of their combat troops for the sake of Afghanistan's future. Turkey ranks first in the list of states that have been urged to increase their number of troops. On the other hand, there is a plan under consideration to modify the mission definition of the ISAF and to shift its area of operations from Kabul and its surroundings to the South-Southeast in order to combat the Taliban. It is plain to see that this effort aims to alter the main objective of the ISAF, changing it from a peacekeeping force into a combat force. Historically, Afghanistan-Turkey relations have followed a path of friendship and mutual assistance. The Afghan people have feelings of sympathy for Turkey, and they trust Turkey. Breaching that trust would be disadvantageous for both parties. In addition to its mission of maintaining security, Turkey is making substantial contributions to the efforts to establish stability in Afghanistan, including supplemental support for the re-

building and reconstruction of the country, and it provides a wide range of aid to the country and its people. It has assumed the command of the ISAF twice. Assuming that command again is being discussed. Turkey is also assisting the recovery process of the Afghan Armed Forces. It is working to establish the Afghan Defense Unit (military academies) or Defense College (military colleges).¹² Beyond this, Turkey has stated that assistance would be provided when necessary to allow Afghan military officers to be trained on Turkish soil. It is a well known fact that while NATO allies were combating terrorist acts in Afghanistan they failed to take sides with Turkey in its fight against the PKK (the Kurdish terrorist organization), and even protected the PKK in various ways for a long time. It should not be surprising therefore that Turkey develops its strategies bearing this in mind and acts accordingly.

7.2. Attempts to Breach the Montreux Convention

Another issue is the attempt on part of the US to breach the Montreux Convention by using NATO. The US wants to deploy its forces in the Black Sea with a view to having a voice in the Caucasus and in Central Asia, and has tried to achieve this purpose by exploiting various events. In the last five years, it has tried to accomplish this on three occasions. It also seems to be inclined to use NATO for the same purpose when the opportunity arises.

The first attempt by the US towards making its presence felt in the Black Sea was in 2003, during its negotiations with Turkey before its invasion of Iraq. During the negotiation process, the US's desire to send ships into the Black Sea and for a base in the city of Trabzon were regarded as quite strange. During the negotiations it was revealed that US was planning to deploy forces in the Black Sea in order to wield influence in the Caucasus by taking the advantage of the opportunity arising from the agreement which was to be concluded for the sake of the Iraq invasion. However, this request ended up being rejected by the Turkish side.

The second attempt by the US came in 2005. At that time NATO forces were conducting Operation Active Endeavour, in which Turkey also participated, to fight acts of terrorism and crime in the Eastern Mediterranean. Conversely, a sea fleet with more or less similar intentions had been set up under the Turkish command operating under the name, Black Sea Harmony. This mission included the Ukraine, in addition to Turkey and Russia. But in 2005 the US put forward an unofficial plan to expand the operational area of Active Endeavour, which had been launched in the Eastern Mediterranean under the auspices of NATO, to include the Black Sea and said that it proposed this plan with the intention of fighting terrorism and crime as in the Mediterranean, suggesting that security of the Black Sea was pivotal. Such an attempt by the US, for which there was not the slightest need, was interpreted as something quite different from its expressed intention, namely as a pretext for taking the Black Sea under direct control.

The third relevant attempt occurred when the US submitted its request to send two 70-ton military hospital ships of the US naval force, designed as a humanitarian aid to Georgia following the crisis in that country in late 2008. The US is even willing to use NATO for this purpose. When it is possible to transport the aid on air, land and sea as per an amendment in accordance with the Montreux Convention, such a request can only be regarded as an effort on the part of the US to fly its flag on heavy tonnage military vessels, in order to make its presence felt in the Black Sea, influence the region and contain the Russian influence.

All three of these attempts would violate the Montreux Convention regarding the Turkish Straits. For Turkey to permit these attempts—which would also violate the Montreux Convention—would damage Turkey's sovereignty and generate hostility in the region.¹³ Precautionary measures should be taken to thwart American attempts at deploying forces or setting up bases in the Black Sea. Keeping the con-

vention's provisions intact and ensuring compliance with them is vital for the preservation of Turkish sovereignty and the maintenance of security with an approach that considers the balances of power in the Black Sea region. Turkey's ongoing co-operation with Russia, with whom it shares common interests, should be seen as the proper approach.

7.3. The Embargo and Preventive Measures

Turkey has experienced a number of cases of injustice in its relations with both NATO and its member countries. In 1962 as a result of US-USSR negotiations, the US made a unilateral decision to remove Jupiter missiles in Turkey without notifying Turkey beforehand. Following the Cyprus Peace Operation of 1974, it imposed an embargo on all of the military equipment, combat weapons and vehicles that the Turkish Armed Forces had used. It repeated this practice partially in the following years, too. During the Second Gulf War, France, using NATO as its platform, prevented the dispatch of Patriot missiles to Turkey for defensive purposes. Since France was not a member of the Defense Planning Committee, the missiles were able to arrive in Turkey, pursuant to the committee's decision. There were also some difficulties in getting the PKK included on NATO's list of terrorist organizations. While there were no references to the fight against terrorism before September 11th, and the consultation contained in the Article 4 was considered to be sufficient, after September 11th, Article 5 came to occupy the agenda. As the issue of taking measures to stop terrorism before it reached the member nations' territories came to the fore, Turkey's capability to take measures against the PKK in the northern part of Iraq was blocked and then restricted. These present examples of "double standards." It will be beneficial to keep this matter in mind when dealing with NATO.¹⁶

It can be seen that the US, according to emerging conditions, when the need arises and when it finds the opportunity, can successfully get its national interests, or other countries' interests,

on the agenda, whether it's this or similar issues. Turkey must therefore act prudently and make no concessions on this point, and be sensitive from the perspective of national interests that are vital for Turkey. We should remain vigilant against allowing NATO be used in the service of US interests when this may damage our own.

7.4. The Implications of NATO Expansion for Turkey

Basically, Turkey supports NATO expansion. The main reason for this has been the presumption that NATO's member countries would support Turkey's EU bid. But the present situation has failed to live up to those expectations. What is more, the arrival of new members, raising the total number of NATO members to 26, has radically reduced Turkey's portion of the pie. However, against the odds, the expansion of NATO is actually helping to promote stability in its region and to set conditions that enable Turkey to negotiate the issues that concern it from a broader perspective. All assessments suggest that for its 26 member countries the shared conclusion is, "Neither with NATO, nor without NATO". It is true that NATO has accomplished many great things since its inception.

8. The Latest Developments in NATO

NATO includes 26 member countries of today, and this number will rise to 28 in 2009, with the inclusion of Albania and Croatia. In addition to its 28 member countries, NATO functions as an alliance which embraces more than one fourth of the world, with its Partnership for Peace, the Mediterranean Dialogue countries, and coalition forces from outside the alliance which share its values. But the fact that NATO's credibility is steadily diminishing should not go unrecognized.

One of the biggest summits in NATO history was convened between April 2 and April 4, 2008 in Bucharest. The Summit was concluded with an official invitation for Croatia and Alba-

nia to become members of the alliance. However, Macedonia was not invited to membership due to Greece's opposition. Notwithstanding this failure in the case of Macedonia, the latest expansion of NATO can be construed to imply a positive effect on the spread of democracy and stability from Europe to the Balkans. In addition, the fact that Albania and Croatia were invited to join the alliance may encourage Bosnia Herzegovina to accelerate its reforms for NATO membership. The "Intensified Dialogue Decision" which constitutes the initial stage of the "Membership Accession Plan" was issued. Later, Kosovo, in the same way, may be put on the agenda. In this case, only Serbia will remain as a source of concern.

The gathering of NATO Foreign Ministers at the Brussels summit, convened on December 2-3, 2008, decided that the Ukraine and Georgia would not be included in the "Membership Accession Plan," due to increased political instability in Serbia and clashes that took place in Georgia during the summer. Recent experiences have shown that the struggle over Georgia's accession did more harm than good. The expansion process became difficult, dialogue with Russia was interrupted, and security measures in the Caucasus and Black Sea region became ineffective. Russia interpreted the membership chances of the Ukraine and Georgia as plans to put it under siege and to control energy distribution. There are differences between the factions led by Germany and France, on one hand, and the US, on the other, concerning the improvement of relations with Russia. The basis of this difference stems from Europe's energy needs. Conversely, the withdrawal of Russia from the CFE caused trouble within NATO itself. Notably, security concerns for Eastern European states emerged. In addition, an important decision was made that NATO's will provide support for the US plan to establish ballistic missile defense systems in Eastern Europe.

The 2009 meeting of NATO Defense Ministers

was convened between February 19 and 20 in Krakow, Poland. The Ukrainian and Georgian reforms concerning defense and security issues and their national security strategies were reviewed, and the implementation of the NATO Response Force and ensuing reforms were addressed. The issue of Afghanistan was again seen to hold special significance. The informal decisions made in Krakow constitute the basis of the meeting to be held between April 3 and 4, 2009. NATO attributes greater importance to the improvement of relations and the establishment of dialogue with Russia than it does to critical issues such as its expansion towards the East and the security of the Black Sea. Furthermore, a consensus was reached to abandon policies that may lead to more conflict and tension between Euro-Atlantic Alliance members, given the effect of the global economic crisis in the aftermath of the US presidential elections. At the last meeting it was announced that France will rejoin the military wing of NATO, and this will become official at NATO meeting on April 3-4, 2009. Russia's statements concerning its support for the US and NATO in the fight against terrorism in the Middle East, steps toward moderating the Ballistic Missile Defense Project, and the election of Obama, whose administration attributes a great deal of importance to dialogue, together indicate that dialogue between NATO and Russia will be re-established.

9. Turkey and Expectations Regarding the Future of NATO

NATO used to function as a collective defense organization, and has now expanded into a collective security organization. Today, NATO's mission—in terms of security—is not limited to the territories of its member states' territories, and the organization now plays a major role working against complex situations and threats. NATO's operations are no longer limited to Europe, the defensive operational area defined by the 6th article of the Washington Treaty.¹⁴ Since the operational area of NATO is limited to the North Atlantic region accord-

ing in its founding treaties, and since the organization is only responsible for the defense of its own territories, NATO's operations that take place outside the parameters of its original purposes are causing problems in terms of international law. Therefore, the NATO agreement needs to be revised in accordance with new developments.¹⁵ Moreover, since a common threat no longer exists, the implementation of the article 5 is causing problems as well. Afghanistan constitutes a good example of this. Many states are finding it difficult to explain to their citizens why they are participating in the Afghanistan conflict. New arguments and formulations should be developed to convince public opinion and to explain the importance of defeating disorder, maintaining and protecting democracy, peace and stability for the sake of humanity. Otherwise, disorder and instability will affect their countries as well.¹⁶

Since the US needs global partners, it is expected that diplomacy, law, bilateral cooperation, international organizations, the improvement of transatlantic relations and NATO will all be deemed more important by the USA. European states, whose security priorities differ from one state to the other, will continue their efforts to build their own security system and to establish the "European Defense and Security Policy," or "EDSP." However, it seems that they will remain dependent on NATO and the USA due to a lack of both resources and collective political will.

If we consider the international dimension that defense has in our day, it would be wise for Turkey to maintain its relations with NATO and the ESDP, on a scale and in a form appropriate to the benefits it receives and the common values shared by all parties. Turkey has rights that derive from the GMEP. Underutilization of these rights in the ESDP is both a shortcoming and unjust. The Republic of Cyprus unrightfully entered the EU, and now claims the same rights in the ESDP as other NATO member EU states. This is causing problems. NATO and EU are putting pressure on Turkey regarding the Republic of Cyprus. It is natural that Turkey

uses its authority as a NATO member to protect its national interests.

Recent efforts to restore transatlantic relations, the growing role of Turkey in the field of energy security and some developments in the Middle East, including the successes of the Turkish Armed Forces, particularly in Afghanistan, but also on other missions, can be seen as an opportunity to better comprehend the geopolitical importance and function of Turkey and as an opportunity for it to expand in new ways. However, international security agreements will not deter Turkey, as a sovereign country, from making independent decisions when necessary.

Considering the results and the resolutions from the latest NATO summits, it can be safely said that within the near future NATO will make new policy decisions regarding political and military fields, such as building the missile shield project, promoting relations with Russia, fighting global terrorism, expanding to include the Ukraine, Georgia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the prevention of maritime piracy, and forging partnership and cooperation with non-member states through the Mediterranean Dialogue, and that new strategies will be formulated accordingly.

A summit is scheduled for April 3-4, 2009 in the neighboring cities of Strasbourg, in France, and Kehl, in Germany, which will also mark the 60th anniversary of NATO.¹⁷ The membership of Albania and Croatia will be approved at the summit, during which the US President, Barack Obama, will appear for the first time. This will increase the number of member states from 26 to 28. The issue of France's rejoining the military wing will also be a key topic.

"The Multiple Futures Project" is also oriented toward the future. The aims of the Multiple Futures Project have been identified as understanding and discussing the future in terms of security, to promote cooperation between NATO member states, and to develop defense planning. The Project will be shaped by issues such as: international disputes, economic integration, asymmetry, national capacity, resource

sharing, ideological struggle, climate change, the use of technology and demographical developments.¹⁸

Another future-oriented strategy concerns NATO's new expansionism-based planning. The objective, although not explicitly expressed, is to enhance European contributions to the geostrategic initiatives of the USA, to gain control of resources and energy distribution routes, and to contain the emerging powers, namely Russia and China. It is understood that in order to meet these objectives, steps will be taken to eliminate competition and strengthen cooperation between the USA, NATO and the EU. The adoption of a proactive strategy is envisaged, including the concept of the nuclear preemptive strike.

NATO's commitments regarding the future are steadily growing in number, and many of the issues fall within the area of responsibility of the UN. This situation has aroused suspicions about whether UN is being replaced by NATO. Remarks have been circulated, questioning whether the organization's name is the "North Atlantic Treaty Pact" or the "Common Security Pact," suggesting that its present name does not even reflect the current state of affairs.¹⁹

It is important that Turkey, as a country located at the epicenter of the regional crisis where conflicts of interest have taken place between major world powers in the 21st century, must not be affected by these crises and take its political and military place as part of NATO and the ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy). But it is just as important to ensure that this does not pose an impediment to the regional and global relations that it may establish on its own initiative.

It is estimated that within the next 25-30 years, the international context will undergo a major shift from unipolarity to multipolarity and that, in this regard Russia, China, India and, to a degree, Japan, will occupy these poles, but there is a low likelihood that EU will ever become such a "polar" power. There are doubts as to whether NATO will be able to maintain its effectiveness, should it expand continuously (like

the EU), and because of the challenges it may face during decision-making processes as US influence diminishes. The possibility of NATO overstepping its mandate in the name of peace may generate grave problems, unless it subject to control by the UN. We therefore consider it advantageous for Turkey to take into consideration, inter alia, its relations with NATO. However, this presupposes that both the reinforcement of transatlantic relations and promotion of NATO as the main security platform match well with Turkey's interests.

Regarding the decision-making process within NATO, we all know that all 26 members have equal voting rights and that they make decisions by reaching consensus. It is equally well known that the same decision-making mechanism gives Turkey the power to block any decision in violation of its national interests. It cannot be asserted that any of the other 25 member states is vested with more power or authority than any other. The consensus mechanism offers this advantage. What really matters is Turkey's ability to identify what it wants or does not want. The key to using this ability lies in the mutual agreement of all the authorities positioned at the decision-making level. Should this be achieved, Turkey would gain the opportunity to better express itself within the body of NATO, the opportunity to negotiate more effectively with other Alliance countries, and the opportunity to present the issues it desires to the NATO platform. A good example is the position Turkey must adopt on the subject of France's possible reunion with the military wing of NATO. France is a state that has blocked Turkey's EU negotiation path, a state that recognized the Armenian genocide in its parliament, a state that tried to prevent, during the Second Gulf War, the distribution of the Patriot missiles to Turkey, and that has acted against Turkey on various other issues. France requests, in addition to rejoining the military wing, to be given the commands in Virginia and Madrid. Turkey may bring up these sensitive issues either directly or indirectly when adopting a stance concerning France's rejoining the military wing, and act in favor of our national interests, depending on the situation. On the other hand, we deem it more useful to

reinforce, rather than undermine NATO, without disregarding our national interests, and to promote it as a political-military security organization that can respond to the security needs of the member states that share its common values.

Conclusion

NATO is not the organization it used to be. It has been transformed. New nations now are members, and the US has assumed more control. Furthermore, NATO has lost sight of some of its main issues as a consequence of the strategies it has formed to meet its new threat assessments. It would-be unreasonable to dissolve an organization that is so highly organized, so well established and so experienced, an organization that successfully regulates its external defense policies and its internal affairs, and that has also been successful in the domains of defense and development. However, it is also necessary to protect the organization from the exclusive hegemony of the key leader of both globalization and the organization itself, namely, the USA.

Turkey has been the member of NATO since 1952. At the time, Turkey became a NATO member in order to enhance its self-defense capabilities against the growing Soviet threat. Except for some security concerns and some moments of negativity, for instance, in the case of the Cyprus Operation, it was a positive period in general. NATO provided constructive environment for Turkey's modernization and helped it forge closer relationships with the West. In response, Turkey was excessively dependent on, and loyal to, NATO. However, both world politics and security policy underwent great transformations after the Cold War era ended. While Turkey was experiencing tension with all its neighboring countries, its relations began a new course in line with the developing political order. NATO subjected Turkey to a double standard regarding the issue of terrorism, an issue of the utmost importance for Turkey, and Turkey ceased to rely exclusively on NATO for security. Turkey must show interest and cooperate with the Caucasus and Central Asia, as well as the West. Turkey must consider establishing relations with the Shang-

hai Cooperation Organization. Current developments, historical, cultural and ancestral ties, all bring this opportunity to the fore. Turkey should further its interests and security in all these new fields, without excluding NATO or severing relations with the West.

The restoration of transatlantic relations will pave the way for a better understanding and evaluation of Turkey's function in, and contribution to, global security. Turkey sees NATO as the main military and political structure of transatlantic relations.²⁰ Since there is no well-established substitute for this organization, Turkey still attaches importance to the NATO alliance. However, the threat assessments of NATO and the world have changed since Turkey joined the alliance and the organization began to act in line with US interests after the Cold War Era. Therefore, Turkey does not need

the alliance as much as it did before, and its attachment to NATO no longer calls for excessive dependency and allegiance. Balanced policies regarding its relationship with NATO will better serve Turkey's interests. It would be wiser for Turkey to stay in NATO without trusting it too much, to conduct policy in line with its own national interests, to perceive NATO as a stable and common platform for various issues, and to exercise her veto right regarding issues that are incompatible with its national interests, or else find other ways to benefit in such cases. From now on, Turkey should increase its importance by taking a central role, by using dialog to engage its neighbors, the Russian Federation, the Caucasus and Central Asia, in multilateral foreign policy. Without excluding NATO, it will surely be necessary to undertake and conduct security policies in line with this framework.

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