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Abstract: PhD Thesis

The transatlantic security and Turkey's
role in the post-kemalist period

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Keywords: transatlantic security, Turkey, post-kemalism, operational dimension, strategy, geopolitics

Abstract

The PhD Thesis is written in the framework of the study on International Relations and European studies. It concentrates on the transatlantic security environment and the role played by its different components in insuring the stability, security and development of the countries that are part of transatlantic area, in the security of the European continent and role of the North-Atlantic Alliance on the world security stage. In this particular framework the thesis is analyzing Turkey's stand inside this security community.

The transatlantic security is a much convoluted topic. Differences in approach on both sides of the Atlantic focused the researchers' interest on two distinct and important areas. Firstly, they have concentrated on the crisis sparked by the American intervention in Iraq in 2003, which brought into center stage the contradiction between the US and some of its European counterparts concerning the opportunity and legality of the intervention, effectively questioning the very security partnership between them. Secondly, the development of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) focused the attention on the relationship between the ESDP and NATO, their interaction and the "division of labor" between them. These analyses continue a substantial body of work dedicated to understanding the transformation of NATO from a defensive alliance into a security institution, the nature of the relations inside the Alliance and its functionality. At the same time, researchers have questioned the viability and purpose of NATO after the end of the Cold War, advancing different concepts about security in a possible unipolar world. These contributions, beyond their pragmatic character, help extend the theoretical field of International relations with new theories, concepts and approaches. In turn these have contributed substantially to the evolution of international relations and security studies giving new meanings to the concept of security and opened the path to a deeper and wider perception of the phenomena and actors involved in international security.

The efforts were channeled on the functional, institutional analysis of NATO, the EU and the ESDP and the relations between them giving way, inadvertently, to associating the transatlantic security with these institutions. The transatlantic security became almost

synonymous with NATO. This simplification has in turn transformed NATO into a barometer of the security relationship limited to its functionality alone. The analysis of the transatlantic security, confined to the barriers imposed by the institutions like NATO and the EU not only simplifies the complexity of the analysis, by eliminating an entire array of factors, actors or theoretical interpretations, but also induces, quite often, the generalization in the understanding of the transatlantic security outlook. The sole focus on these institutions takes out of context significant security actors, the transatlantic security being first and foremost a security community whose structure and functionality is seldom used in research. Are these approached irrelevant in the absence of a theoretical framework? Certainly not. However, they only provide us with a limited answer, or one of the many possible answers, simplifying the solution through the generalization of a particular one.

The transatlantic security is perceived mainly as an interaction between NATO and the EU and therefore concentrates the analysis on the internal functional aspects of the relation between them, particularly on the European ambitions to develop a security approach enveloped in an institutional approach able to exist autonomously or in cooperation with NATO. Such an approach invariably tilts the balance towards the internal dimension of security in the transatlantic community when the dangers and threats come from the outside. This kind of centric approach, essential for the understanding of processes that influence the transatlantic relationship deprives the analysis of the external dimension of the transatlantic security, the very reason for which these institutions were created in the first place. The geopolitical changes that took place in the last years prompted American and European analysts to speak about a possible division of labor outside the security community as well, in an attempt to expand the transatlantic dialogue outside the mere NATO-EU agenda. Such a division of labor would allow the US to focus on the Pacific Rim area and China while, at the same time, the Europeans would manage a strategic relationship with Russia and Turkey.

Finally, the analysis of the transatlantic area lacks an integrative system of reference, in which the contribution of one or another country can be evaluated on the basis of similar criteria. The US contribution to the transatlantic security is obvious, at least in terms of capabilities, the contribution of other states to this common effort is too often evaluated by using different based criteria in which quantitative data is ignored in favor of qualitative ones, which are limited in scope or downright simplified. The best example may be Turkey's contribution to the

transatlantic security, contribution assessed through pertinent criteria like identity, geostrategic location yet not necessarily sufficient. The case of Turkey is even more interesting as one of the few researchers that attempted to devise a set of criteria for identifying and evaluating security communities, Karl W. Deutsch, considered Turkey as well as Greece atypical members of the transatlantic community. Identifying and evaluating of criteria suitable to portray a clear image of a community security and its members has been abandoned, after Deutsch and Ernst Haas, and revived through the efforts of Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett or Thomas Risse. Empirical analyses, construed by official political actors are close, by means of the criteria employed, to the theoretical framework suggested by Deutsch years ago.

The purpose of this thesis is to devise a comprehensive image of the transatlantic security community, the identification of the transatlantic space in both static and dynamic form and, based on the theoretical models mentioned along with the new theoretical concepts that appeared in the last years in the field of International Relations, to propose a set of relevant criteria or at least a reference framework for the evaluation of a security community. Finally, the answer to these three problems should facilitate the construction of a comprehensive model for analysis of a security community, in this particular case of the transatlantic security and validate in full or in part the relevancy of the criteria suggested.

Once the model of analysis has been devised and substantiated, I have tried validating it through the use of the criteria in the particular case of Turkey and its contribution to the transatlantic security community. Choosing Turkey was not a random made decision. Turkey has been perceived from the very beginning as atypical for the political community of the Nord-Atlantic Alliance and, as the time passed by, one of its most controversial. This condition is due to a unique number of factors and circumstances. As part of the European system of alliances, the Ottoman Empire represented a military power in Europe and a spiritual one in the Muslim world. Modern Turkey, secularist and westernized, was the first Muslim country to join NATO and one of the few states with a functional parliamentary democracy. Furthermore, Turkey is the only country in the transatlantic family spanning on two continents, Europe and Asia, the guardian of a strategic strait, holding the reservoir that waters almost the entire Middle East with significant economic and human resources.

In the case of the quantitative analysis I have used a comparative approach, using data for NATO, NATO and the EU, or just the EU: the US, Germany and Sweden. The quantitative and qualitative data are an integral part of the proposed model.

The *introduction* contextualizes and explains the terms used, reviewing the theoretical concepts in the field of international relations and security studies which could contribute or complete the hypothesis upon which this thesis is based. I have identified and defined the geographical area of analysis and I have explained the correlations between the internal and the external security environment. Finally, I have substantiated and delimited the timespan of the events taken into account.

The next part of the thesis deals with the current state of research in the field particularly those works which have a significant contribution to the area pertaining to the thesis. At the same time, I have detailed the main ideas on the current topic of research already published in books, journal articles or presented at international conferences, that I have judged relevant for the thesis.

On the basis of the introduction I have proceeded to devise, explain and substantiate the *model of analysis* by indicating the type and relevance of the data employed. In turn, the quantitative analysis and its findings allowed for a qualitative interpretation as well. The model represents a working hypothesis, should be falsifiable, and could be generalized to any security community. Through its three complementary dimensions of analysis - operational, strategic and political – the model attempts to quantify the strengths and weaknesses of the transatlantic security community, to explain the factors which influence structurally and institutionally the security relationship, which are its current limitations and, last but not least, to provide the means to evaluate the contribution of a country to the transatlantic security community.

The operational dimension of the transatlantic security is focused on two main complementary axes – the capabilities axis which includes the technological and economic resources of a member state and the political-military axis which connects these capabilities with the political and military decision factors. The analysis of the capabilities axis evaluates the way a country or a security institution is prepared to face security threats in the short and medium term from the point of view of military doctrine and equipment. The political-military axis has as main reference points the nature and functionality of the relations between the political decision makers and the military which is deemed to implement the security policies and strategies. The

operational dimension is mainly concerned with the static nature of this relationship, focused essentially in the way the transatlantic partners interrelate to each other.

The strategic dimension of the transatlantic security attempts to underline the points of convergence and divergence between the political decisions stated in their security strategies and their strategic culture developed overtime. The chapter devoted to the strategic dimension explores, on one side, the way in which political visions endorse those strategies and, on the other, the way in which strategic culture opposes or sanctions the official security strategies. Both security strategies and strategic cultures act as point of reference for the dynamic nature of the transatlantic security in its immediate neighborhood with a particular focus on geostrategic issues.

The final part of the thesis deals with two types of political actors – formal and informal – which account for the political dimension of the transatlantic security. The formal actors, government officials or high ranking representatives in international organizations integrate through their vision the strategic and operational dimensions, creating a link between the state, the security institutions and the people by promoting an agenda for the short medium and long term. The personality, values and ambitions of those politicians transform the security vision at national or international level, either by adopting official security or foreign relations policies or by their mere diplomatic activity. On the other hand, informal actors like non-governmental organizations, think tanks, the lobbies or diaspora influence the security environment at national regional or even international level. These informal actors influence the security environment directly at formal level or indirectly through public opinion. The political dimension highlights the complexity of the transatlantic security and the way in which certain variables can influence security negatively or positively, independent of the operational or strategic dimension of the security community.

Finally, based on the results and conclusions derived from the analysis I have presented the conclusions that derive from the model of analysis.