

Turkey and Transatlantic Relations

Sasha Toperich
Aylin Ünver Noi
Editors

Center for Transatlantic Relations
The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies
Johns Hopkins University

Sasha Toperich and Aylin Ünver Noi, eds., *Turkey and Transatlantic Relations*

Washington, DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2017.

© Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2017

Center for Transatlantic Relations

The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies

The Johns Hopkins University

1717 Massachusetts Ave., NW, 8th Floor

Washington, DC 20036

Tel: (202) 663-5880

Fax: (202) 663-5879

Email: transatlantic@jhu.edu

<http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu>

ISBN: 978-0-9907721-2-5

Cover photograph: Sarka, www.fotolia.com

Contents

Preface	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
List of Figures and Tables	viii
List of Abbreviations	ix
Introduction	xiii
<i>Sasha Toperich and Aylin Ünver Noi</i>	
Part I: Turkey in the Western Alliance: History and Institutions	
Chapter 1	3
Relations between Turkey and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development	
<i>Filiz Cicioğlu and Şükriü Cicioğlu</i>	
Chapter 2	17
Turkey and Council of Europe	
<i>Aylin Ünver Noi</i>	
Chapter 3	35
Turkey and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization	
<i>İsmail Çağlar and Hülya Keşer Akdemir</i>	
Chapter 4	49
Turkey and the European Economic Community	
<i>Yonca Özer</i>	
Chapter 5	65
Turkey and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe	
<i>Münevver Cebeci</i>	
Part II: Turkey's Relations with its Transatlantic Partners: The U.S. and the EU	
Chapter 6	85
Turkish American Relations: Strategic Ambivalence and Enduring Partnership	
<i>Kılıç Buğra Kanat</i>	

Chapter 7	103
Turkey and the European Union: Neither a Marriage nor a Separation on the Horizon	
<i>Beril Dedeoğlu</i>	
 Part III: Foreign Policy of the Transatlantic Partners on Current Crises: Divergent or Coordinated Policies?	
Chapter 8	119
Turkey and Transatlantic Partners in Wider Black Sea: The Turkish Perspective	
<i>Enes Bayraktı</i>	
Chapter 9	133
Turkey's Policy in the Black Sea Region: Oscillating between Pragmatism and Opportunism	
<i>Nona Mikbelidze</i>	
Chapter 10	149
Turkey and its Transatlantic Partners in the Wider Mediterranean: The European Perspective	
<i>Eduard Soler i Lecha and Melike Janine Sökmen</i>	
Chapter 11	163
Turkey and the Western Balkans: Stable Relations and Deepening Cooperation	
<i>Mehmet Uğur Ekinci</i>	
Chapter 12	183
Turkey in the Western Balkans: A Waning Interest	
<i>Alida Vračić, Edward P. Joseph, and Tea Ivanović</i>	
 Part IV: Turkey's Multi-Vector Foreign Policy and its Impact on Transatlantic Relations	
Chapter 13	203
The Transatlantic Dimension of Turkey's Strategic Rapprochement with Russia: The Turkish Perspective	
<i>Emre Erşen</i>	
Chapter 14	217
The Repercussions of the Ankara-Moscow Rapprochement on Turkey's Transatlantic Relations: The American Perspective	
<i>Donald N. Jensen</i>	

Chapter 15	231
The Repercussions of Turkey-China Relations on its Transatlantic Relations: The Turkish Perspective	
<i>Altay Atlı</i>	
Chapter 16	245
The Repercussions of Turkey-China Relations on its Transatlantic Relations: The American Perspective	
<i>Christina Lin</i>	
Part V: Turkey and Transatlantic Relations: Mutual Expectations	
Chapter 17	265
Assessing the Possibility of a Modernized EU-Turkey Customs Union with a View to the TTIP Process	
<i>Çiğdem Nas</i>	
Chapter 18	283
Strengthening US-Turkish Trade and Investment Relations: Realistic Recommendations toward Building “Complex Interdependence”	
<i>Serdar Altay</i>	
Chapter 19	317
Commercial Relations Present Landmark Opportunity for U.S. President Trump and Turkish President Erdoğan	
<i>Jennifer Miel</i>	
Chapter 20	327
Assessing the future of the Migration Deal and Visa-Free Travel	
<i>Ash Şirin Öner</i>	
Chapter 21	341
Cooperation on Energy Security: The Turkish Perspective	
<i>Erdal Tanas Karagöl</i>	
Chapter 22	353
Cooperation on Energy Security: The European Perspective	
<i>Nicolò Sartori</i>	
Chapter 23	365
Cooperation or Confrontation in the Fight against Terrorism: Turkey and the Transatlantic Alliance	
<i>Merve Seren and Murat Yeşiltaş</i>	
About the Authors	385

Preface

Turkey's place in the NATO alliance and Western institutions dates back to the years following World War II, when in 1947 U.S. President Harry S. Truman announced that the United States would provide political, military and economic assistance to all democratic nations under threat from external or internal authoritarian forces. Truman's doctrine informed U.S. Marshall Plan support for Turkey and facilitated Turkey's membership in most Western institutions formed over the course of the Cold War, including the OECD, NATO, the Council of Europe and the OSCE. Turkey also developed its relations with the member states of the European Union, building a Custom Union and launching its candidacy for membership.

Today, many foundational elements linking Turkey to its Western allies and partners are being questioned. Dynamics across Turkey's neighborhood—including the rise and fall of the co-called Islamic State, waves of migrants, or Russia's efforts to project power and influence—are generating new uncertainties and tensions with regard to Turkey's role, its relationships and allegiances.

With these challenges in mind, we asked a number of eminent authors to address a broad set of issues related to Turkey and its role in transatlantic relations, ranging from historical and institutional relations to Turkey's multi-vector foreign policy and its impact on contemporary relations across the North Atlantic. The result is this comprehensive volume. I am particularly pleased that our authors have not limited themselves to description, but are also bold enough to move to prescription. Many propose creative ways to rebuild and strengthen the alliance between Turkey and its transatlantic partners. At this time of fundamental and often disorienting changes, their ideas add value to our debates.

Daniel S. Hamilton

Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation Professor
Executive Director, Center for Transatlantic Relations
School of Advanced International Studies
Johns Hopkins University

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our gratitude to our SAIS colleagues for their valuable support in realization of this project and to the authors for their hard work on this project. We are grateful to them for their contributions.

This publication would not be possible without the support from the SETA Foundation. Our special thanks to Prof. Burhanettin Duran, SETA General Coordinator and Assoc.Prof. Hasan Basri Yalçın, SETA Director of Strategic Studies for their support.

We wish to express special thanks to Tea Ivanovic, CTR-SAIS Fellow, for closely working with us to make this project a reality.

Our thanks also to Heidi Obermeyer, CTR-SAIS Fellow and Program Coordinator, and Andy Mullins, CTR – SAIS Non-Resident Fellow for their editing work on the publication.

As always, we are grateful to Peggy Irvine and Peter Lindeman for working out the publishing details of this and many other CTR publications.

The opinions expressed in the following chapters are the authors' alone, and do not necessarily reflect the views of any government or institution, or those of their fellow contributors.

Dr. Sasha Töperich
Senior Fellow, Center for Transatlantic Relations SAIS

Assoc. Prof. Aylin Ünver Noi
Non-Resident Senior Fellow,
Center for Transatlantic Relations SAIS

List of Figures and Tables

- Figure 1.1 Who Drives the OECD's Work?
- Figure 8.1. Russian Military Presence in the Crimean Peninsula and the Black Sea
- Table 11.1. Turkey's Foreign Trade with the Western Balkan Countries (in Millions of Dollars)
- Table 11.2. Yearly FDI Outflow from Turkey to the Western Balkans (Millions of Dollars)
- Table 11.3. Official Development Aid from Turkey (Gross, Millions of Dollars)
- Table 11.4. Western Balkans Visitors in Turkey
- Map 16.1. Hejaz Railway during the Ottoman Empire 1914
- Map 16.2. OSCE and SCO members
- Figure 18.1. U.S. Share in Turkey's Goods Trade with the World (in percentage terms)
- Figure 18.2. U.S.-Turkish Bilateral Trade in Goods (2001-2016) (\$ Billion)
- Figure 18.3. Turkish FDI Inflows and Outflows and the Share of the U.S.
- Table 18.1. Sectorial Breakdown of the American Companies in Turkey
- Table 18.2. Mergers and Acquisitions in the Turkish Market and the Share of U.S. Investors
- Figure 18.4. Barriers to Trade in Goods and Services Compared
- Table 18.3. Compared Average Applied Tariff Rates by HS Section for 2016 (HS Rev.2012)
- Table 18.4. The Map of TTIP Negotiation Agenda
- Figure 18.5. Tariff Equivalents of Non-Tariff Barriers to Trade in the U.S. and EU
- Figure 18.6. Potential Impact of a TTIP on Turkish Real GDP and Exports (in percentage terms)
- Table 18.A1. Selected Deals Showing U.S. Involvement in Recent Mergers and Acquisitions in the Turkish Market
- Table 18.A.2. U.S. Multinationals that Use Their Turkish Headquarter as a Regional Managerial Center
- Figure 23.1. Number of Security Raids and Detentions (January 16-June 20, 2017)
- Figure 23.2. Detentions by Militant Nationality (January 16-June 20, 2017)
- Figure 23.3. The Number of People Captured at Syria Border (2011-May 13, 2015)

List of Abbreviations

ACG	Azeri-Chirag-Deepwater Gunashli
AIB	Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank
AIOC	Azerbaijan International Operating Company
AK Party	Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
ANAP	Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party)
ATC	American-Turkish Council
A2/AD	Anti-Access/Area Denial
BCG	Boston Consulting Group
Bcm	Billion cubic meters
BIT	Bilateral Investment Treaty
BLACKSEAFOR	Black Sea Naval Cooperation Task Group
BRI	The Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
BSEC	Black Sea Economic Cooperation
BSS	Black Sea Synergy
BTC	Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan
BTE	Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum
BTK	Baku-Tbilisi-Kars
CAP	Common Agriculture Policy
CEE	Central and East European
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CEPR	Centre for Economic Policy Research
CFE	Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe
CICA	Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia
CoE	Council of Europe
CoMENA	Council of Middle East and North Africa
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
CPMIEC	China Precision Machinery Import-Export Corporation
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSCP	Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Pact
DCFTA	Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement
DEİK	Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey
DESA	Department of Economic and Social Affairs
DHKP-C	Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front

DP	Demokrat Parti (Democrat Party)
DPT	State Planning Organization
EAEU	Eurasian Economic Union
EaP	Eastern Partnership
EC	European Community
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
EEC	European Economic Community
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EFTA	European Free Trade Area
ENP	European Neighborhood Policy
EOKA	National Organization of Cypriot Fighters
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
ETIM	East Turkestan Islamic Movement
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Union Force Althea
FATF	Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FETÖ	Fetullah Terrorist Organization
FIU	Financial Intelligence Unit
FRONTEX	Frontières Extérieures
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
FTF	Foreign Terrorist Fighter
FSA	Free Syrian Army
FSECC	Framework for Strategic Economic and Commercial Cooperation
GCTF	Global Counterterrorism Forum
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMO	Genetically Modified Organisms
GNA	Government of National Accord
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences
GVCs	Global Value Chains
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IEA	International Energy Agency
IGEC	Israel-Gulf Economic Corridor
IKV	Economic Development Foundation (İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights

IRS	Internal Revenue Service
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KFOR	Kosovo Force
LNG	Liquid Natural Gas
MASAK	Turkey's Financial Intelligence Unit
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEI	National Export Initiative
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPPs	Nuclear power plants
NTBs	Non-Tariff Barriers
OBOR	One Belt One Road (The Belt and Road Initiative-BRI)
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Cooperation
OPIC	Overseas Private Investment Corporation
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
PISA	Program for International Student Assessment
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
PTA	Preferential Trade Agreement
PYD	Democratic Union Party
RAU	Risk Analysis Units
RFOM	OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media
R&D	Research and Development
SAA	Stabilization and Association Agreement
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SCP	South Caucasus Pipeline
SDA	Party of Democratic Action
SDF	Syrian Democratic Forces
SEECF	Southeast European Cooperation Process
SGC	Southern Gas Corridor
SME	Small and Medium-sized Enterprise
SNPTC	State Nuclear Power Technology Corporation
SOCAR	The State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic
SOEs	State-Owned-Enterprises
SOWG	Senior Officials Working Group
SPS	Sanitary and Phytosanitary Standards

TAP	Trans-Adriatic Pipeline
TABD	Transatlantic Business Dialogue
TACCI	Turkish American Chamber of Commerce and Industry
TANAP	Trans-Anatolia Natural Gas Pipeline
TEC	Transatlantic Economic Council
TIFA	Trade and Investment Framework Agreement
TIP	Turkistan Islamic Party
TİKA	Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency
TİSA	Trade in Services Agreement
TOBB	Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchange
TPAO	Turkish Petroleum Corporation
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
TUFTA	Turkey-U.S. Free Trade Agreement
TUSIAD	Turkish Industry and Business Association
UAV	Unmanned Aerial Vehicles
UFT	Under-secretariat for Foreign Trade
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCCT	UN Counter Terrorism Center
UNCLOS	UN Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
U.S.	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
USTR	U.S. Trade Representative
VLD	Visa Liberalization Dialogue
WEU	Western European Union
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War
YPG	People's Protection Unit