

## **FOREIGN POLICY of TURKEY**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

The Turkish Republic was established in 1923, following the demise of the Ottoman Empire. The Empire had been in a state of decline for several centuries. Inability to keep up with industrial and scientific developments, social and political unrest and wars had sapped its strength. The First World War, in which the Ottoman Empire took part on the losing side, signalled its end. As the Empire crumbled, its Turkish nucleus rose up in a War of Liberation against the invading powers and the Sultan's government. It was successful and resulted in the Lausanne Peace Treaty of 24 July 1923, which established the international status and boundaries of the new state. The Republic was declared on 29 October 1923. The Treaty provided the basis for the creation of the climate of peace and stability needed by the country. On the other hand, the success of Turkey set an example for many nations struggling for independence in Asia and Africa. Turkey immediately embarked on a course of modernization and reform in all walks of life. Despite the fact that the liberation struggle had been waged against major European powers, Turkey proceeded to establish good relations and cooperation with the West, and based her political and legal systems on modern, secular models. The goal, as expressed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the leader of the nationalist movement and first President of the Republic, was "to reach the level of contemporary civilization". And to achieve this aim, a doctrine for foreign relations was formulated that has held true to this day; in the words of Atatürk, "Peace at home, Peace in the world."

This has not been an easy task given the history and geographical location of Turkey. She lies at a strategic "crossroads" where two continents, Europe and Asia meet, and also where cultures and civilizations come together. This unique position gives her European, Balkan, Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, Caucasian and Asian identities all at the same time. It has exerted a strong influence on her foreign policy choices and has necessitated a multidimensional foreign policy. In this context, the primary objectives of Turkish foreign policy are to establish and to develop friendly relations with all countries, in particular with neighboring ones; to promote and to take part in regional and international cooperation; to resolve disputes through peaceful means and to contribute to regional peace, stability, security and prosperity.

## **BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

In the post-Lausanne era, the focus of the new Republic was on internal structuring. Externally, efforts were directed at resolving the problems left over from the Lausanne negotiations, including the Ottoman debt and border issues. Relations with neighboring countries were marked by a cooperative spirit and mutual understanding. In the mid-1930s, as the international environment was rapidly deteriorating, Turkey endeavored to form a security belt on its western and eastern borders. She played a leading role in the establishment of the Balkan Entente (Turkey, Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia) in 1934, and the Saadabad Pact (Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan) in 1937. The Montreux Convention, reinstating her sovereignty over the strategic Turkish Straits, and regulating navigation through them, was signed in 1936.

Abiding by the principles of the Republic born merely 16 years before the start of World War II, Turkey remained a non-belligerent ally of the anti-Nazi coalition until the concluding months of the conflict and then she joined the war merely to take her place in the new world order.

## **AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

Turkey became a founding member of the United Nations in 1945 and joined the Council of Europe in 1949. As a result of the growing threats to security in Europe, she joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1952. In 1963, Turkey became an Associate Member of the European Economic Community, the forerunner of the European Union. In the period of détente in Europe, Turkey was able to give more emphasis to developing her relations with Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union, her northern neighbour.

## **THE POST-COLD WAR ERA**

The dramatic changes that occurred in Europe in the late 1980's and early 1990's, that is the collapse of totalitarian regimes, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the emergence of new independent states, the reunification of Germany, and the spread of pluralist democracy and free market economies, brought the East-West rivalry and the bipolar system to an end. At the same time, there appeared new threats to security, such as ethnic nationalism, xenophobia, irredentism, religious fundamentalism and international terrorism, causing regional instability and conflicts, and casting a shadow over the initial optimism.

In the post-Cold War period, Turkey found herself at the centre of a large landscape, Eurasia, stretching from Europe to Central Asia. This area is destined to gain increasing geopolitical significance in the new millennium. Turkey, with her experience in democracy and economic development, and making use of the multiple ties with most of the countries in the area, has been able to take part in their transformation efforts. In this regard, she has spearheaded the formation of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization, which can be seen as the first successful attempt to capitalize in the post-Cold War spirit. Turkey has also played a leading role in the formation of a Naval Task Force for the Black Sea that will respond to emergencies and environmental disasters. On the other hand, another regional body, the Economic Cooperation Organization, originally consisting of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, has increased its membership and plays a significant role in its field. In the post-Cold War era, international peacekeeping has gained new significance and Turkey has participated in many peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations, such as those in Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo and Georgia. Moreover, Turkey has assumed the command of the International Security and Assistance Force in Afghanistan as of 20 June 2002 and has contributed troops, totalling around 1400.

## **THE BALKANS**

The Balkans, in which Turkey herself is situated, have played a significant role in European and World history. Important ties exist between the peoples of Turkey and other Balkan countries. This strategically sensitive region, constituting a gateway between Europe and Asia, is fertile ground for the kinds of conflicts that have characterized the political and security environment of the post-Cold War era. Turkey has traditionally aspired for conciliation, stability and peace in the Balkans, as her role in the setting up of the Balkan Entente in 1936 showed. She attaches importance to the forging of closer ties among Balkan countries and to the creation of a durable atmosphere of understanding and peaceful cohabitation. In this respect, Turkey has launched major initiatives such as the Southeastern European Cooperation Process and the Multinational Peacekeeping Force for Southeastern Europe. She is supporting the Stability Pact proposed by the European Union. Turkey has done her utmost to contribute to the settlement of the Bosnian and Kosovo conflicts. She participated in NATO operations, and is involved in UN peace efforts, and reconstruction work, in the area.

## **SOUTHERN CAUCASUS**

Similarly, Turkey regards peace, stability and cooperation in the neighbouring Caucasus as vitally important. She is exerting every effort to contribute to the peaceful resolution of the conflicts, as well as to the overall reduction of tensions in the area. She has proposed the establishment of a Stability Pact encompassing all the regional countries. In

this regard, the Armenian occupation of parts of Azerbaijan is a source of particular concern. Turkey supports the negotiations under the auspices of the OSCE/Minsk Group, as well as the bilateral talks between Azerbaijan and Armenia. On the other hand, she fully supports its third Caucasian neighbour Georgia, which is making significant progress in the political and economic fields. Turkey believes that the peaceful resolution of the conflicts in the Caucasus will result in political stability and economic well being for all, and will open up new prospects for regional cooperation.

Attaching the label of "genocide" to the measures taken by the Ottoman government during World War I toward a segment of the Armenian population of the Empire, which took up arms in support of the invading Russian armies, is erroneous and misleading. This allegation is politically motivated, and consists of a misrepresentation of historical facts. In reality the Ottoman government undertook a necessary but, under conditions of war, extreme climate, disease and shortages, difficult task to relocate the Armenian population. After World War I, official investigations and trials of individuals failed to corroborate the claim of a "genocide". However, decades later this allegation was used to justify a spate of terrorism by Armenians against innocent people, including 34 Turkish diplomats and their family members. This allegation is still used in a way that renders difficult the normalization of Armenia's external relations, as well as a balanced approach to the issue.

The Abkhazian and South Ossetian conflicts still endanger peace and stability in Georgia and in the entire region. Turkey, from the outset, has supported the peaceful resolution of the conflict within the framework of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Georgia. The solution of these problems is essential for the establishment of stability in Georgia and in the entire region.

## **CENTRAL ASIA**

On the basis of her close cultural ties and affinities with Central Asian countries, Turkey attaches high priority to the development of her relations with the region. She was the first country to recognize the independence of these new states and she immediately offered to share with them her experience in democracy and free market economy. The challenge here is to further consolidate the political and economic gains of these countries. The mobilization of their rich natural and human resources requires international cooperation and investment. Turkey is a capital exporting country in the region. The total value of credits extended by Turkey to the five Central Asian republics is above 1.5 billion US Dollars. Over 200 major Turkish companies have undertaken more than 8 billion US Dollars worth of projects. Moreover, Turkey's technical and educational assistance to the region includes more than 10.000 scholarships and training opportunities for university students and public officials.

## **ENERGY RESOURCES**

Turkey is geographically close to 70 percent of the world's proven energy resources, in particular to those in the Middle East and the Caspian Sea basin. With regard to the transportation of the oil and gas reserves of the Caspian Sea area, the route across eastern Turkey, connecting the energy fields to the Mediterranean, offers the most direct, cost-effective, technologically and environmentally feasible and safe option. On the other hand, the transportation of this large volume of oil by tanker through the narrow and congested Turkish Straits is not a sustainable option.

For these reasons, Turkey concentrated its efforts for the transportation of Caspian oil and Gas reserves to the western markets on the realization of East-West Energy Corridor. The pipeline projects linking the Caucasus and Central Asia to Europe will be essential for the region's integration to the West. Secure and commercially profitable pipelines will help bring stability and prosperity to the region. At this juncture, the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Main Export Crude Oil Pipeline (BTC) project is intended for both Central Asian and Azerbaijani oil. The legal framework of the BTC oil pipeline project was finalised by the end of 2000. The detailed engineering process was completed by June 2002. The third and last phase, namely the construction stage of the BTC project which will last 32 months was launched on 10 September 2002 and the ground-breaking ceremony took place on 18 September 2002 at Sangachal, Azerbaijan with the participation of the Presidents of Turkey, Azerbaijan and Georgia and the US Secretary of Energy. The first tanker to carry Caspian oil is expected to be loaded from Ceyhan in the first half of 2005. Regional energy trends played an important role in the determination of the pipeline route. The BTC pipeline will not only transport Caspian oil to Western markets in a safe way but also by lessening the transiting of oil tankers from the Turkish Straits, will contribute to the safety of navigation, environment and the 15 million inhabitants of Istanbul.

The BTC project will provide a sound and viable alternative for Europe, for steady, secure and cost-effective energy supply diversification. It constitutes the most environmentally safe, strategically sound and economically viable route.

Turkey thus will facilitate the requirements for secure transportation of Caspian oil and gas to the world markets.

The other important project of the East-West Energy Corridor is the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum (BTE) Natural Gas Pipeline, which will carry Azeri gas to Turkey through Georgia. The legal framework of the project is completed.

The transportation of Caspian oil and gas resources through multiple pipelines will enable the European countries both to diversify and secure their energy supply. The interconnection of the gas pipeline networks of Turkey and Greece within the south European gas ring project will also constitute an essential component of Europe's energy diversification efforts in the future.

## **RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

Russia, whose relations with Turkey date back centuries, has always been an important neighbour. The break-up of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the Russian Federation marked a new phase in Turkish-Russian relations. Both countries share the aim of working towards the enhancement of peace, stability and economic well-being in the region. Currently, good neighbourliness, mutual trust, friendship and cooperation form the basis of Turkish-Russian relations, which Turkey seeks to further develop to serve the mutual interests of both countries. Tangible results of their cooperation can be seen in the energy and economic fields.

The agreement signed between Turkey and Russia for the transportation of Russian natural gas to Turkey via an underwater pipeline in the Black Sea, known as the Blue Stream, is an example of that cooperation. Moreover, reciprocal visits between Turkey and the Russian Federation are strengthening bilateral relations. The signing of the “Action Plan for Cooperation between Turkey and the Russian Federation in Eurasia” on November 16, 2001 in New York was proof of both sides’ desire to upgrade and carry their bilateral cooperation to multilateral level.

## **THE MIDDLE EAST**

The Middle East, also a land of richness and promise, has experienced turmoil and conflict for a long time. Peace and stability have been elusive goals of the Peace Process. Turkey has supported the Peace Process from the beginning as the best method by which a solution to the crisis may be found. Turkey’s historical and current relations with the countries of the Middle East place her at an advantageous position with respect to contributing to peace efforts. The achievement of lasting peace will bring the goal of regional stability and prosperity much closer.

In this context, Turkey actively contributes to the search for peace in the Middle East as a facilitator and, upon the request of both Israel and Palestinian Authority, is currently participating in the Temporary International Presence in Hebron. Turkey also made a substantial contribution to the work of the Mitchell Committee, which came up with a set of recommendations designed to break the deadlock in the Peace Process and re-start the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.

Turkey strongly supports the idea of holding a new international conference to put the Peace Process back on track. We have also indicated our willingness to host this event in Turkey. Similarly, we support the efforts made by the Quartet to calm the situation and address the plight of the Palestinian people. The latest Three-Phase EU Plan proposed by the

Danish Presidency and the Road Map seem to address main concerns of the two sides and to gain some support in the international community.

## **IRAQI QUESTION**

Another source of instability and concern in the Middle East region is the situation involving our neighbour to the southeast, Iraq. After more than a decade since the liberation of Kuwait, the Iraqi problem remains unresolved. The adverse effects of this situation on the people of Iraq, on Turkey and the region are increasing.

The possibility of a military action against Saddam Hussein and an imposed regime change continue to occupy the international agenda. Unlike the case of the Gulf War or the anti-terror campaign in Afghanistan, the international community seems far from being in agreement on the need for taking forcible action to oust and replace the regime in Baghdad, let alone being able to build a coalition to that end. Under such circumstances, any premature military intervention in Iraq without a solid basis of international support is bound to give rise to serious questions of legitimacy, moral justification and political correctness.

In light of the still prevailing Gulf War effects on Turkey, difficult economic and political reforms towards EU membership and the position of the Arab world on a possible American military action, Turkey has opted to follow a policy of engagement towards Iraq, rather than further isolating and pushing the Baghdad regime into a corner. This means we are making active efforts to persuade the Iraqi government to comply fully with U.N. Security Council resolutions and cooperate fully with the UN weapons inspectors. In fact, the Iraqi authorities have recently taken positive steps in this direction and invited the weapons inspectors to Iraq. As a result of the new willingness displayed by Iraq to cooperate with the UN weapons inspectors, it should be possible to disarm Iraq without the need to take military action.

The territorial integrity and the national unity of Iraq must be preserved. The present segmentation in Iraq is only a temporary product of the ongoing stalemate. The current outlook of Iraq cannot be an inspiration for its future. Any political system of Iraq should be determined with the participation and consent of the Iraqi population. We wish to see a regime representative of and responsible to its entire people, a regime at peace also with its neighbours. The natural resources of Iraq are the wealth and property of the Iraqi nation as a whole. These resources should in no way be apportioned among population groups.

All of these factors show that Iraq's case is, indeed, special and that assessments on Iraq require utmost care, profound knowledge and due diligence. So, our hope is to see an Iraq, whose territorial integrity and political unity is preserved and peacefully reintegrated into the international community. Turkey is committed to working closely with its allies and friends to that end.

## **THE UNITED STATES**

Turkish-United States relations are based on longstanding friendship. During the Cold War years, the security aspect of this relationship became more pronounced, particularly following the Truman Doctrine and NATO membership of Turkey. In the post-Cold War environment, Turkey and the US elevated their cooperation to the level of "strategic partnership", as bilateral cooperation continued to prosper and diversify.

This strategic partnership is also essential for maintenance of peace, stability and prosperity in the wider geographies of mutual interest. This commitment between the two countries enabled them to continue to work together in preservation of freedom and democracy. In this connection, Turkey and the US continue to consult, coordinate and cooperate with each other, as appropriate, in conflict prevention and crisis management, containment of regional conflicts, curbing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and eradicating terrorism.

## **THE EUROPEAN UNION: TOWARDS ACCESSION**

Turkey has shown a close interest in Europe's integration process from the very beginning and the full membership to the European Union has been a primary objective of the Turkish foreign policy. In 1963 she became an Associate Member of the European Economic Community, the forerunner of the European Union, through an Association Agreement, which envisaged a Customs Union and full membership over a period of time. In fact on April 14, 1987, Turkey officially submitted her membership application and was declared by the European Commission "eligible" for accession. Meanwhile, the Customs Union between Turkey and the EU became effective on January 1, 1996 and was a significant milestone in Turkey's relations with the EU.

The recognition of Turkey as a candidate country for accession at the Helsinki European Council of December 1999, ushered a new era in Turkey-EU relations. In line with the Helsinki European Council Conclusions, the European Commission prepared an Accession Partnership for Turkey, which was announced on November 8, 2000 and was formally approved by the Council of the EU on February 26, 2001. The adoption of this document was a crucial step in Turkey's pre-accession strategy.

In line with the Accession Partnership, the Turkish Government announced its own National Program for the Adoption of the Acquis on March 19, 2001. The National Program was submitted to the European Commission on March 26, 2001.

Progress towards accession continues along the path set by the National Program. The most pressing aim here is the

opening of accession negotiations, which depends on the fulfillment of the Copenhagen political criteria. Within the last year, Turkey took a number of important steps towards this end. These efforts were acknowledged by the EU at the Laeken European Council of December 14-15, 2001, where for the first time, the possibility of opening accession negotiations with Turkey was explicitly mentioned at the highest level.

Another important decision taken at Laeken is that Turkey was invited to take part in the Convention on the future of Europe on an equal basis with the other candidates. This has been considered as a progressive step, which sends a clear message to the Turkish public opinion that our determined efforts to take our place within the folds of the Union, has the support of our European partners. In accordance with the Laeken European Council Conclusions, Turkey has been participating actively in the Convention's work with 2 parliamentarians and one government representative.

At the end of the Sevilla European Council of June 21-22, 2002 the Chairman's Conclusions to the effect that depending on the pace of reforms in Turkey, new decisions regarding the next stage of Turkey's membership can be taken at the Copenhagen Summit, is a promising sign.

On August 3, 2002, the Turkish Parliament adopted a new package of legislative reforms. These sweeping reforms range from reinforcing the legal guarantees on freedom of expression to the abolition of death penalty and from expanding the scope of the freedom of associations to lifting of legal obstacles to learn languages other than Turkish. In fact, these structural changes go beyond our NPAA to address all of the highly sensitive issues listed in the Accession Partnership. The realization of these reforms, in such a short span of time, especially in an early general election environment clearly demonstrates our resolve to meet the Copenhagen Political Criteria and our commitment to EU membership.

On October 9, 2002, the European Commission announced Turkey's Annual (2002) Progress Report. The Report underlines the progress made by Turkey towards the adoption of EU acquis but, at the same time much to our disappointment and regret, concludes that Turkey has not completely met the Copenhagen political criteria. According to the 2002 Progress Report, the Commission considers the recent reforms and implementation insufficient and expects further reforms to eliminate the last obstacles to meet the Copenhagen Criteria.

The report made no reference to the opening of accession negotiations. Instead, the Commission recommended reinforced pre-accession strategy, enhanced dialogue, administrative capacity development and increased financial cooperation. We believe that these recommendations cannot constitute a sufficient response to the political and economic reforms carried out by Turkey especially during the course of the last year. Certain segments of our public interpret that these recommendations implicitly point to developing a special relationship or a different status for Turkey to replace EU membership. Our clear-cut message to our EU partners is that Turkey will not accept any relationship with the EU other than full membership.

The extra-ordinary European Council meeting in Brussels on 24-25 October 2002 concluded that the recent reforms and progress "have brought forward the opening of accession negotiations with Turkey" and invited the EU Council "to

prepare for the Copenhagen European Council, the elements for deciding on the next stage of Turkey's candidature". It is now our firm expectation that the EU at the Copenhagen European Council in December 2002 will go a step further and set a date for the opening of accession negotiations with Turkey.

## **CYPRUS**

A partnership state between Turkish and Greek Cypriots was set up in 1960 according to agreements signed by the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot leaders and the Turkish, Greek and British governments. However, in 1963, only three years later, the Turkish Cypriots were ousted by force from all organs of the new Republic by the Greek Cypriots, in contravention of the founding agreements and the constitution. The claim put forth thereafter by Greek Cypriots to represent the "Republic of Cyprus" has been illegal, and has not been recognized by Turkey. The 1974 attempt by Greece to overrun Turkish Cypriots and to annex the island was resisted by Turkey in accordance with the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee. Consequently, Turkish Cypriots set up their own Republic, while continuing the search for reconciliation. The decision of the EU to start negotiations with the Greek Cypriot Administration for the accession of "Cyprus", without the consent of Turkish Cypriots, and in disregard of the negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary General further complicated the situation. This has rendered the settlement process more difficult.

Turkey wants a freely negotiated, mutually acceptable, comprehensive and viable settlement in Cyprus. Cyprus is the home of two nations and there exist two states in the Island. Turkey supports the efforts carried out under the good offices mission of the United Nations Secretary-General towards finding a just and viable settlement to the Cyprus issue. As a sign of this, President Denktas made a peace call to the Greek Cypriot side and proposed the establishment of a "confederation" in Cyprus on August 31, 1998. Foreseeing a confederated structure composed of two peoples and of two states of the island supported by symmetrical agreements with the two respective motherlands and guarantor states, this proposal would provide for the security of both sides and safeguard their identity and well being. However, this call did not receive a positive response.

Moreover, President Denktas, displaying once again his willingness for a settlement and his conciliatory attitude, invited Greek Cypriot leader Clerides to face-to-face talks in the Island in November 2001. In the direct talks between the two parties, which have been in progress since January 2002, six rounds have been completed. In this context, President Denktas has put forward Turkish Cypriot Party's comprehensive proposals for a settlement on 29 April 2002, and updated these proposals in a letter to the UN Secretary General on 11 September 2002.

The Turkish side attaches great importance to the settlement of the Cyprus issue and has the necessary political will to this end. However, as long as the Greek Cypriot side claims to be the sole and legitimate government of Cyprus and

expects joining the EU without the solution of the problem being a pre-condition, it will be difficult to achieve a mutually acceptable settlement. Furthermore, the embargoes imposed on the Turkish Cypriots constitute another negative factor that damages the relationship between the two parties in Cyprus.

Regarding the accession of the so-called “Republic of Cyprus” to the EU, Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) never accepted the decision taken at the EU summit in Luxembourg in December 1997 to start accession negotiations with the Greek Cypriot Administration. Through separate press statements, Turkey and TRNC declared that the Greek Cypriot side had no authority to negotiate on behalf of the whole Island and that the EU decision was in contravention of the relevant provisions of the 1959-1960 Treaties on Cyprus, and thus, constituted a violation of international law. The said Treaties prohibit Cyprus from joining any international organization of which both Turkey and Greece are not members. Turkey is currently not a member of the EU. Therefore, the accession of the Greek Cypriot side to the EU as the result of its unilateral application will not only be against international law but will also deepen the division on the Island.

## **GREECE**

After 1923, a period of friendship and cooperation existed between Turkey and Greece, in contrast to the hostilities that took place before. The balance, which the Lausanne Peace Treaty established between the two neighbours, played an important role in fostering good relations. However, a campaign by Greece for the annexation of Cyprus in the 1950s started a period of tension in the relations of the two countries that are also NATO allies. The situation was aggravated by the 1974 coup attempt of Greece in Cyprus, the subsequent Turkish intervention, and the Greek efforts to alter the status quo in the Aegean Sea at Turkey’s expense.

The start of a constructive dialogue between Turkey and Greece in recent years has led to the signing of a number of agreements on areas of cooperation. Furthermore, Turkey has proposed a set of Confidence Building Measures for the Aegean Sea, which are currently being negotiated by Turkey and Greece under the aegis of NATO. It is hoped that the improvement in bilateral relations will continue in the coming period, allowing for the gradual tackling of all issues, and resulting in a climate of cooperation beneficial to the two countries as well as to the region as a whole.

## **TERRORISM**

Terrorism, whether carried out individually or collectively, poses one of the greatest threats to international peace and security. Terrorism violates fundamental human rights, particularly the right to live, and can have no justification under any circumstances. It is an evil that strikes at the very core of democracy, civil society as well as economic and social development. Turkey has deeply felt the effects of terrorism. The foreign-sponsored campaign of violence and terrorism which targeted Turkey until recently has been curbed to a large degree, mainly as a result of concerted efforts and the perseverance of all segments of the population.

The terrorist attacks perpetrated against the United States of America on September 11 have demonstrated the level of threat that terrorism poses to mankind, and underlined the need for solidarity and concerted international action in the global fight against terrorism. Turkey was among the very first to join the global coalition that has been mobilized. Turkey is of the opinion that terrorism cannot be associated with any religion, culture, geography or ethnic group. Terrorist organizations exist everywhere in the world; therefore, the fight against terrorism is the common fight of the civilized world. That is the reason why Turkey has hosted a joint Forum between the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the European Union in Istanbul on 12-13 February 2002.

In this regard, the decision of the European Union, taken in May 2002, to include PKK- separatist/ terrorist organization, which has been renamed as KADEK-, and extreme leftist DHKP-C terrorist organization in the list of terrorist organizations constitutes a positive development.

## **AFGHANISTAN**

Turkey's interest in Afghanistan is not a new-found one. Afghanistan was the first country to recognize the new Turkish Republic when it was proclaimed in 1923. For her part, Turkey has helped Afghanistan with its modernization efforts. Torn apart by decades of continuous warfare, the country is now entering a period of gradual recovery and reconstruction.

Now that the Taliban is virtually out of the way, and the terrorist command, control and training centres in the country have been mostly eliminated, the world's attention has naturally shifted to the next phase, which involves two parallel tracks. One is the creation of a viable government structure that will pave the way for a political accommodation on the question of power-sharing and consolidate domestic peace and stability in the transitional period. The other is the immediate implementation of an action plan to rebuild the physical, economic and human infrastructure of Afghanistan. While giving firm support to the U.S-led campaign to rid Afghanistan of terrorist elements, Turkey also expressed its

desire to participate in international initiatives aimed at rebuilding Afghanistan. Turkey is helping the Afghans on a bilateral basis as well, by providing aid in critical sectors like health and education, and training Afghan diplomats and security personnel. In addition, Turkey is playing a leading role in the efforts to reinforce peace and stability in Afghanistan.

Furthermore, Turkey has initially contributed nearly 270 troops to the International Security Assistance Force, authorized by the U.N. Security Council to assist the Afghan Administration in maintaining security in and around Kabul. On June 20, Turkey took over the command of this force for the next six-month period and increased its ISAF contingent to around 1400 troops.

### **NEW HORIZONS OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY**

In the aftermath of the Cold War, changing circumstances have bestowed upon Turkey a special responsibility to make active contributions to the preservation of regional and global peace and stability. Turkey is doing her best to live up to this historic task, with a clear vision for the future. As mentioned earlier, Turkey has contributed troops, material and observers to international missions within the framework of the United Nations, NATO and OSCE, from Somalia through Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia to Hebron, Georgia, East Timor and most recently Afghanistan. There are two major objectives that drive Turkish foreign policy vision for the future. The first goal is to make Turkey an integral part of the European integration process. Historically, geographically and economically, Turkey is a European country. It is therefore quite natural that she should become a full member of the European Union, sooner rather than later.

The second, but equally important goal is to transform Turkey into a pivotal and prosperous country at the centre of the vast geography called Eurasia. A much stronger Turkey capable of creating a constantly growing zone of stability and welfare around her is certainly in everyone's best interest. Turkey already enjoys the most diversified industrial base, has the best-trained and equipped army and is one of the few deep-rooted democracies between the Balkans and Central Asia. The political, economic and security initiatives Turkey has launched, which encompass diverse regions, will also be instrumental in attaining this target.

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