

Türk Dış Politikasının Temel Konuları

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TÜRK DIŞ POLİTİKASININ TEMEL KONULARI

(Haziran 2013)

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DEĞİŞEN DÜNYADA TÜRK DIŞ POLİTİKASI

The world has not yet found order since the end of the Cold War. The process of change continues.

- New power centres like China, Russia, Brazil, India, South Africa and Turkey are emerging.
- ♦ There are also new and developing threats such as terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, environmental problems, volatility in food and energy prices, cross-cultural and religious intolerance.
- Overall, it is a more complex world.
- Post-World War II mechanisms can no longer meet today's requirements.
- We need a more representative and democratic system.
- ◆ The United Nations Security Council and other post Second World War mechanisms need to be reformed.

Turkey is at the centre of this big change.

- ◆ Turkey is no longer at the sidelines of Europe or Asia, but is at the epicentre of Afro-Eurasia. There are many risks and opportunities in this region.
- Turkey has a strong and resilient economy, a dynamic open society and an advanced democracy.
- Turkey also has strong historical and cultural ties with many countries in this region. Therefore as a constructive power, Turkey has been playing an active role in its region, which is undergoing a comprehensive transition.

Turkey pursues a more dynamic, visionary and multidimensional foreign policy. Turkish foreign policy is guided by clear principles and led by a strong vision.

- ◆ The fundamental principle of Turkish foreign policy is "Peace at Home, Peace in the World".
- We attach high importance to solve problems with our neighbours. We want to achieve peace and stability in our region through economic interdependence, political dialogue and cultural understanding.
- Resolving conflicts through engagement and cooperation is one of our key goals.
- We are aware that these will not take place instantly. We must be patient and adhere to our visionary approach. And we must expand the scope of our partnerships.

Occasionally it is claimed that there is a shift in the axis of Turkish foreign policy. They suggest that there is a change in our foreign policy priorities and focus. These claims and suggestions are not true.

- ◆ A country's values determine its foreign policy axis. For Turkey, those values have not changed.
- As a secular and functioning democracy based on the rule of law, free elections and respect for human rights, Turkey represents, and promotes universal values.
- Our ties with our allies and partners in the West are strong as ever.

No country is our adversary or enemy. There might be countries with which we have some problems. Still, we wish to solve our problems through dialogue and cooperation.

We made important progress in our foreign policy approach.

- We still keep the vision of improving our relations with our neighbours. The high volatility and instability of our region does not change our commitment. We are determined to contribute to the peace and stability around us. For this purpose we always keep channels of dialogue open.
- We have strengthened strategic relationships with our Western partners.
- ♦ We have enhanced our partnerships with the emerging powers of Africa, Asia-Pacific and Latin America.
- ◆ Today no geography is distant to us. Turkey is present economically and politically in all parts of the world.
- We have become more active and visible in international organizations.
- We are also working together with many regional organizations.
- We have launched many mediation and facilitation initiatives in places like Lebanon, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, Iran, Sudan and Somalia.
- ◆ The Mediation for Peace initiative, which we have launched together with Finland in September 2010, has been generating a great deal of interest within the UN family.

- ◆ In addition to its bilateral and multilateral efforts, Turkey hosts "Istanbul Conferences on Mediation" that annually bring together the experts and practitioners in the field of mediation.
- We are also co-sponsoring the largest-ever United Nations initiative (Alliance of Civilizations) to promote cultural dialogue, harmony and mutual respect.
- ◆ As a responsible member of the international community, we have also become an important donor country. As of 2012, we are providing close to 2.5 billion USD of official development assistance (ODA).
- Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA-Türkiye İşbirliği ve Kalkınma Ajansı) is carrying out development projects in more than 100 countries.
- ◆ In Afghanistan, which is the largest recipient of Turkish development aid, for instance, we have completed over 800 projects amounting up to 400 million USD.
- We offer a helping hand to all underdeveloped nations.
- We have initiated many regional cooperation projects like Black Sea Economic Cooperation, Southeast Europe Cooperation Initiative, Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform, Iraq Neighbors' Forum.
- We play an essential role in energy security with many oil and natural gas pipelines crossing our territory.

Turkey is a reliable partner for peace, security and constructive globalization. Our vision for 2023, the 100th anniversary of the Turkish Republic, is:

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- to become a full member of the EU,
- to take our place among top ten economies of the world,
- to be a major development partner for all the developing nations,
- to be generator of global welfare,
- to be an active and constructive player in all international and regional organizations,
- to be a "wise country" whose contributions and engagement is sought worldwide,
- to set a successful example in its wider region for democracy, respect for human rights and sustainable development,
- to have the political, economic and diplomatic capacity to help establish and maintain a new world order which will be just, fair and democratic.

AB KATILIM SÜRECİ

Turkey has been part of European history for centuries.

- Turkey is a member of most of the European organizations.
- ◆ Turkey is a founding member of the Council of Europe (Avrupa Konseyi). It is also member of NATO, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE [Avrupa Güvenlik ve İşbirliği Teşkilatı-AGİT]).
- European integration will not be complete without Turkey's EU membership.

Turkey-EU relations are built on many agreements all aiming at full membership.

- ♦ 1963 Turkey becomes an associate member.
- ♦ 1996 Turkey and the EU establish Customs Union.
- ♦ 1999 Turkey received candidate status.
- ♦ 2005 Turkey and the EU start accession negotiations.
- Turkey cannot accept any form of relationship other than full membership.
- ◆ This is what has been agreed upon in the first place.
- ♦ We don't ask for special favours, but want the EU to live up to its contractual obligations.
- We want fair and equal treatment with other candidates.
- Discrimination against Turkey is eroding the credibility of the EU.

Turkey is fully committed to the EU accession process. The EU membership remains a strategic goal for Turkey.

- ♦ The reform process to meet the EU membership criteria will continue.
- We are also preparing a new constitution that will consolidate the reform process in Turkey.
- These reforms aim first and foremost to provide the highest standards in every field of life to our own citizens

Both Turkey and the EU will benefit from our membership. Concerns about Turkey's membership are not justified.

- ♦ Economic: Turkey is currently the world's 16th and Europe's 6th biggest economy. Turkey is projected to become Europe's 2nd largest economy in 2050. Turkey will not be an economic burden to the EU. Just the opposite, Turkish membership will bring new opportunities to the EU. Turkey's and the EU's performances during the recent economic crisis provide a proof of that. Turkish economy continued to grow during the crisis, creating more than 4 million additional jobs.
- ◆ Social: There won't be a vast migration from Turkey to Europe. In fact immigration is now reversed and more people are returning to Turkey to benefit from our economic growth.
- ◆ Cultural: Being a country with a predominantly Muslim population should not be seen as a problem. After all, the EU is a community of principles, standards and values, not a religious or cultural club.

Like the rest of the European countries Turkey is also founded on common universal principles, such as the rule of law, respect for human rights and democracy. Turkey's membership will be the strongest response to the so-called "clash of civilizations" claims. It will consolidate the "unity in diversity" of the EU.

♦ Political: Turkey and the EU share the same wider neighbourhood. Turkey's active foreign policy to generate peace, stability and prosperity in this geography complements that of the EU. In this respect, the membership of Turkey will give the opportunity and greater leverage for the EU to become more influential in this neighbourhood and beyond. This will also have positive implications for our region.

EU countries should thus be more active in informing and preparing their public opinion for Turkey's membership.

- ♦ Increased people-to-people contacts are essential.
- ♦ Lifting visas on Turkish citizens will certainly help allow this interaction.
- Many third countries, which are not even a candidate for membership, already enjoy visa exemption.
- Visa free travel is the contractual right of Turkish citizens, as called for by the European Court of Justice.
- We are in dialogue with the EU to achieve visa-free travel to the Schengen area for Turkish citizens. We want to complete this process as soon as possible with a Road Map that meets our just and legitimate concerns.

Our accession process should not be compromised for short term political gains.

- ◆ The Cyprus issue should not continue to poison Turkey-EU relations.
- It was a mistake to let a divided Cyprus accede to the EU. Turkey should not be expected to pay the price of this mistake.
- (Kıbrıslı Rumlara limanlarımızın açılmasını öngören) The Additional Protocol was signed with the understanding that the EU will lift the isolation imposed on Turkish Cypriots.
- ◆ This is the EU's duty in accordance with the EU Council decision of April 2004. The EU has not yet performed this duty.

The current situation is not acceptable or sustainable.

- There are 35 chapters. 14 of them have been opened. However, 17 chapters of accession talks are blocked due to political reasons.
- There is a pressing need to enhance the dialogue between Turkey and the EU on strategic issues of common interest and/or concern.
- ♦ The accession process should be allowed to run its course. This is the EU's contractual obligation.
- In this process Turkey should be treated in a fair and equal manner like any other candidate country. We cannot accept double standards.
- Turkey-EU relations have much wider regional and global consequences.
- In particular, Arab countries that are going through a regionwide transition are watching our accession process closely.

 EU leaders must display visionary leadership and start acting upon it.

After a long stalemate, we appreciate the recent decision to open Chapter-22 on regional policy and coordination of structural instruments.

- However, we look forward to progress on all negotiation chapters, notably Chapters 23 and 24.
- There is a need for a game-changer to break the impasse and to enhance public confidence towards the EU in Turkey.
- Abolishing all political obstacles in the negotiation process and granting a visa-free travel for Turkish citizens could serve for this purpose.

KIBRIS

Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot side have always supported a solution based on the UN parameters.

- The UN Plan of 2004 (Annan Plan) was a balanced one for both sides. It laid the ground for the two communities to live together in a new partnership state. It was endorsed by the entire international community including the EU and the UN Security Council members.
- ◆ The plan was put to separate simultaneous referenda on both sides of the island in 2004. The Turkish Cypriots accepted the plan by a large majority (65%) while the Greek Cypriots rejected it by an even larger majority (76%).

The Greek Cypriots made the Partnership Republic (Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti) that was established by international treaties in 1960 impossible to function.

- They did not want to share power with the Turkish Cypriots.
- ♦ In 1963 they started systematic violence towards the Turks. They killed the Turks in great numbers.
- In 1974 there was a Greek sponsored coup d'état to unite the Island with Greece.
- Turkey had no choice but to exercise its rights to protect the Turkish Cypriots.
- ♦ The 1974 intervention was not an invasion. It was a legitimate action arising from Turkey's guarantor rights, as mentioned in the London-Zurich Agreements.

- Turkish forces in the island are there to protect the Turkish Cypriots and the ongoing ceasefire.
- On the other hand, there are also Greek forces stationed in the South, numbering around 7000. This number is much greater than foreseen by the 1960 treaties.
- ◆ Turkey will withdraw its forces to the level that will be defined in a future comprehensive settlement. If the Annan Plan had been approved by the Greek Cypriots, the Turkish force would have been very small.

The search for a solution to the Cyprus issue has been going on for almost half a century.

- ◆ The United Nations has already established the parameters of a fair and lasting settlement.
- A just and comprehensive solution should foresee a bicommunal and bi-zonal partnership state. Turkish and Greek Cypriots should be legally and politically equal.
- The Greek Cypriots illegally claim to be the sole representative of the island. This is not acceptable.

Greek Cypriots have not paid any price for not accepting a solution.

- ◆ In 2004 the Greek Cypriots were allowed to become a member of the EU.
- ♦ The Greek Cypriots try to prevent even sports and cultural events on the Turkish side.
- The restrictions imposed upon the Turkish Cypriots for decades continue. These are illegal. Even the UN Secretary General called for lifting the sanctions after the referenda of 2004.

The Turkish Cypriots are committed to finding a comprehensive settlement. They continue their constructive efforts with the UN Secretary General.

- Turkish Cypriots still want a comprehensive settlement and a new partnership in Cyprus. Both the current Turkish Cypriot government and the opposition support the efforts to reach a just and fair solution.
- ◆ The polls on the Greek Cypriot side, on the other hand, clearly show that they do not want a common solution. The Greek Cypriot youth has a negative view against a common future with the Turkish Cypriots.
- ◆ The Greek Cypriot side is rejecting the compromise proposals of the Turkish Cypriots without putting on table anything new and acceptable.

Current talks cannot go on forever and the process should be expedited.

- We want a negotiated and mutually agreed political settlement in Cyprus within a reasonable time frame.
 The UN Secretary-General has stated that the process cannot be an open-ended one.
- The window of opportunity cannot remain open forever.
- ◆ The last round of talks that took place between 2008 and 2012 did not produce a settlement agreement due to the Greek Cypriots' intransigence.
- We are now at a critical point. The confidence building measures proposed by the Turkish Cypriot side are very important to facilitate a settlement.

• We hope for and support a meaningful process that will lead to a fair and comprehensive solution in 2013.

We are also extremely concerned with the Greek Cypriot Administration's (GCA) decision to start offshore drilling activities in the south of Cyprus.

- Since it is directly related to sovereignty, we believe this issue should be a part of the comprehensive settlement in Cyprus.
- Both sides have equal rights and say over the natural resources of the island.
- ◆ This decision has the potential to undermine the talks for a comprehensive settlement and provoke a crisis.
- ◆ Turkey and Turkish Cypriots will do everything to protect their rights stemming from international law. To this end, an agreement was signed between Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on 21 September 2011 for the delimitation of continental shelf.
- We want the Greek Cypriots to stop unilateral drilling and exploration activities and start cooperating with the Turkish Cypriots under UN supervision.

Natural resources including water could potentially serve as building blocks for peace within the framework of a just and long lasting solution. A solution to the Cyprus question will bring peace, stability and an atmosphere of cooperation to the Eastern Mediterranean.

- Cyprus is no exception to Turkey's "zero problems with neighbours" policy.
- ◆ A settlement in Cyprus will be crucial in helping regional and global stability efforts.

TERÖRLE MÜCADELE

Terrorism is a vital and long-lasting threat to global security.

- Today it is more complex and networked. It is a danger for all of us.
- International determination and cooperation is necessary for a counter terrorism strategy.
- Respect for human rights and addressing the main causes of terrorism are equally important.

Turkey has been fighting different forms of terrorism for nearly four decades.

- Turkey has consistently and clearly condemned all forms of terrorism.
- We are committed to combating terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.
- ◆ The fight against terrorism in recent years became a global priority and sensitivities of Turkey are broadly shared. However it is still not enough. Some countries have selective approaches and some other countries don't have enough capacity.

There could be no justification for terrorism.

- Regardless of their motivation, all kinds of terrorism are a crime against humanity. There are no exceptions.
- No religion, race, culture or ethnicity should be associated with terrorism.

 The fight against terror cannot be selective. We need to cooperate against all terrorist organizations with equal will and determination.

PKK is a terrorist organization. It targets peace and stability in Turkey.

- PKK has murdered more than 30.000 Turkish citizens so far.
- ◆ Those who have suffered most from the PKK are Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin.
- ◆ In the meanwhile, PKK has enjoyed support of some neighboring countries. On the other hand, PKKaffiliated seemingly legal structures also benefit from the democratic and pluralistic environment in Europe.
- ◆ Therefore, Turkey is in constant dialogue with the European countries in order to prove the true nature of these structures and expect that necessary measures should be taken by these countries for curbing PKK's illegal criminal activities and propaganda in Europe.

Turkey is dealing with PKK terror on a comprehensive basis.

- Security measures have been complemented by social, economic and cultural steps.
- We are determined to continue the ongoing democratic process aimed at enhancing individual rights and freedoms as well as democratic standards in Turkey.
- ◆ Through the said process, Kurdish is now freely spoken across the country. There is an official TV and private TV and radio channels are broadcasting in Kurdish.

Turkey has launched a process to put an end to the attacks and the activities of the PKK terrorist organization.

- This process demonstrates Turkish Government's sincere and comprehensive approach in countering terrorism.
- The ultimate target of these talks is to disarm the PKK and provide suitable environment for democratic and legitimate politics to everyone.

The success of our fight against PKK terrorism also depends on our efforts to put an end to PKK activities mainly financing of terrorism in third countries.

- The PKK still has camps in northern Iraq, and continues its presence in Europe, where it finds financial and logistic support by abusing democratic freedoms.
- PKK generates 80% of its financing abroad, especially in Europe. It is essential for our European partners to step up their efforts against the PKK's financing activities.
- The Europol database currently lists 7000 PKK related organizations and associations in Europe. This clearly demonstrates the magnitude of the problem.

International cooperation is essential in fight against terror.

- Terrorism has no borders and values. No country is immune to terrorism.
- Turkey is a party to all international agreements and other instruments that aim at combating terrorism. We work actively for their effective implementation.

- ◆ Turkey will continue to actively support all international efforts to fight terrorism.
- In this regard, Turkey co-chairs with the United States the Global Counter Terrorism Forum (GCTF). Launched in September 2011, the GCTF proven itself as a nimble and action oriented instrument in the global fight against terrorism.

ORTADOĞU

The Middle East is very important for Turkey for many reasons.

- ◆ There are historical, cultural and social bonds between Turkey and the countries in the region.
- Our political and economic relations with the region are also expanding.
- Whatever happens in this region has a direct impact on Turkey.

The region is strategically important for the whole world too.

- ◆ The Middle East is the birth place of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.
- It has more than half of the world's oil and gas resources.
- The Middle East is beset with old and complicated problems, many of which are also interlinked.
- The region is now also the center stage for a historical democratization process. Its success will have global effects.

The main problem in the region is still the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Palestinian question is at the centre of this issue.

◆ This is a deep-rooted, long-standing conflict. But a solution is possible.

 Israel and Palestine should live side by side in peace as two sovereign states.

Israel's current policies are not helping the peace process.

- ◆ The Israeli blockade on the Gaza Strip is inhumane and illegitimate. It violates relevant UN Resolutions.
- Continued Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are also illegal. They make a two-state solution very difficult.
- ♦ The international community must call Israel to stop its illegal practices and engage with the Palestinians.

Palestinians must be kept engaged in the peace process. They must be given a credible prospect for a fair and comprehensive settlement.

- Palestinian national reconciliation and unity is essential to make progress in the peace process. All relevant parties must support efforts to this end.
- The international community must also facilitate Palestinian authorities' endeavors towards statebuilding.
- Turkey has always been an ardent supporter of the legitimate demands of the Palestinians to be recognized as a State by the UN.
- We welcome the UN General Assembly's historic vote on 29 November 2012 granting Palestine non-member observer State status.

Turkey is in a special place to play a supporting and facilitating role in the peace process.

 Turkey is one of the few countries which can understand the complex historical and regional dynamics of the conflict.

Turkish-Israeli relations have a deep-rooted historical background.

- Turkey and Turkish people have always had special ties with the Jewish people.
- Turkey has diplomatic ties with Israel since its foundation.

However, Israel's raid on Gaza, and Israel military's assault on the humanitarian convoy sailing to Gaza (İnsani Yardım [Mavi Marmara] Filosu) created a serious crisis in our relations.

- ◆ After this unlawful incident that strained our bilateral relations for more than two years, Israeli Prime Minister formally apologized to Turkey.
- ◆ Turkish Prime Minister accepted the aforementioned apology on behalf of the Turkish nation.
- We expect Israel to fulfill the remaining conditions that we put forward for a full normalization.

ORTADOĞU'DAKİ DEĞİŞİM HAREKETLERİ

The transformation that started in the Middle East is a historical one.

- ♦ The mass demonstrations are caused by the legitimate frustration and expectations of the people.
- They were fed up with poverty, corruption and repression.
- They demand freedom, justice, respect and dignity.

The Middle Eastern peoples have shown the world that democracy is not only for certain cultures or religions. Desire for democracy is universal.

- Therefore what is happening in the Middle East is very natural and long overdue.
- This is why change is not something to be feared but to be welcomed and supported.
- The transformation process that has started in the Middle East is inevitable and irreversible.
- From now on, no administration can ignore people's demands.
- All governments must undertake true reforms that will pave the way towards more democracy and freedom.
 There needs to be legitimacy, accountability and responsibility.
- It is also very important that the transformation happens peacefully. People in the region want democracy for a more reliable peace and prosperity. Change should not bring chaos and divisions.

Turkey has always called for reforms in the region.

- For example, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs Gül delivered an important speech in 2003 at the OIC (Organization of Islamic Conference) meeting to this end and called for reforms.
- ♦ Therefore, when the events started, Turkey immediately supported peaceful and democratic change.
- We are committed to assist all countries in their path towards democracy.

The pace and scope of reforms will differ from one country to the other.

- Reforms cannot happen immediately. But they cannot be delayed for long either. The reform process requires long term commitment.
- The leaders and peoples should be in the driving seat.
 The international community should help them in this journey.
- Transition should not bring new conflicts and/or divisions. Especially sectarian tension must be prevented.
- There is a need for the international community to act in unity. The people's needs and demands must be above narrow interests.

Turkey is well-placed to help these countries move forward with their reforms.

- We have unique historical, cultural and religious ties.
- ◆ Turkey has an open society, pluralist political system and strong economy.
- We are not a model for these countries. Every country has its own characteristics. But we provide a source of inspiration.
- Turkey is ready to share its democratic experience with the new democracies of the region.
- Moreover, we are willing to enhance political and economic consultation mechanisms and increase our technical cooperation with the regional countries.
- Additionally, we provide economic assistance and credit to the countries in transition, such as Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and Yemen.

We are deeply concerned by the alarming situation and humanitarian crisis in Syria.

- The Assad regime is indiscriminately killing civilians.
 The death toll mounts across Syria and the situation has now turned into a catastrophe.
- ◆ Turkey directly feels the negative impact of the crisis in Syria.
- Despite the direct implications on our domestic security, Turkey generously provided refuge to hundreds of thousands of Syrians fleeing the brutality of the regime.

- The continuation of the crisis is dangerous for the entire region. There is a real danger of spillover in terms of the regional security and stability. The rise of the sectarian tensions is particularly threatening.
- Assad regime lost its legitimacy long ago and is now the main source of the conflict. Therefore a peaceful transition should be initiated immediately.
- The UN Security Council must take all the necessary measures to start the transition process and ensure the protection of the Syrian people.
- Turkey will continue to support the democratic aspirations of the Syrian people and work with international community to bring the crisis to an end.

Flourishing democracies in the Middle East should be supported by the international community.

- Egypt is in a key position to determine the future of the Arab transformations.
- Solutions to political and economic problems should be sought within the democratic process.
- We wish that Egypt promptly reinstates a civil government which drives its strength from constitutional legitimacy and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- Turkey will continue to stand by its friend and brother Egypt and to support its political stability, unity and solidarity and economic prosperity.

İRAN'IN NÜKLEER PROGRAMI

We have historic relations with Iran as our neighbour. They cover a wide range of issues.

- We aim to have good neighbourly relations with Iran.
- We might have differences and disagreements on certain issues, but we want to resolve all such issues through dialogue and peaceful means.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons is an important threat to global security.

- Especially the Middle East needs to be a nuclear weapon free zone. We are against any country developing nuclear weapons.
- We believe that every country has a right to access to nuclear energy, as long as it is for peaceful purposes.
- Nuclear programs have to be developed in accordance with the relevant international agreements.
- Regarding Iran's nuclear program, there are legitimate questions that need to be answered.

The only real solution to this problem is a diplomatic one based on dialogue.

- ♦ The region cannot handle another armed conflict.
- Our vote against the United Nations Security Council resolution on additional sanctions against Iran in June 2010 was not to support Iran's nuclear program. We support dialogue.

 Military intervention is not an option. Diplomacy has to be given a stronger chance.

We convey our messages openly and work actively to help resolve the problem peacefully.

- For example, the Tehran Declaration signed by Turkey, Iran and Brazil in May 2010 was the first time Iran officially undertook certain commitments about its nuclear programme. It was a missed opportunity.
- ◆ Today, we are still committed to help facilitate a peaceful/diplomatic solution.
- ◆ After a long interval, the negotiations between P5+1 and Iran had once again resumed in Istanbul in April 2012.
- ♦ After the meetings in Baghdad and Moscow in 2012, we are pleased to see that the dialogue was maintained at meetings in Almaty and Istanbul in 2013.
- We will continue to support this process and encourage all parties to engage with each other in a meaningful and constructive way.

TÜRKİYE-ERMENİSTAN İLİŞKİLERİ VE 1915 OLAYLARI

Armenia is our neighbour. We attach importance to having good neighbourly relations with Armenia.

- ◆ Turkey was one of the first countries to recognize Armenia's independence in 1991.
- The reason why we have not established diplomatic relations and closed our border is Armenia's invasion of Azerbaijan's territory.
- 20% of Azerbaijan's territory is still under Armenia's invasion. 1.5 million Azeris are currently displaced due to Armenia's invasion.
- ◆ Armenia also wants third countries to recognize the events of 1915 as "genocide" and actively works for that purpose. This poisons our bilateral dialogue.

Nevertheless we still want the normalization of the relations.

- ◆ This is why two Protocols were signed on 10 October 2009 between the two countries after long negotiations.
- ◆ The Protocols included the establishment of diplomatic relations, opening of the border and forming of a joint commission to study the events of 1915.
- The Protocols also aimed at assisting efforts for comprehensive peace in the region.

Turkey remains committed to the normalization process with Armenia.

- We have sent the Protocols to the Turkish Parliament for ratification.
- The Armenian Constitutional Court on the other hand adopted a decision that contained provisions against the letter and spirit of the Protocols, especially with respect to the events of 1915 and recognition of Turkish-Armenian border.
- However, Turkey still wants to take the Protocols forward, even after the decision of the Armenian Constitutional Court.
- ♦ The Protocols have created a historic opportunity, not only for the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations, but for dialogue and peace across the southern Caucasus.
- We hope that Armenia will act with wisdom and contribute to the establishment of peace in the whole region.
- In this regard, steps toward the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh (Dağlık Karabağ) conflict will have a positive impact on our normalization process.

The Armenian claims describing the events of 1915 as "genocide" constitute a one sided representation of our common history.

- Turkey does not deny the suffering of Armenians, including the loss of many innocent lives during the First World War. However, greater numbers of Turks died or were killed in the years leading to and during the War.
- Without belittling the tragic consequences for any group, Turkey objects to the one-sided presentation of this tragedy as a genocide by one group against another.
- ◆ Turkey proposed the establishment of a joint commission where Turkish and Armenian historians could study the events of 1915 in the archives of Turkey and Armenia and all other relevant archives in the third countries and to share their findings with the international public.
- ♦ However, most of the Armenian archives remain unlike those in Turkey – closed to foreign researchers.

Turkey is in peace with its history.

- We are ready to work with the Armenians to reach a just and common memory of what had happened in 1915.
- Turks and Armenians need to address their history on a reliable factual basis.
- This is where establishing a joint historical commission would help. This way we may start a dialogue on the historical dimension through an impartial scientific examination.
- Problems can be solved only through such a dialogue.

The Armenian Government and Diaspora have significantly increased their efforts regarding the events of 1915. They want national parliaments of the third countries to recognize these events as genocide.

- Parliaments should not take the place of courts and deliver verdicts on such issues with historical and legal dimensions.
- ♦ History should be examined by historians.
- Instead of taking political steps to impose a one-sided memory, third countries should adopt an impartial approach and assist the normalization process between Turkey and Armenia.
- Attempts in some third countries to criminalize the denial of Armenian claims are particularly wrong and unhelpful.
- We hope that Armenia will also demonstrate a forward looking visionary approach, instead of seeking tactical gains.

TÜRKİYE'NİN EKONOMİSİ

With a population of more than 74 million, dynamic and open-market economy, competitive industry and the Customs Union with the EU for more than 17 years, Turkey is a country with a substantial and growing market.

- Its population is young, dynamic and well-trained.
- ♦ 61% of the population is under the age of 34.
 (Approximately 45 million) The average age is 30.1.
- ♦ There are 500.000 university graduates every year.
- ♦ 25 million of the population is actively employed.
- Turkey is ranked as the 5th biggest labour power, if ranked among the EU member countries.

Turkey is rightly recognized as an emerging economy with global reach.

- Turkey's GDP (Gayrı Safi Yurtiçi Hasıla) is approaching one trillion USD level. In nominal terms it stands at 786 billion USD as of 2012.
- ◆ Turkey has become the world's 16th, and Europe's 6th largest economy (PPP).
- ♦ Turkey is also a member of the G-20.
- ◆ The per capita income (kişi başına düşen milli gelir) in Turkey has exceeded 10.000 USD level (10.504 USDs in 2012).
- ◆ Turkey's annual trade volume reached to 389 billion USD in 2012.

- ◆ Its exports increased almost five times in the last 10 years and exceeded 152 billion USD in 2012. Despite a relative decline in proportion, the EU is still Turkey's biggest trading partner. Turkey is EU's 6th biggest trading partner.
- ◆ Turkish foreign trade diversified and gained a multiregional character in the last decade. In the last 10 years, the share of Africa in Turkey's exports increased from 4.7 % to 8,8 % and the share of Asia (including the Middle East) climbed up from 14.5 % to 34,8 %.

Turkish development assistance is increasing significantly.

- Official development assistance reached 2.5 billion USD in 2012.
- This represents an increase of 98 % compared to 2011.
 With a total foreign assistance equal to 0,32 % of its
 GDP, Turkey ranks 14th among OECD nations.

According to the OECD, Turkey is expected to be the fastest growing economy among OECD members during 2012-2017, with an annual average growth rate of 5.2 %.

- ◆ Turkish economy proved its resilience by recovering from the global economic crisis quickly.
- ♦ After growing by 9.2 % in 2010 Turkish economy registered a growth rate of 8.8 % and 2.2 % respectively in 2011 and 2012.
- ◆ The average growth rate of Turkish economy in the period of 2002-2012 is 5.2 %.
- In the same period, GDP of Turkey increased from 231 billion to 786 billion USD.

Turkey is an attractive country for foreign investors.

- During the last 10 years, the total inflow of foreign direct investments (FDI) to Turkey has increased 10 fold and reached 123 billion USD.
- In 2012, attracting 12.4 billion USD foreign investment, Turkey was World's 13th most popular destination for FDI inflows.
- Currently, over 33 thousand foreign firms are operating in Turkey.
- The involvement and participation of international investors is highly encouraged in the massive privatization program.
- ◆ Turkey is listed among the top OECD countries that have gained the most out of its privatization program.
- ♦ From 1985 to 2002, the total value of privatization was 8 billion USD. In the 10 years from 2002 to 2012, this number climbed up to 46.3 billion USD.

In 2012 Turkey was the 6th most popular tourism destination across the globe.

- ♦ From 2001 to 2012 the number of foreign tourists visiting Turkey increased from 11 million to 32 million.
- ♦ The tourism revenues for the same period increased from 7.4 billion USD to 29 billion USD.
- Turkey is chosen not only for seaside tourism, but also for health, culture, faith, congress, sports, and archaeological tourism.

Turkey is also an important country in global energy issues.

- ♦ 70 % of the world's hydrocarbon resources are around Turkey.
- Turkey plays a key role in global energy supply security.
- Turkey is also a strategic hub for energy transit. It is enhancing this role with important projects like the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline and the NABUCCO project.
- The signing of Trans-Anatolian Pipeline Project in 2011 between Turkey and Azerbaijan was a major milestone for Turkey's energy strategy.

By the time we reach 2023, which is the 100th Anniversary of our Republic, we want to:

- Be one of the top 10 economies of the world,
- Reach a GDP total of 2 trillion USD,
- ♦ Have one trillion USD of annual trade volume,
- Receive 50 million tourists per year,
- ◆ Decrease unemployment rate to 5 %,
- Include every citizen in the social security system.