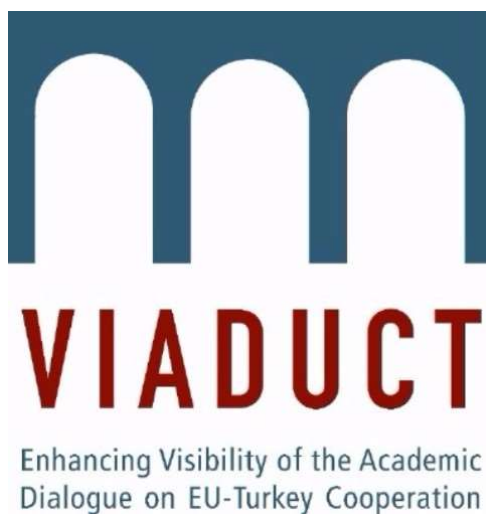




**Dear VIADUCT Friends,**

We are happy to share with you a brand new VIADUCT Newsletter.

In this Newsletter you will find:

The **EDITORIAL** by *Dr Tomáš Weiss*, Charles University Prague

**NEWS** from the VIADUCT network

The latest publications on EU-Turkey in the **VIADUCT LIBRARY**

**OTHER NEWS** on EU-Turkey relations

and you will be able to **DISCOVER** the VIADUCT network

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## EDITORIAL

### EU-Turkey relations after PESCO

In the European Union, the security and defence cooperation has gained momentum in recent years. The EU does not feel as

It used the available leverage of NATO membership and persuaded the EU to let it engage with the new policy closely. As a

crises in Europe and its surrounding. The Arab Spring, the rise of the Daesh, the migration wave of 2015, and, above all, the deconstruction of the global order that culminated with the Russian annexation of Crimea have been challenges that the EU needs to tackle for remaining a relevant actor in international affairs. Security and defence is, therefore, the first policy area in which the EU Global Strategy is being implemented.

Defence cooperation has had its ups and downs in the EU in the last two decades. Being considered the next grand project (after the single market and the euro) that would further propel integration, EU defence policy started impressively after the 1998 Saint-Malo summit with the first institutions set up and the first operations launched within several years. It hit its limits soon, however, struggling with low investments, the insufficient deployability of European militaries, legal constraints and national protectionism. New operations and missions emerged now and then, but the EU never turned into a more unified and more capable actor as some may have hoped. The Lisbon Treaty only made little difference in this respect. Neither the new High Representative nor the European External Action Service managed to persuade the Member States about the need for more intensive cooperation.

There are several mutually connected initiatives that have brought the defence cooperation back to the top of the EU agenda, today. All of them focus on the defence budget and defence capabilities - issues that have been repeatedly identified as crucial for a more capable EU role in the security dimension. The election of President Trump in the United States and the British decision to leave the EU only confirmed this perception. The EU Member States have agreed to run a coordinated annual review on defence to identify overlaps and opportunities in national defence planning cycles. The European Commission has promised to establish the European Defence Fund to co-finance defence research and development and incentivise common projects among Member States. Lastly, the Member States have woken the "Sleeping Beauty" of the Lisbon Treaty and established the Permanent Structured Cooperation on defence (Art. 46(4) TEU), which is an institutional roof under which the common projects and the development of new capabilities will materialise.

content with the established *modus vivendi*. All changed when the Cypriot conflict became an internal EU issue after 2004. Both Turkey and Cyprus have been using their membership in NATO and the EU respectively to upload their bilateral dispute to the international level, effectively blocking the development of the two organisations' mutual relations. Turkey cannot participate in the CSDP more actively, which includes the inability, in particular, to become involved in the European Defence Agency.

None of those problems has been solved so far. By now, however, Turkey and the EU have grown even more apart. The apparent reservation on the side of numerous Member States to Turkish accession has undoubtedly not been reduced by the internal developments in Turkey after the failed coup attempt in 2016. Additionally, the United States that helped coin a compromise on EU-NATO relations leading to the Berlin Plus agreement in 2002/2003 cannot be expected to mediate a solution, today. Its position on the EU's initiatives remains unclear under Donald Trump's leadership and its relations with Turkey are on a long-time low, due to the conflict over Fethullah Gülen's extradition and the Turkish military campaign against Kurdish forces in northern Syria.

As a result, while there is a renewed cooperation between NATO and the EU on hybrid threats, cyber defence, and other common challenges, PESCO means a structural shift that may increase the defence cooperation within the EU in an institutionalised form. Countries outside the Union will find it harder to influence European defence policy because PESCO projects will bring the members' defence planning closer together. While this does not only affect Turkey, other significant European non-EU allies, notably Norway and the post-Brexit UK, will be attached to the process through their close association with the European Defence Agency. Some authors see the PESCO as an opportunity to bypass the Cyprus veto and to re-connect Turkey closer with the European defence policy (e.g. Senem Aydın-Düzgit in her contribution to the FEUTURE project), but this would require an extra effort on both sides, which is not particularly visible for the moment. Turkey focuses on military cooperation with Russia instead. In the past, the hiccups in EU-Turkey relations in the defence area were results of temporary political disagreements, in future, they may become structural.

particular role. Turkey has worked closely with the majority of EU Member States through NATO. After the establishment of the CSDP (originally ESDP) in 1999, however, Turkey watched the new policy with suspicion.

It feared that the new scheme would undermine its existing association with the Western European Union, the previous European project of defence cooperation.

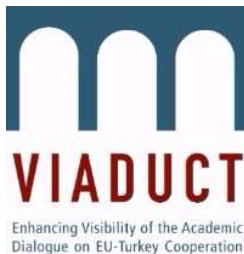
Head of Department of European Studies  
Institute of International Studies,  
Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University



## NEWS FROM THE VIADUCT NETWORK

### UPCOMING ACTIVITIES

#### 1<sup>st</sup> VIADUCT Week, 23-27 April 2018



The 1<sup>st</sup> VIADUCT Week will take place in Brussels between 23 and 27 April 2018, coordinated by **CETEUS**, **TEPSA** and **Humboldt University Berlin**. It clusters the network's main face-to-face activities in 2018,

namely:

- The 1<sup>st</sup> VIADUCT Seminar on EU-Turkey relations
- The VIADUCT Kick-off Conference
- The 1<sup>st</sup> VIADUCT Informal Policy Debate

Read more [here](#)

#### VIADUCT Student Paper Competition



VIADUCT is organising a student paper competition that seeks excellent contributions on EU-Turkey relations and

shall offer students the opportunity to gain experience with academic publishing. The aim of the competition is to contribute to the professionalisation of very young researchers and to allow outstanding work by them to be recognised and widely disseminated.

Deadline: 31 May 2018

Read more on [VIADUCT website](#) and [download the call](#)

#### VIADUCT Master Seminar on EU-Turkey relations

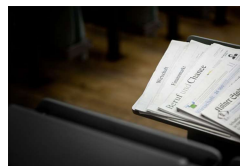


A Viaduct-workshop and study trip for master students to Brussels will take place from 23<sup>rd</sup> -25<sup>th</sup>

April 2018. The aim of this activity is to increase knowledge about contemporary debates, difficulties and achievements in the day to day relations between EU institutions and Turkey and to understand the actual struggles in the political process of policy-making through an on-site experience on the topic.

Read more [here](#)

#### Call for papers: VIADUCT Policy Papers



The VIADUCT network organises a policy paper series with a focus on EU-Turkey relations offering young researchers to publish outstanding

research via VIADUCT's dissemination platforms. The policy papers shall communicate and diffuse research to a non-academic audience, particularly practitioners and policy-makers.

Deadline: 31 May 2018

Read more on [VIADUCT Webpage](#) and [download the call](#)

#### VIADUCT Kick-Off Conference



in Brussels on 26-27 April 2018 with the aim of initiating the network activities and strengthening

synergies between VIADUCT partners.

Read more [here](#)

## PAST ACTIVITIES

### FIIA Seminar: Turkey and the EU's security in times of trouble: what is the nature of the relationship in terms of security cooperation?



On 20 March, the **Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA)** organised a seminar to analyse the current nature of the EU - Turkey relationship.

Read more [here](#)

### TAU Panel: Turkey's Place in Europe and the World



**INSITER** Coordinator **Ebru Turhan** discussed together with Sinan Ülgen (EDAM) and Piotr Zalewski (The Economist) the current state of play in EU -Turkey

relations at a panel titled **"Turkey in Today's World Map"** on 17 February 2018 at TUSIAD headquarters in Istanbul.

Read more [here](#)

### INSITER Coordinator at the Izmir University of Economics



**INSITER** Coordinator Ebru Turhan was invited to **Izmir University**

of Economics by **Jean Monnet Professor Alexander Bürgin** to hold a Jean Monnet Seminar. On 12 December 2017 Turhan gave a talk in Izmir on **"Possibilities and Limitations of Differentiated Integration between Turkey and the EU."**

Read more [here](#)

### IAI/GMF Conference: EU-Turkey Cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean



Eu-Turkey cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean was addressed in a conference, on March 21, promoted by

the **International Affairs Institute (IAI)** and the **German Marshall Fund of the United States**.

Read more [here](#)

## VIADUCT LIBRARY

Alaranta T., ["A 'Eurasian Turn' in Turkish Foreign Policy? Not Likely"](#), 2018.

Alaranta T., ["Russia and the Idea of Eurasia in Turkey's Strategic Culture Paradigms"](#), in *Strategic Culture and Russian Neighbourhood*, Miklossy K. and Smith H. (ed.), Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, (forthcoming in 2018).

Alaranta T., ["Turkin viimeisin hyökkäys Syyriaan: tausta ja toimijat"](#), 2018.

Boşnak B., ["Europeanisation and De-Europeanisation Dynamics in Turkey: The Case of Environmental](#)

Periphery: Comparative Perspectives from Hungary and Turkey", Government and Opposition Limited and Cambridge University Press 2017

Öniş Z., "The Age of Anxiety: the Crisis of Liberal Democracies in a Post-Hegemonic Global Order", The International Spectator, vol. 52, 2017, pp. 18 - 35

Rumelili B. and Boşnak, B., "Taking stock of Europeanization of Civil Society in Turkey: The Case of NGOs", in *The Europeanisation of Turkey: Polity and Politics* by Tekin, A. and Güney, A. (eds.), Routledge, 2015, pp.127-144

Siddi M., "The EU's Botched Geopolitical Approach to External Energy Policy: The Case of the Southern Gas Corridor", 2017.

Turhan E., "The Implications of the Refugee Crisis for Turkish-German Relations: an Analysis of the Critical Ebbs and Flows in the Bilateral Dialogue", Marmara University's Öneri Journal, vol. 13, no. 49

Turhan E. and Aydin Y., "Deutschlands Rolle beim Flüchtlingsabkommen der Europäischen Union mit der Türkei – Eine Zäsur in der deutschen Türkei-Politik?", in: *Deutsch-türkische Beziehungen: Historische, sektorale und migrationsspezifische Aspekte* by Wolfgang Gieler, Burak Gümüş and Yunus Yoldaş (eds.)

## OTHER NEWS

Publication: "**Turkey and Transatlantic Relations**", by Sasha Toperich and Aylin Ünver Noi (eds), *Center for Transatlantic Relations*. Read it [here](#)

Publication: FEUTURE Online Paper No. 13 "**EU and Turkey Energy Interests in the Caspian and Middle East Region**". Read it [here](#)

Publication: FEUTURE Online Paper No. 14 "**Identity Representation of Turkey and Europe in Global and Regional Media**". Read it [here](#)

Publication: FEUTURE Online Paper No. 15 "**Turkey and European Identity Constructions in the 1946-1999 Period**". Read it [here](#)

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Co-funded by the  
Erasmus+ Programme  
of the European Union

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Our mailing address is:

[viaduct@tepsa.eu](mailto:viaduct@tepsa.eu)

To know more about VIADUCT and its activities you can contact the project manager

[Katrin Schmitz](#)

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