

## **Javier Solana:**

Thank you very much, everybody, for being here. Ayşe, thank you very much for the people you have there with you. Let me start by thanking the Brookings Institution for inviting me to address you in this seventh Sabancı lecture. Thank you very much, Strobe, for your kind words. I know what you mean, you mean what you say. You are a good friend, and we will continue being good friends. For me, it's a great pleasure to be with you and your team at Brookings. Martin, etc... I'd like to say a word of thanks also to Güler. We were together; I think it's about a month ago, in Istanbul, in your University in the beautiful two days of work. At work for Europe, and work for your country, for Turkey. And also that day, it was raining. I remember it that was, it rained quite a lot. But in any case, they were a very successful couple of days and I will not forget that. And I want to pay a gratitude to you not only for what you have done economically for your country, your family, yourself today, but also what you have done university-wise on education. You have the most important university in Turkey, no doubt about that. But one of the most important universities in the region, and recognized for their excellence in not only Europe but beyond Europe. While I am supposed to talk to you today short, if I can. But the topic you put to me was not short, it was long. I will try to say a couple of words about where we are now, and what the relationship between Turkey and Europe has changed or could change from the moment in which it started, and I will recall those moments, to today, in the new situation of the world of today. Güler, you have described very well the certainties in which you are living. If this lecture were to have taken place three months or three months and a half ago, we had Osama bin Laden alive, Hosni Mubarak in power, President Ben Ali in power, and Japan that you have mentioned being an example in technology, in particular in sophisticated technology. Now today, we have a very different situation. We have movements in Egypt and in many countries in the region. I take Egypt as an important one, but all of them as important. We have witnessed the troops of Saudi Arabia crossing the border to Bahrain. We have seen now a battle, a war, according to the, well, not a war. But an operation, according to the UN secretary on conflict resolution, in Libya. And we had, as you have mentioned, a lot of suffering in Japan caused by nature. But not only the suffering of the people, but a fundamental change because the breaking of the nuclear power plant has brought to us a real, new situation as far as energy is concerned. The trust we have in nuclear energy. Is it losing ground? And it will be very difficult to see it coming back soon. And therefore, all the issues are related to the energy. Energy security will be very, very important. So we have a very different situation in the region in which Europe is, in our neighborhood. And it's very difficult in the region in which the neighborhood of Turkey is, because it's the same. And in these circumstances, I would like to say a few words about the Europe of today, which is different than the Europe of 1999. The Turkey of today, which is different than the Turkey of 1999. And what can we do together? And what are the benefits for Europe of Turkey to continue working with determination in trying to make Turkey a full member of the European Union? That is my dream, and I expect to see it in my lifetime. A word about Europe. I mean, let me say that the Europe of today is larger than the Europe of 1999. It is going through a very, very profound economic crisis that came about around the same time that we approved the Lisbon Treaty. If you remember, the Lisbon Treaty was the treaty that should accommodate the European Union to the new times. And it was supposed to be approved in 1995. If you remember, it was approved three years later, three years later, three years later because of two referenda that say no. One in France, and the other in the Netherlands. But imagine for a moment that in 1995 the treaty would have been approved. And that three years later, the economic crisis came. But by that time, the treaty had been already developed. The newest tract would have been in place. But we had, bad luck, if I may say, that two things they put into place in the treaty, the new treaty. And having to handle the economic crisis, the financial crisis, has

made things, it's an understatement to say, a little more difficult. Now, what do we have to do? We have to do to tackle the crisis, no doubt about that. And do things that were not thought to be done. For instance, to strengthen what is called the economic governance of the European Union. As you have seen, the Eurozone has had difficulties and problems due to the lack of capacity that we had in order to govern that situation in the appropriate manner. But as I said, if a treaty would have been approved in time, surely that situation would have been corrected and we would be able to tackle the crisis in a better manner. So, we have to strengthen the governance of the Eurozone, no doubt about that. We have to do a lot of work on competitiveness. Really, Europe is getting behind on competitiveness. We have to do that, prepare better skills for people. And better education and better science and technology. And that is something that we have to do in a rapid manner if we don't want to really lose the position that the European Union has had in this domain. I would like to share also that we have to talk very seriously about the problem of migration vis a vis Europe. This is going to be, and it is already, a big problem, but with time will be a bigger problem. If I were to give you the figure that by the year 2050, the working force in Europe is going to be decreased by 70 million people. 70 million people by the year 2050. So that has to be resolved if you want to maintain our economy. And for that we need, no doubt, migration and open the borders of the European Union. As you know, the problem of migration is a complicated problem. It has to be handled appropriately, and not to create a debate about migration, which is not a problem of migration but a problem about xenophobia, of populism, et cetera. And we are beginning to see in Europe some examples of that, of what could that be? What you have populist political parties come into arena, which are authentic, I really don't like it. To see authentic, the authentic X, the authentic Y, this is a very delicate thing. We don't have to be authentic; we have to be just what we are. But when you have to add what you are, authentic, bad news. And that means other things what you want to say. Now, I would like to defend ourselves and I will cooperate as much as I can to these potential movements of, real movements already about populism in Europe that I think we have to stop. But I'd like to say with a link to the question of migration that Europe has been, by definition, a place with cultural diversity. I would like to say that diversity is the destiny of the European Union. And this is very important being said here, because when we talk about Turkey we are talking about diversity. But I would like to claim and defend the position that this diversity is what enriches, enriches profoundly, the European Union. And at this point in time in history, what the European Union needs is not to be a museum, but to be an active player in the contents of international politics. And for that, it needs the blood, the new blood, the new energy, the new interpretation of the people of Turkey and the country which is Turkey. So, I'd like to say that the European Union is different than the European Union of 1999, when we signed. But it's a European Union that some may say that it's going through a difficult problem. It always goes through different problems, but you resolve the problems, you come out. And I'd like to say that as far as the strength of the economic governance, if I were to tell you that never I would have believed that the decisions that have been taken by the latest European Council, in particular this May the 7th of 2010, I never would have believed that that could be done. Today, we don't have a treasury. But we are just about to have something very similar to that. We are not an estate. The bank, the European Central Bank, has capacities today that it was impossible to dream in 1995, 1996, 1997 that could exist. And we will not play with Euro bonds, because that is a word that is absolutely forbidden in Germany. But the important thing is we are able to do something like that, call it in a different manner. And that is what we are doing, in fact, by the capacities we are giving to the Central Bank to act. Therefore, I think that when you look at the Europe that you may think that it's losing its position in the world. That has made a difference inside, in economic. By the way, parenthesis, if you were to look at the growth in the state of the United States, for instance, let me say, let me get one, Arizona and California. Or Texas, better Texas. Texas has a fantastic economy. And California is bankrupt,

simply. Well, Germany is having a fantastic economy. And Portugal today is taking a position about getting help. Of course, we are not talking about the same two animals. One animal is a nation state, the United States. And the other, the European Union, is a collection of countries that decided to live together and try to work together for the better of themselves and the better of the region and the world. But things are going well in everywhere, and things are going not so well in some parts. And this happens in every house. In your house and in our house, too, being different. Now, the point is that in Turkey that is not happening. Turkey is growing, Turkey is navigating through the crisis in a manner which is not a manner that we, the Europeans, you the Americans have gone through. You really have put in place a very solid economy, and you have navigated it very well through the crisis. Kemal will be a better speaker than me to say that. But I would like to say that after having described a little bit what I see as the Europe of today, let me move on to what I see as the Turkey of today. And tell you that I think that the Turkey of today has something to do with the process of accession to the European Union. The mechanism, the dialogue has been established between the European Union and Turkey. No doubt has changed also, is not the only response or reason, or that is your responsibility. But the fact that we are talking, the fact that we're working together no doubt has changed the picture of your country. Politically, and also economically. Without the attraction, let me call them the magnetic poles of the European Union, many of those things never would have taken place. So I think there is no doubt that this relationship is a good relationship for both, for Turkey and the European Union. Economically, as I said, you are now playing in the G-20 and playing an effective, very solid role. And politically, you have adapted to the new situation in a very, very sophisticated manner. It resonates in my mind a strategic depth. It sounds in my mind the other expression, non-conflict with our neighbors, zero conflict with our neighbors. All these ideas that have been put in place by the role that you want to play in the world, I think, is very important. We understand that very well, and I hope that everybody understands that very well, including many of the people of your country. Because that is very, very important, a very important change. You are having now in this new content in which you are living with this position in the world trying to get out of being to the, in the borders of the Western world and taking your role in the region in where you are is very, very, very important. But that has to be complimented with closeness in these relationships between Turkey and the European Union. You have in front of you a very important moment after the election, with the election first, and after the elections the writing of the constitution. And that is a fundamental moment for Turkey. And I wish the best to Turkey in that delicate moment. I am an expert in transitions. It started from my own transition. I was a member of the Spanish Constitutional Commission that wrote the Spanish constitution in 1975, '76 when Franco died. And I know what it is to move from a situation like that to a normalized situation democratically. And I know how important it is that the constitution is done by consensus. By definition, a constitution is a consensus among the people. In both parts of the, even if it's a majority, the constitution to the minority is the first mistake that you can do, you can have, or we can do. We tried not to do, and I think we didn't do it. To maintain a country, really stable politically, in the future. So, I really would like to accompany you in that process after the election because it will be very, very important the manner in which the constitution is written. I think that politically, as I said, a lot of things have taken place very, very well in your country. There are other issues that have to be tackled, take a look at them in relation to some of the problems that you know. But I'm pretty sure that that is going to go well. But again, the process of the electoral process, both electoral processes in particular in the writers of the constitution, to me, it's a very, very important one. Any help that can be given make sure that your friends would be more than happy to give it. Now, a word about the relationship between the European Union and Turkey. Well as you know, the relationship, the institution of the relationship, comes from a time back, in 1963. We had started to have institutional relationship between the

European Union, at that time, and the Turkey of that time. The association agreement, the first document that we signed, was in '63. A lot of things have happened from them, even to '99. In '99, as Strobe has mentioned, was the night in which I had to go to Turkey because Turkey didn't want to sign to be a candidate because they thought that the position we were going to make or present to you would be too tough, and it was not the case. I was there; I talked to the Prime Minister Ecevit. It was midnight. Then, to President Demirel. And two days later, Prime Minister Ecevit was in Helsinki where the European Council was taking place and we signed formally the most important signature we have put on the table together. Which is Turkey wants to be a member of the European Union. And we said: Turkey will be a member of the European Union. I put my signature on that document. And I can guarantee you that I will try, that that signature is valid today, tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow. And I will fight for that. Now, you know what is now the situation where we are now. Now the negotiations for membership have started. I'm not going to bore with all the technicalities, but a few technicalities you have to know, because so difficult the mechanism. Now, we have 35 chapters that have to be opened. A chapter means that you have to discuss from agriculture to energy, competition, environment, employment, social, I mean, you can't imagine. All the parameters in which you have to discuss the positions. And we have limited that to 35, 35 chapters. Now, we have opened already 19 chapters, which is less than what we would like to have open already. That is not the problem. The problem, we only closed one. That is a problem; that is a difficulty. And this is where we have to fight. Because we have 19 open. In fact, of them is really a few which are moving but still only one closed. And that's what we really cannot tolerate that to happen. Now, another thing which is bad is that the rhythm at which this is taking place is going slower. In fact, in the second semester of 2010, nothing happened. I hope that the first semester of 2011, the chapter devoted to competition will be open. And not only open, but moving right. I have to tell you that the 19 of April, that means a few days ago, a few weeks ago, the last session of negotiation, the latest session of negotiation took place with your foreign minister, you have met, and the members of the commission of the European Union, it was a good meeting. It was the last one that has taken place. The next one will be after the summer. But I think that that will be, to my mind, I hope that it will be during this year, 2011, movement and movement will be meaningful. Let me also say that, and that is very tricky to say, and very difficult to say. But in the world, there are many problems. Terrible problems. And I think we are facing one that affects you and affects Turkey and affects the European Union which is not terrible, but is difficult. It is not terrible because in Cyprus people do not kill each other. In Cyprus people live in a manner in which they talk to each other, etc... In fact, the other day when we were together, we saw the two negotiators there in Istanbul and we talked to them. As I said, it's not terrible. But it is difficult. And that has to be resolved. And I'd like to say publicly, and to the audience in particular, young people from Turkey, that Turkey has done a tremendous, a lot. A tremendous effort. The response that Turkey gave to Kofi Annan, the plan, was spectacular. It was a failure, at the end. Not because of you, but it was a failure. But, having said that, you know that after that still the European Union, you like it or not, but that was a decision. Cyprus is a member of the European Union. And that creates a difficult problem. Now, I will ask you that having this in mind, it's, since Cyprus is going to be a member of the European Union already, and it's not going to be out, we have to make an extra effort to see how we can solve that problem. But again, Turkey has done the utmost, and Turkey immediately accepted the result of the Kofi Annan plan. And so I just stop here this point. But I hope that you understand what is the consequence of that or the difficulty of that, which I could bring now. Now, let me finish by saying that we need each other. We need Turkey and the European Union, need each other. They need each other economically, they need each other politically. I mean, economically. If you were to

look at the figure, the European Union supplies now to Turkey 75 percent of the investment. The European Union buys about 50 percent of your exports. The European Union offers – contributes to the tourism into your country, to Turkey, about 50 percent of the tourists that go to there. Now more than 3 million Turks live already in Europe. With this symbol, as I said before, of our will to the diversity. Diversity is our aim, in a way. Our definition. And that from the economy. If we were to talk about energy, it's impossible to talk about energy in Europe without talking about our cooperation with Turkey. I was very, very happy when the last time that I talked with your prime minister and your president on Nabucco. Nabucco is something very, very important. We got a very good agreement on the question of transit through Turkey, very good deal. We got a very good agreement. And I hope that that will continue working forward. Now, politically. Politically, we need each other. The neighborhood of Turkey is our neighborhood. The problems that Turkey wants to resolve, and we like to do it together. Because the problems that you'd have, that you want to resolve, are the same problems that the European Union has to resolve. Therefore, if we were to talk about a strategic advantage for the European Union to have Turkey in, it will be many. If we were to talk about the foreign security policy of the European Union, Turkey would be in the European Union, it would be way much better. If we were to talk about the relationship between the European Union and NATO, it would be much easier if Turkey is part of NATO. Therefore, from that point of view, from the political point of view, also to my mind, we need each other. And we will do much better if we would act together, and really together. Now, I don't want to take the conversation to the point that you have brought about the Middle East. But it will be obvious that the cooperation of the European Union with the problems of today and the Mediterranean would be way much easier if we do it together. But I would even go further. In Bosnia Herzegovina, we need you and you need us to really guarantee the border when Herzegovina finally gets a solution that is still, as you know very well, as today is not quite, quite, quite resolved. And it's in a position rather difficult now. And the cooperation between Turkey and the European Union is fundamental. In the situation, the role of Egypt today, is Egypt going to appear as another big power in the region? It's something that for some time was not. The rapidity which they have found the solution between Hamas and Fatah, the manner in which they have to deal with Rafah. The manner they are going to deal with problems recognizing Iran and if that is the only thing they do, well, my country has done it. Germany has done it; all the European countries have done it. If at the same time, you respect the UN Security Council Resolution. In all these things, we have so much to do together, Turkey and the European Union. That I don't think I have to insist on that. So, I think I went too far. I'm too long, I'm afraid, I'm sorry for that. But I want to finish by saying that in the world we are living in, difficult but full of hope. Unpredictable, as we have said at the beginning. The world needs that Turkey and the European Union work together. What does it mean, work together? It doesn't mean that we go working together that we meet every now and then and we sit down at a table and we decide how we're going to handle a certain problem. No. It needs something much deeper, and that is well defined. That is to be Turkey being a full member of the European Union. That is my dream, and for that I will continue fighting. Thank you very much.



