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TURKEY, EUROPE, AND THE WORLD IN 2011

SEVENTH ANNUAL SABANCI LECTURE  
WITH JAVIER SOLANA

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## P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. TALBOTT: We always begin the annual Sabanci lecture with a sentence that includes the very important word, Inshallah. We are connected to our friends in Sabanci University in Istanbul, with technology that is going to work brilliantly, Inshallah. (Laughter)

Ayse, are you hearing us? Are you hearing us, Ayse?

MS. KADIOGLU: Can you hear me? Oh, okay.

MR. TALBOTT: Yes.

MS. KADIOGLU: Yes, we can.

MR. TALBOTT: Terrific.

MS. KADIOGLU: We can hear you very well.

MR. TALBOTT: The weather is not smiling on us either here in Washington today or in Istanbul. I think we have a sort of sympathetic vibration going between Washington and what I regard as the most beautiful city on the face of the Earth, Istanbul. It's chilly and rainy there. It's chilly and rainy here. But we're in for a terrific event this morning.

And I want to thank all of you for being here, for the seventh Sabanci lecture. And I want to offer particular greetings and thanks to Ayse and her colleagues and the students and faculty, and the visitors and guests at the University in Istanbul who come to us by way of this video link.

In due course, Ayse is going to help moderate the discussion on the Istanbul end. And here in the Falk Auditorium at the Brookings Institution, my friend and colleague Fiona Hill, senior fellow in the Foreign Policy Program at Brookings, and the director of our Center on the United States and Europe, will serve as moderator.

And by the way, to all of our friends in Istanbul, Fiona is going to be

coming your way next week -- is going to be meeting with a number of you, we hope. And please do what you can to improve the weather by the time that she gets there.

As you all know, I think -- because as I look around the room I can see here on this end a number of people who have been to these lectures in the past -- this lecture is a living memorial to Sakip Sabanci, who was a far-sighted entrepreneur, a champion of Turkey's political and economic reforms, and an outstanding and very influential philanthropist.

With us here in Washington this morning -- and it's of course morning here in Washington -- is Sakip Sabanci's niece, Güler Sabanci, who is the chair of the Sabanci University board, a friend of the Brookings Institution, a personal friend of many of us here in this room -- and I'm glad to count myself among those -- and she will offer her own welcome in just a couple of moments.

I want to say a few words about this year's Sabanci lecturer, Javier Solana. As everybody on both ends of this telebridge knows, Javier was for a decade the high representative for common, foreign, and security policy for the European Union, as well as secretary of the European Council.

He was before that five years the secretary general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization during a period when that alliance was put to some unique tests that it withstood and prevailed over, in no small measure because of Javier's leadership. We're very proud that he's now a distinguished fellow of the Brookings Institution. But let me go to the essence of the reason why Güler and her colleagues and Martin Indyk and Fiona and our colleagues on this end decided that he would be an appropriate person to give this year's lecture.

It's a very simple reason, indeed. There is no European who has done more to promote the recognition of Turkey's European vocation and advanced the cause

of Turkey's accession to the European Union. I can remember because I was working very closely with him at the time on other issues, including ending a war in the Balkans, when Javier was in Helsinki for a European Council meeting of great import. Because it was at that council meeting that it was decided to make Turkey officially and formally a candidate for membership in the European Union. And Javier got on a plane and flew to Ankara, and met with Prime Minister Ecevit and began what we all hoped would be the process of bringing Turkey into the European Union.

Now that was, of course, a breakthrough moment. It was a moment of great hope. And a dozen years have passed since then and that hope has not been fulfilled. And that is despite the fact that Javier has been unrelenting in his advocacy of Turkey taking its rightful place for the good, not only of Turkey but for the good of Europe and the good of the world, and the European Union.

Now let me say just another word or two about the other gentleman here on the stage with me who is going to conduct a discussion with Javier after Javier gives his lecture. Kemal Dervis is, to put it mildly, well known on both sides of the telebridge that is connecting us to Sabanci University today. He's here at Brookings in his capacity as vice president and director of our program on the Global Economy and Development. He also has an important role to play at Sabanci University. He is associated with the University's Istanbul Policy Center, and we're very fortunate that its new director, Fuat Keyman, could be with us here this morning. And I personally look forward to working with you, Fuat, on what I can imagine are a whole number of issues where we will be able to collaborate in the future.

Kemal is also a member of the Sabanci University's advisory board. As everybody knows, he's been a major figure on the world stage as the former head of the United Nations Development Program. He was, of course, a star -- I'd even say a

superstar -- at the World Bank. And he used his economic expertise and vision to great effect as the finance minister of Turkey.

I've been fortunate enough to know Kemal for quite a long time, and I regard him as the ultimate global public servant and public intellectual. In short, he's the ultimate citizen of the world. He's at home on a number of continents, speaks a number of languages, cares about all of humanity. He's a champion of what he calls a better globalization, which by the way is the title of an excellent book that he wrote. And there are at least 12 copies still available in the Brookings bookstore outside. And it's also available online. (Laughter)

But being a citizen of the world does not, in his case -- or I think in anybody's case -- mean that he is a man without a country. He does have a country. He has a native land, and it's Turkey. And he's very, very proud of that country. He has served Turkey well in the past, not least by virtually if not literally saving its economy from genuine crisis. He's finding ways of serving Turkey now, and he has integrated into his globetrotting career and his cosmopolitan worldview a profound sense of the very best kind of patriotism. Which he manifests as a commitment to the role that his country is already playing in the G-20, on the world stage as a whole, and, I would add, the role that it must play in the European political, economic, and cultural space to which it belongs.

So, who better to lead us in a dialogue with the ultimate European, Javier Solana? But first, as Güler Sabanci comes up here to welcome all of you, please join me in thanking her for making this lecture series possible over these past seven years.

Güler, the microphone is yours. (Applause)

MS. SABANCI: Thank you, Strobe. Thank you very much. Good morning and good afternoon to Istanbul.

It is, indeed, a great pleasure and honor to be here among with you here

in Washington and on the seventh Sakip Sabanci lecture. We will discussing among us, is it the sixth or the seventh? But eventually it is the seventh Sakip Sabanci lecture, which is organized by Brookings Institute and Sabanci University in the name and in the spirit of Mr. Sabanci.

And as most of you know, Mr. Sabanci has been put forward also with many times that he was not only a business man. He was not only a business leader and an entrepreneur, but he was a philanthropist and he was a humanist. I worked with him for 28 years. I have been very close to him, so I know very clearly his strong belief in all the men has the right in the world to have a better life and a better democracy. He was a strong believer of that.

And we believe it will be the best way to remember him and to respect his memory, is to suggest a theme that best projects his values and his commitment to freedom of speech, to freedom of association, freedom of free markets, free enterprise, and most importantly, of course, his dedication was leaving a stable and livable and higher standard of living to the next generations.

And this year's lecture and the speaker comes to a crucial point in time. These values are being tested again globally for all of us.

The Turkeys', as you all know, immediate neighborhood -- there is a powerful people's movement going on, which some of you call it Arab Spring. And demanding a greater say in the government and in their own destiny. The existing totalitarian regimes crumble one by one under the pressure of the people who have long been denied their freedoms.

A nuclear disaster has just happened, triggered by a tragic tsunami in Japan -- has reaffirmed for all of us our faith on the renewable sources of energy. The horrors of Fukushima disaster has also made us, I think, realize our shortcomings clearly

in fulfilling our responsibilities to leave a cleaner and stable world for the generations to come. These and some others -- all the eminent global challenges that we are facing, which comes with great risks and uncertainties. And yet also, I hope, with great opportunities, of course.

All these uncertainties -- and Turkey strives as the only stable country in its own region. With its secular democracy, rapidly growing economy, and a strong civil society, it continues to set a good example for its neighbors.

Turkey's candidacy to European Union and its contributions to the transatlantic partnership is in the democracy in its own region, as well as its role as a reliable transatlantic country for energy supplies. All these and all the others that needs to be discussed further.

But today, we are extremely fortunate and privileged to have Dr. Javier Solana with us to shed some much more anticipated light on the challenges and the opportunities awaiting Turkey in this year and our world. And I -- of course, it is a great pleasure and honor for me to see my good friend, Kemal Dervis, will be contributing to this discussion also. And I thank, again -- yes, Strobe is one of my good friends in Brookings. But I see so many of you coming here for the seventh time, being here for the seventh time. We see a lot of friends of Brookings and a lot of friends of the Sabanci University. It's a great pleasure to be here today with us, with all of you.

And I thank all of you for attending and contributing as friends of Sabanci University and Brookings, to the Sakip Sabanci lecture. And I wish, and I am sure, we will have an engaging discussion afterwards also. I think this conference will stimulate all of us.

Thank you again. (Applause)

MR. SOLANA: Thank you very much, everybody, for being here. Ayse,

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 Sabanci 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, et cetera.

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 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 7 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, et cetera. 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. (Applause)

MR. DERVIS: Well, thank you, Javier, for this wonderful lecture. And I think everything you said had to be said. So the time was very well used.

Very, very happy, and I'm going to be very short because I want the students at Sabanci University, the colleagues that I see, to participate. And so I'll be very telegraphic. But I also want to thank, of course, Strobe, Güler, and everybody who contributed -- Fiona and Martin -- to this wonderful event at Brookings. But also, at Sabanci University.

So let me just make a few telegraphic points. Starting with the first thing

that Javier said. The element of surprise, the unpredictability that we face in the world. Which, actually, has been a feature of the world for a long time. But I think time is accelerating, change is accelerating, and it becomes even more difficult to handle.

I know many of you, I am sure, have read Nicholas Taleb's book, *The Black Swan*. And people thought, before the discovery of Australia, that all swans were white. You know, all the empirical observation proved that swans were white. And then Australia was discovered and one discovered black swans.

So I think it fits with Javier's opening. There are many unexpected things that happened. I remember working at the World Bank with a dear friend -- and at that time a dear boss, also -- was born in Berlin, a German. And he said, oh, I hope my grandchildren -- this was in the late '80s, mid-'80s -- he said, I hope my grandchildren 20, 30 years from now will see a reunified Germany in Europe and a peaceful Europe. And again, Berlin won't be divided. And then two years later, the wall crumbled and there was tremendous change. And Germany is, now, in Europe, of course, as a united Germany. But also very much as a European country.

So many things are extremely unexpected. And I think when we deal with the many issues that Javier raised; we have to keep this in mind. And I'll give some examples of that later.

The second point I'd like to make, again, relates really to Javier and to his life. And to his work, as a Spaniard and as a European. And I think the thing I want to underline here, that his work -- the way he approached Europe and the world -- was not in order to build a new fortress Europe. A new European super-state, a la 19th century. But a Europe that fits into globalization, that is part of a better globalization, that contributes to it, that's open, and takes its strength to contribute to building the world.

And that reminds me of the last sentences of Jean Monnet's memoirs, his big

memoirs. I can't remember because I thought of it only now -- when they were published -- but the last sentence says something like this. He says, ladies and gentlemen, don't forget and don't make a mistake. This European project of ours is not an end in itself, but a big step -- an important step -- in the better global order of tomorrow. And I think that's the way Javier always looked at Europe. Not as creating an out-of-date super-state at the continental level, but as a part of the better globalization he's worked for all his life. And I think his remarks today reflect it.

And that brings me to a comparison -- I think a good comparison -- between Spain and Turkey. Javier underlined how Spain transformed from a fascist state to a democratic open member of the European Union, and the constitution -- the things he said about the constitution, the inclusiveness and all that.

But there's another element of Spanish history, of Spain today that I think is very important for Turkey. When I was at the World Bank and UNDP, I worked a lot on that in America. Spain is very present in Latin America. All the way from Argentina to Cuba, from Mexico to Peru. You see Spanish investment, trade, political influence, political activism in Latin America. That does not prevent Spain from being fully a member of the European Union. In fact, one of the most European countries in the European Union in terms of people's relationship to the Union and perception of the Union.

So it is perfectly possible, in my view, along the same lines. For Turkey to be an extremely active country in its neighborhood, particularly in the Middle East and Central Asia, broadly. And at the same time be part, as Javier said, of the European Union. These things are not contradictory and Spain has shown, in fact, how they can reinforce one another.

The next point I'd like to make, when you look at Turkey and you look at the world and Europe. The two big upheavals that have happened are really on one to

the North of Turkey, if you like, and one to the South. In the 1990s, tremendous upheaval in Eastern Europe. Complete change. A kind of black swan event with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the opening up of all that space -- opening up to the world. Part of foreign investment, financial flows, trade. But very much also opening to Turkey. Turkey was the kind of frontier country during the Iron Curtain days. That collapse of the Soviet Union and transformation of Eastern Europe opened this whole space to the world but very much also to Turkey, which is very, very close to it. And it was full of opportunities, of course, and Turkey used many of these opportunities.

Now what's happening in the Arab world, we don't know yet how it will unfold. But it has the potential for being the same kind of event. A really deep transformation of a part of the world which, while it wasn't as closed as, of course, the Soviet Union was, was closed in many other ways and is now going through a deep transformation, which hopefully will end with a stronger democracy there and a more thriving and inclusive economy.

And again, it's right next to Turkey. So there's another space that, in a way, is opening. In a different way, but in a somewhat similar way. Where I think Turkey can contribute but also can benefit from that opening.

And I think if one looks at Turkish foreign policy, the role of Turkey, the way the economy was able to strengthen; it has a lot to do with these opening spaces around Turkey because it is geographically so centrally located. And I think it can contribute a lot to both its South, its East, its West, and its North.

Now, in ending, I would like to make three points here which are important for this to work and for this potential to be realized. Maybe four.

One, I think -- yes, Turkey has to be ambitious. And it is being ambitious, and that's good. But it has to be a tempered ambition. It has to be realistic. It

cannot -- shouldn't go ahead of itself. And I think it should be gentle just in terms of the relationships, in terms of not imposing any particular view on anybody. But working together, showing what can be learned from past experience in Turkey to others, but fully realizing that others will chart their own course. So, ambitious -- an ambitious course but I think a realistic and moderate course, I think, would be what brings success.

Second, of course, it has to continue to have a strong economy. In the late '90s or in the early '80s when the Turkish economy was weak, none of what is possible today was possible. People would not look to Turkey, would not take the example of Turkey, would not try to learn from Turkey if Turkey had a weak economy. So keeping the strong economy going is very, very important. It is part of the whole success story of Turkey. It is possible -- I think Turkey has the potential of being the fastest-growing economy in that whole geography, in that whole area. It has been this year. But at the same time, there is some fragility that remains. The current account deficit is heading to 7 percent of GDP. There is a lot of hot money, dependence on -- too much dependence on short-term capital inflows that I think has to be controlled. We've lived through this in Turkey and other emerging markets. I think it's time to be careful again.

Ambitious but careful. I think one opportunity now is to have very strong fiscal policy. If the world crisis taught us something, it is the importance of counter-cyclical economic policy. When times are good, that's when you have to be really tough. Because you can't be -- you shouldn't be really tough when times are bad. In fact, you should open fiscal channels and help the economy when things are bad. But when the economy is growing fast, that is the time to further build strong fiscal space. And I think this is one of the things Turkey would do well to do in order to maintain the kind of really spectacular growth record that it has had this year.

And finally, I fully agree with Javier that our geography, our history, the

place we are means that we can and we should work with Europe. How exactly that will happen, I think, needs a lot more discussion. I think the crisis in Europe -- in the Southern Europe -- shows that Europe itself has to do a lot of things. It's not just an issue of a country such as Turkey joining the European Union. I think it's an issue of defining the common future, the common policies together.

Turkey is big enough and important enough, I think, to claim that it should have a say. It's not just conducting negotiations in a passive way. It is really thinking what the Eurozone will mean. What common defense and foreign policy will mean. What the Mediterranean space should be. The relationship between the Mediterranean space and Europe. All of these things are things beyond the technical negotiation process and have to be conducted together.

I think Turkey is now strong enough politically and economically to say, yes, we do want to become a member. But we also want to have a say in what kind of union we're going to join. And I still believe in it. I know -- and I'm looking at the young Turkish students at Sabanci University. I know there's been lots of disappointments. There's been lots of obstacles, and many don't believe in it anymore. I still hope that it's not because of my age and Javier's age that we still believe in it. But because it is really a hugely important project for Turkey, for Europe, and for the world.

And I'm glad to say, since we are in Washington, that I think President Obama and the American administration around him also believes in it. It has an approach to the world which is, in my view -- and I've lived in multilateral organizations for a long time. The most multilateralist that we've ever seen. And I do believe that it is also in the interest of the United States that this cooperation between Europe and Turkey works out.

It will require change on both sides. Europe has to give up the reflex of



saying, we have our own house. And if you want to join, you just follow all the rules. Yes, there are rules, they have to be followed. But the house itself is in reconstruction. Or, in further construction. And therefore, if somebody is going to join -- an important country is going to join -- that country has to have a say in how this extension is going to look and how the house is going to function in the future.

Many thanks. (Applause)

MS. HILL: Thank you very much to both Javier and Kemal. And as we have very much hogged the stage here for the whole beginning of the lecture, I'm going to turn over right away to Ayse, Sabanci University, for a few remarks. And then to take the first three questions from the audience at Sabanci. And then we'll turn over here and take three more questions. Hopefully there will be a little bit of time for more.

We have a very distinguished audience of people here in Washington D.C., including a number of former ambassadors to Turkey and other people who have been very engaged in U.S.-Turkish relations.

But Ayse, let's turn over to you, first of all. And thank you so much to everyone for joining us today in Istanbul.

MS. KADIOGLU: Thank you. Let me just add one thing, you know, to what Kemal Dervis has said about being ambitious.

I think the biggest challenge that Turkey is facing today is really a balancing act. A balancing act that is not just between Turkey's long-withstanding Western alliances and its new role in its region, but also a balancing act that is between confidence and arrogance, really. I would like to underline that. You know, when Kemal Dervis mentioned ambition, I thought of that important balance between, you know, being confident and being arrogant.

Sisyphus is this king in Greek mythology who, you know, pushes this rock up a hill, only to watch it roll back down again. I mean, basically he's punished with doing that. So whenever I think of Turkey-EU relationship, of course, I think of Sisyphus. And strangely enough, my son who is 18 years old, you know, told me recently that Sisyphus is one of his heroes. And my generation, we are programmed to achieve results, you know. We're programmed to win. I mean, I was in my 20s back in the 1980s when Ronald Regan was president, so for me this is a surprising thing.

So I asked him, I said, why would you want to push a rock up a hill? I mean, if you know that it's going to roll back down again? And he gave me an amazing answer. He said, because I'm interested in the process, he said. (Laughter) I'm interested in -- better yet, you know, he said I'm interested in the experience.

So I believe this is the spirit, you know, with which we need to approach Turkey-EU relationship. This is the spirit of one of the founders of socialism, in fact, in Europe, Eduard Bernstein, who famously said, the goal -- you know, the final aim is nothing but the movement is everything.

Well of course, the next question is, why? I mean, right? I mean, why should be interested in the experience. Well mainly because I believe human rights -- you know, fundamental human rights. They have not stalled, you know, taken a strong hold in Turkey. So we do need the EU anchor. So EU anchor is still very important to keep there. Maybe, you know, just for the experience. But never underestimate the importance of the experience itself.

Lately, you know, in every conference that I attend in major EU countries I hear cries of, wake up Europe. You know, this is this lethargy. Europe is, you know, definitely aging and becoming more and more lethargic. Whereas of course, in Turkey, you know -- especially in cities like Istanbul, Diyarbakir, Gaziantep, you look around and

you see so much energy that you feel like, in fact, saying, calm down rather than wake up, you know. It's really, really very, very energetic.

So when you look at, you know, Turkish foreign policy -- the Prime Minister, for instance, at the end of March visited Iraq. And during the same trip, you know, moved from Baghdad, visiting the Prime Minister to Nayef, in fact, visiting the Shiite spiritual leader. And he even got out of the car, walked there, you know, because the house was, you know, in a difficult place to get to. And he also visited Massoud Barzani, you know, in Arbil.

So you know: this is actually a very interesting profile. And today, for instance, the foreign minister has been in Egypt attending the signature ceremony that promises to resolve the government crisis -- Palestinian government crisis. So there is really an active foreign policy going on.

So once again, then, coming back it is important to keep that balance, balancing act, between confidence and arrogance. So I would like to underline that.

Let me now look to my students, my colleagues, and I see one question. So let me get one of the questions for you.

It would actually be very nice -- it would break the ice between us if you could just introduce also yourself -- your program -- your name and your program. That would be very nice.

MS. GUMISHNA: I would like to thank you for this very amazing talk, and all the remarks that has been made after Dr. Solana's lecture.

My name is Shebna Gumishna; I'm a post-doctoral fellow here at Sabanci University. And I have two questions, basically. One of them is very much related to what's going on in the region, in the Middle East.

And I wonder if Dr. Solana sees any possibility in the future for Europe to

play a more -- or establish a more cooperative framework with -- particular, maybe with North African countries? I know that already many of these North African countries have close economic relations with European countries. So, can we see a more cooperative framework where Europe may play an enforcer of democratization in many of these countries that have been undergoing significant political change?

And what may be Turkey's role in such a new framework? Maybe I am probably thinking about the Mediterranean cooperation where Mediterranean countries are coming together and establishing a more closer economic political cooperation.

And another question would be more about Turkey's membership to the European Union. As far as we observe, we see that there is a growing identity crisis in Europe, particularly the concerns with immigration and the existing, let me say, minorities in many of these European countries. Increase the -- imposes increasing challenge to multiculturalism in many European countries.

So, if we call this an identity crisis, do you think it would be possible for Turkey to become a full member to the European Union before Europe can solve this identity crisis that it's facing today? Thank you.

MS. KADIOGLU: Thank you. We will take three questions, so I will go with the second one. There you go.

MS. BUJAMA: First of all, thank you for this lecture. I'm Bujama; I'm a senior social and political science student at Sabanci University.

I would like to ask you, why do you think political parties with racist discourses are gaining votes in Europe? The reason why I'm asking this question is because there are parties like the Geert Wilders Party in the Netherlands became the third party in the voting percentage. And the polls show a dramatic rise of National Front Party in France. So, why do you think this is really happening? Thank you.

MS. KADIOGLU: Okay, and the third question from there. Yes.

MS. PILAUJU: Hi. My name is Gazam Pilauju. I am a senior student as well and a newly admitted student of University of Chicago's masters program.

Given the fact that one of the biggest obstacles in front of better EU-Turkey negotiation process is the bottleneck in Cyprus, who do you think should take the first step towards resolving this issue? I mean, should Turkey open up its ports? Or should the first move come from the EU? Thank you.

MS. KADIOGLU: Okay. I think I will now turn to Javier Solana?

MR. SOLANA: I should thank you -- can you hear me?

MS. KADIOGLU: Yes, I can hear you.

MS. HILL: We hear you twice.

MR. SOLANA: Okay. You are looking at me there. Okay.

Before I answer the three questions, allow me to go back to my mythology, if you don't mind. Sisyphus. I remember that one of the articles that was written about me when I left the position in the European Union, it said more or less that I was like Sisyphus because I really brought out the tone and -- when I was about to get it wrong. Collapse again. That is the descent of my life, I think.

But as you say, Bernstein said that important is the process. The important is the process. But sometimes you want to arrive. (Laughter) Every now and then, you have to arrive.

But let's forget about mythology. Now the three questions. Very interesting the three. The first about what is the relationship about the crisis in Europe, identity crisis, and the possibility of Turkey going into the European Union? And then the question of the Mediterranean, et cetera.

Now, on the Mediterranean. The European Union has constructed -- and

in fact, it was 1999. The very same year that we signed with Turkey, we constructed the so-called Euro-Mediterranean process. That it was supposed to be a strategy to construct a confidence-building measures among the countries of the Mediterranean. And not get engaged in the peace process.

And it that setting -- Israel was there, the Palestinians were there, Turkey was no further. As you know, the peace process entered very rapidly into the debate and it was impossible to make much progress. I hope that now, in the new circumstances, something of that nature but with Turkey, also, can be done.

And because we are talking a lot about politics in the new Mediterranean. But we cannot forget about the economy. The problems which are there still. The young people that ask for dignity and freedom, they will continue to ask also for a job. And we have to really get together our efforts to help economically also these parts of the world.

But I agree completely that something has to be done in that direction, and I would like very much to do it with Turkey already engaged with us. Even in these moments of still negotiation.

Now, the second question about rise of populism, which is -- I said it in my own words, which I detest. I don't like it. But it's not now. It is something that has to do with the crisis, but it began even before the crisis.

Remember the campaign in France against the -- just in the treaty. You remember the Polish plumber that was going to come and take all the jobs in France? The Polish plumber never arrived to France. And referenda was lost. And that is the problem, that is the tragedy. That you created dynamics among the citizens of negativism, and then the negative thing never happened. But it's impossible to go back and to turn the clock back.

So now really the economic crisis, no doubt, helps or contributes to the

frustration of many people. But remember what happened in the first big international crisis -- economic crisis. The day after, President Roosevelt took the oath of being president. Remember what happened in Europe the day after? Hitler won the election, was elected Prime Minister. The very same day after, which history has really turned.

Today, we are in an economic crisis and what we see in the regions like the Mediterranean is young people asking for dignity. And that, I think, is a really fantastic, fantastic thing. In the midst of the crisis. And therefore we, the Europeans, cannot be less emotional with the things which are taking place now. And let these populist movements grow. I really would like that not to happen.

And with that, I answer. But remember that the Polish plumber was before the crisis. And the Polish plumber never arrived to Paris, never. That was a myth to create the conditions for a no -- to the enlargement of Poland. You know, to Poland.

Now, the third question is a very delicate one. It's about Cyprus. I think that as I said, and I won't repeat, you did really everything that has to be done. It was an agreement presented by the secretary general of the United Nations, and it was posed for you for a vote or a referendum. You said yes, and now they say no. And therefore you have done a lot.

But, you are still the stronger part. And I think that it would be good if some of the issues that you have mentioned -- for instance, some of the things which are in the additional protocol -- ports. You mentioned that, ports in particular. I don't think it would be a tragedy to do it.

As I said, Cyprus is a difficult problem. But it is not a dramatic problem. Therefore, let's see if we can bring the non-dramatic part of it and try to resolve it. I think that somebody has to do the first -- and take the first step. I am going to take the liberty to say today, as I told the Prime Minister the other day. Try to move, even if it's a small

step. And you will have much of the support on your side.

MS. HILL: Thank you very much, Javier. We'll take three questions quickly from the audience here in the hope that perhaps we'll be able to return back to Istanbul for some more questions. And also then we can bring in Kemal, if he has some comments.

So I'd like to take three questions in the audience. There's a gentleman here. And please, as in Istanbul, introduce yourselves for everyone's benefit. Thank you.

MS. ZULAM: My name is Connie Zulam; I'm with the American Kurdish Information Network.

My question is not about the Arab world and it's not about the European Union. It's about the Kurdish culture inside Turkey. Your bio sheet notes that you worked as a minister of culture in Spain. What does the word culture mean to you?

In Turkey, we have the glorification of one culture at the expense of other cultures. Kurdish culture, for example. When a culture blesses predatory nationalism, is it still a culture? When a government refuses to allow millions of Kurds to defend themselves in Kurdish, is it still worthy of joining the European Union?

A related question. Were you familiar with Articles 3, 42, 66 of the Turkish constitution when you flew to Ankara in 1999?

MR. SOLANA: The last part of your question, I'm not. I mean, I don't know by heart the Turkish constitution.

But I know this period of the Kurdish constitution. And it's going to be -- it was amended after the election.

Well, I think the culture is very important. There's no doubt about that. But the culture fights sometimes become non-cultural. Become something else than



culture.

I think that in my own country, our constitution -- I don't ask you to know my constitution either. But we organized the country with a great respect to the autonomous regions that have historical culture.

For the moment, we have been able to solve it. To solve it rather well. We had violence in one part of the country, as you know, in the past country -- tremendous violence. And now, fortunately, I think it's about to finish. And that has been resolved, or is about to be resolved.

But it is a very difficult, tricky question. I know that. But I think you are handling now in the right direction. And I hope very much that that will be something that will continue.

But it's a very difficult question to solve, as you know. But I would like to congratulate what is being done in this last period of time. And I hope that will continue after the elections with the constitution.

MS. HILL: Thanks. Two other questions. The lady here? And I would also hope that someone else from our younger generation would come in to question. But there's a lady over here as well. Thank you.

MS. KADURA: Maha Kadura from American University of Beirut. I just want -- is it a strengthen Turkey -- or does she have a nuclear program? And it might counterbalance other countries who develop nuclear program in the region. Is it a good idea to start to have this program?

MS. HILL: Okay. Let's take the other lady here, please. Thank you.

MS. SAKAVAKACHAKAN: My name is Rav Sakavakachakan. I am a graduate student at Howard University here in political science department.

My question is about -- there is a lot of criticism towards EU from the

Turkish side as to double standards that apply to Turkey. For instance, as far as following up the human rights violations and with respect to -- especially freedom of speech. We see a lot of EU Parliamentarians come and follow the court cases of writers or news -- journalists who are more pro-Western than those, for instance, we would classify as Islamist. We see a lot of Parliamentarians attend -- write down the law of change. But in the past, the case of Orhan Pamuk. And right after his case, five minutes later, there would be another case of, for example, Abdurrahman Dilipak. But they wouldn't stay to follow up for that. And I think that's one of the reasons that people kind of think EU has double standards towards the different groups within Turkey.

How would you respond to that? Thank you.

MS. HILL: Thank you. And just to repeat that the first question was about the nuclear power against, you know, the backdrop obviously of developments in Japan and whether this is a good idea.

So, Javier if you'd like to respond? And perhaps Kemal, if you'd like to come in on these as well.

MR. SOLANA: You talked -- if I understood properly, the consequences of Japan, you mean.

MS. KADURA: No, no. To have a -- like Iran. To start to have a nuclear project in --

MR. SOLANA: Okay. Now, you know, I will tell you. I am very much against the possibility of Iran having their weapons. And the capacity to have nuclear weapons.

In fact, I spent five years and a half of my life negotiating on behalf of the international community to see if we could do that. And Sisyphus, I tried, and at the end, I didn't arrive. But I hope that the next one will arrive. I am sure about that.

But I think to have another country in the Middle East with nuclear weapons will be a catastrophe, because it will have, no doubt, the consequences of other countries and others and others and others trying to do the same.

I think all these questions of nuclear matters is going to be -- it requires a new thinking after the Japan situation. I think that the idea of having nuclear energy for peaceful means is going to go down, the possibility, I think. In that the coverage that you need to have enrichment process to do nuclear weapons for producing -- nuclear reactor to produce energy is not going to be a valid cover-up, okay? So I think we have to take advantage of these situations, also, and push.

I think that President Obama's ideas about what he did last year -- and then in the first meeting for disarmament was very important, nuclear weapons. I think 2012 it will be another meeting. In that meeting it will have to be discussed to make the Middle East free of nuclear weapons. Discuss -- not resolve, probably, in that meeting. But at least to begin to discuss that, which is very, very, very important.

Now that, I think, I answered your question. At least the philosophy that I have. I am from a background of sciences and I know that nuclear energy is a double-use technology. Nuclear is double-use technology.

Thank you very much for the question. I'm willing to accept that sometimes we may give the impression of double standards. I don't think we should give that impression, but sometimes it is very difficult. There are many voices.

You mentioned members of the Parliament. Of course, you have members of the Parliament. But the policies is what is important. The policies of the European Union. I don't think that we have double standards vis-à-vis Turkey in human rights. I think a lot has been done in Turkey. I think -- I do not exaggerate if I say that this relationship with Turkey and the European Union has helped to move Turkey in that direction. And I

would like to continue in that direction.

Some concerns about freedom of speech is, as you know -- and now it's in the newspapers. I know it is covered in secret. And that is -- you have to try not to happen. And not to cover it up with political issues. The speech, freedom of speech, is freedom of speech. You may disagree, but express what you want to express within the constitution. But you cannot allow somebody not to speak, even if you disagree with them.

That's what I want to say on that issue. Many other issues have come up in which some people in Turkey or in the European Union have said that double standards were used. And we try not to -- at least, I try not to. But we cannot guarantee that you may talk to people that react in a manner which is not the one I would like to react.

But, thank you very much for the questions.

MS. HILL: Kemal, do you want to say anything before we turn back over to Istanbul?

MR. DERVIS: Well, maybe just one point in response to the third student from Sabanci University, you know, who asked about the extreme -- sometimes racist parties growing in Europe.

I just want to kind of say that while this is happening in many countries, there is also another current. And I want to perhaps remind the audience that a German of Turkish origin is now the co-leader of the Green Party in Germany. And the Green Party had a tremendous score in the recent regional elections, and in fact won the election in Badenwertenbad. So why there is, you know, there is movement on the right and there is a lot of anti-immigrant and racist feeling on the extreme right. At the same time, I think that on the left and on the liberal side of European politics there has been a

lot of progress and a lot of, in fact, acceptance and inclusion of the immigrant community. And that is a positive thing, one should also see in Europe.

MR. SOLANA: I'm sorry, I would like to -- I think I didn't reply to one question from your -- one of the students about the identity crisis in the European Union. That will have to resolve in order for Turkey to be invited to join finally.

Let me answer to that question that I think Europe is going through an identity -- whatever you want to call it -- or whatever. Like many other places related to the economic crisis and to other -- the changes which are taking place in the world.

But I would like to answer with the same idea that Kemal used answering the first -- one of the third, I think. Your third recommendation. That this is not something that you have to wait until we do something. Why don't we start doing something together and resolve our identity crisis already with your contribution? That is what will be my answer.

In the same line that Kemal said before, that it is not that we finish our job and then our house and then you come to the house. But why don't we begin to construct something that has to be, in a way, a new house after these dramatic events of this period of time. And begin to construct it together. At least you pave the way to construct it together.

MS. HILL: Thank you. Ayse, I think we probably have a chance just for one last question from Istanbul.

But I'd also like to say that Cem Ozdemir, the co-chairman of the Green Party, will be actually here at Brookings on May 13 for part of a public debate on Germany. So just as we're debating the future role of Turkey in Europe, we're also, in fact, going to debate the future role of Germany in Europe. Because of lots of questions about Germany's own European avocation. And we'll have Cem Ozdemir, along with

Hans Maul to do that.

And it will be podcast, so perhaps your students at Sabanci University and others can also watch that debate. And I think that will also be very interesting.

But let's turn over to you for a final question from Istanbul. And then we'll ask Javier and Kemal to wrap up for us.

MS. KADIOGLU: Thank you, Fiona. And I will -- yes, turn to the audience. And there is one question over there. Can I have that? Yes, thank you.

MR. CHARDAM: First of all, thank you for this lecture. My name is Arden Chardam and I am a master's student in political science.

My first question is about negotiation agreement between Turkey and the European Union. One of the articles says that even if full accession didn't happen, we will keep having strong relations with Turkey. And was it the case for every candidate country?

And the second article was saying that the freedom of movement for Turkish citizens may not be possible, even if the full accession occurred. My second question is, during his speech Dr. Solana mentioned about the constitution-making in Spain after the Franco regime. And thought that it was made by consensus.

In this respect, my question is about the impact of forgetting -- some amount of political parties in Spain. Was this part of this consensus? And was this successful in Spain?

I ask this question because Turkey will go through this constitution-making process. And nowadays we are talking about whether to have these trials of the generals from the 1980 coup d'etat. Do you find this impact of forgetting a successful policy for the Spanish case?

Thank you.

MR. SOLANA: Well, you have three questions in one, or two and a half in one. (Laughter)

I'll try to see if I can answer. I think that the ascension is alas, I think. Let me tell you that the constitution, in my own experience -- the constitution in my own country, which we are talking about 1977, '78. It was very difficult to do. But it was done by consensus. I was in the minority, and I was part of the committee that wrote the constitution. I was in the minority.

And I was able to place everything that, for me, was a red line, to put it in. And to object to everything that, for me, would have been a red line. That was a demand which was done. And of course, you don't put every red line to when they are not red lines. But you honestly do it with the red lines, everything was done. And that constitution has lasted for years and years and years. Nothing has been changed. And for treaty, it's going well.

Now, we did something that was very important. And it was the following. We did amnesty to just about everything that happened during Franco's time. And in order to open a new page. And this is not to be applicable now, because you are not in that situation. But for us, it was very, very important to do it. It was a big sacrifice for many of us. We have members of our families that had been killed. But we closed that page of the history because we wanted to look to the future, not to the past.

Thinking that -- I love to quote the title of a book that I just read, which is called *The Future and its Enemies*. There are many enemies of the present, but the future has many, many enemies also. And since I think that politics follow in the sociologies -- the German sociologies, Marxism, whatever -- politics is to civilize the future. And when the future is civilized to make it present, that is one of the most beautiful sentences that Max Berber has. I'd like to look at the future. If you don't want to

-- you don't have an idea of what is your future, it's very difficult to civilize it and very difficult to bring it to the present.

That is the what I call -- in the -- thinking of a man of state. Which doesn't look to the present only, but looks to the future. (Applause)

MS. HILL: Well, that would be a very nice note to end on. But I think there was a question, however, about the -- it would be a perfect ending. But perhaps Javier, the questions about whether there was perhaps a difference in the tone of the agreement with Turkey for the EU accession about the issues of freedom of movement. And then the --

MR. SOLANA: No. I want to be very clear on that. On issues of freedom of movement, no. Again, I said in an answer to a question before that with Poland, it was the same problem. And it was so complicated that, in a way, was the reason why France voted no in the referendum. And as I said before -- and I want to insist. That plumber that was going to come never came. And we have to think about that, because this is just rhetoric by the populists and by the xenophobics would use this type of thing, which are very serious to play with them and to derail which is the future.

And they achieved that in France.

MS. HILL: Well, Javier. Thank you so much. I'm sorry that we have to wrap up. We'll try to retain that last thought that you said about thinking about the past, present, and future -- and particularly the present and future together as our concluding remark.

Thank Ayse and everybody at Sabanci University here from the audience in D.C. And Ayse, if you have the last word from Istanbul. We hope, of course, that the weather will improve there. We're hoping for sun this afternoon, especially after Javier and Kemal's presentations.



And Ayse, over to you for a final word from Istanbul. And thank you.

MS. KADIOGLU: Thank you, Fiona.

Let me end with this. One of the greatest novels of 20th century is *Midnight's Children* by Salman Rushdie. And in referring to the diversity and the multitude in all of us that Javier Solana has been talking about, one of the characters in the book at some point says, to understand me you have to swallow a world, the character says.

So, I feel like in this transatlantic conversation we have all swallowed a bit of the world. If not literally, metaphorically. So it's been a pleasure being with you. Goodbye from Istanbul.

MS. HILL: Thank you, thank you. (Applause)

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I, Carleton J. Anderson, III do hereby certify that the forgoing electronic file when originally transmitted was reduced to text at my direction; that said transcript is a true record of the proceedings therein referenced; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which these proceedings were taken; and, furthermore, that I am neither a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.

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