

**CONTENTS**

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Abbreviations   | vi        |
| Acknowledgements  | viii      |
| <br>  |           |
| <b>Chapter I – Introduction</b>   | <b>1</b>  |
| 1.1. Research Questions   | 17        |
| 1.2. Theoretical Framework  | 18        |
| 1.3. Literature   | 27        |
| 1.4. Importance   | 28        |
| <br>  |           |
| <b>Chapter II - Theoretical Framework</b>   | <b>30</b> |
| 2.1. Realism  | 30        |
| 2.1.1. Realism and Turkish and German Foreign<br>Policies Toward the Balkan Crises              | 34        |
| 2.2. Neorealism   | 35        |
| 2.2.1. Neorealism and Turkish and German Foreign<br>Policies Toward the Balkan Crises           | 40        |
| 2.3. Liberalism and Neoliberalism   | 42        |
| 2.3.1. Neoliberalism and Turkish and German Foreign<br>Policies Toward the Balkan Crises        | 46        |
| 2.4. Constructivism   | 48        |
| 2.4.1. Constructivism and Turkish and German Foreign<br>Policies Toward the Balkan Crises       | 56        |
| 2.5. Assumptions and Paradigm   | 58        |
| <br>  |           |
| <b>Chapter III – The Historical Legacy of Turkey and Germany<br/>            in the Balkans</b> | <b>61</b> |
| 3.1. Turkey’s Relations with the Balkan Countries   | 61        |

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| 3.1.1. The Ottoman Empire and the Balkans  | 61     |
| 3.1.2. The Ottoman Legacy  | 66     |
| 3.1.3. Formation of the Republic of Turkey and<br>the Balkan Revolts   | 67     |
| 3.1.4. The Turkish Republic and the Balkans<br>in the Interwar Period  | 68     |
| 3.1.5. Turkey and the Balkans during the Cold War  | 71     |
| 3.1.6. A Summary of Turkish-Balkan Relations   | 77     |
| 3.2. Germany's Relations with the Balkan Countries   | 78     |
| 3.2.1. The German Empire and the Balkan Countries  | 79     |
| 3.2.2. Nazi Germany and the Balkans  | 81     |
| 3.2.3. The Federal Republic of Germany and the Balkans   | 86     |
| 3.2.4. Germany and the Balkans   | 90     |
| 3.3. A Comparison of the Historical Relations of Turkey and<br>Germany with the Balkans                      | 91     |
| <br><b>Chapter IV - Turkish and German Foreign Policies toward the<br/>Dissolution Process in Yugoslavia</b> | <br>93 |
| 4.1. Turkish Foreign Policy and the Wars in Slovenia and Croatia   | 93     |
| 4.1.1. Discussions on Turkish Identity   | 93     |
| 4.1.2. Black Sea Economic Cooperation  | 100    |
| 4.1.3. Foreign Policy Actors in Turkey   | 101    |
| 4.1.4. The War in Yugoslavia   | 105    |
| 4.1.5. Turkey and the Wars in Slovenia and Croatia   | 110    |
| 4.1.6. A Theoretical Explanation of Turkish Policy toward<br>the Wars in Slovenia and Croatia                | 122    |
| 4.2. German Foreign Policy and the Wars in Slovenia and Croatia  | 123    |
| 4.2.1. The German Unification Process  | 123    |
| 4.2.2. Discussions on German Identity  | 128    |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 4.2.3. Foreign Policy Actors in Germany   | 136 |
| 4.2.4. Germany and the Wars in Slovenia and Croatia   | 141 |
| 4.2.5. A Theoretical Explanation of German Policy toward<br>the Wars in Slovenia and Croatia  | 167 |
| <b>Chapter V – The Bosnian War and Turkish and<br/>German Perspectives</b>  | 170 |
| 5. 1. The Outbreak of the War in Bosnia   | 170 |
| 5. 2. Turkey and the War in Bosnia  | 173 |
| 5.2.1. The Option of Military Intervention and Turkey   | 182 |
| 5.2.2. Efforts toward Lifting the Arms Embargo<br>against Bosniaks  | 190 |
| 5.2.3. President Özal and the War in Bosnia   | 192 |
| 5.2.4. Croats, Bosniaks and Turkey  | 195 |
| 5.2.5. Turkey and the Military Option   | 198 |
| 5.2.6. Opposition Parties and the War in Bosnia   | 204 |
| 5.2.6.1. The Welfare Party ( <i>Refah Partisi</i> – RP)   | 204 |
| 5.2.6.2. The Democratic Left Party<br>( <i>Demokratik Sol Parti</i> – DSP)  | 206 |
| 5.2.6.3. The Motherland Party<br>( <i>Anavatan Partisi</i> – ANAP)  | 207 |
| 5.2.6.4. The Nationalist Work Party ( <i>Milliyetçi Çalışma</i><br><i>Partisi</i> – MÇP) and the Nationalist Movement<br>Party ( <i>Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi</i> - MHP) | 208 |
| 5.2.6.5. The Republican People's Party<br>( <i>Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi</i> – CHP)   | 208 |
| 5.2.7. Bosnia's Expectations of Turkish Policy  | 210 |
| 5.2.8. People of Bosniak Origin in Turkey and<br>the War in Bosnia  | 213 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 5.2.9. The Turkish Perception of the War and State Identity                                       | 214 |
| 5.2.10. Bosnia in Relation to Other Foreign Policy Issues<br>in Turkey                            | 218 |
| 5.2.10.1. Cyprus  | 218 |
| 5.2.10.2. Nagorno-Karabakh  | 219 |
| 5.2.10.3. Iraq  | 220 |
| 5.2.10.4. Somalia   | 221 |
| 5.2.11. Turkey and the Way to the Dayton Peace Agreement  | 221 |
| 5.2.12. A Theoretical Explanation of Turkish Foreign Policy<br>toward the War in Bosnia           | 225 |
| 5.3. Germany and the War in Bosnia  | 228 |
| 5.3.1. Sanctions in the Adriatic and the Danube   | 229 |
| 5.3.2. The No-Fly Zone and the AWACS Mission  | 232 |
| 5.3.3. Germany's Attitude toward the Lifting of<br>the Weapons Embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina | 234 |
| 5.3.4. The Out-of-area Debate   | 238 |
| 5.3.4.1. The CDU/CSU  | 240 |
| 5.3.4.2. The FDP  | 243 |
| 5.3.4.3. The SPD  | 245 |
| 5.3.4.4. The Alliance 90 / Greens   | 249 |
| 5.3.4.5. The PDS  | 252 |
| 5.3.5. The Decision of the Federal Constitutional Court   | 253 |
| 5.3.6. NATO's Tornado Request from Germany  | 254 |
| 5.3.7. Germany's Contribution to<br>Humanitarian Assistance                                       | 256 |
| 5.3.8. Diplomatic Initiatives   | 257 |
| 5.3.9. The Process toward the Dayton Peace Agreement<br>and Germany                               | 260 |
| 5.3.10. The German Perception of the War and State Identity                                       | 262 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 5.3.11. A Theoretical Explanation of German Foreign Policy toward the War in Bosnia | 264 |
| <b>Chapter VI – Foreign Policy of Turkey and Germany toward the War in Kosovo</b>   | 267 |
| 6.1. The War in Kosovo  | 267 |
| 6.2. Turkey and the War in Kosovo   | 270 |
| 6.2.1. NATO Intervention and Turkey   | 276 |
| 6.2.2. Factors Affecting Turkish Policy toward Kosovo                               | 278 |
| 6.2.2.1. The Kurdish problem  | 278 |
| 6.2.2.2. Cyprus   | 279 |
| 6.2.2.3. The Albanian Lobby   | 280 |
| 6.2.2.4. The Turkish minority in Kosovo   | 281 |
| 6.2.3. A Theoretical Explanation of Turkish Foreign Policy in the Kosovo Conflict   | 281 |
| 6.3. Germany and the War in Kosovo  | 283 |
| 6.3.1. NATO Intervention and Germany  | 290 |
| 6.3.2. The Fischer Plan   | 294 |
| 6.3.3. The Stability Pact   | 295 |
| 6.3.4. Perception of the War  | 296 |
| 6.3.5. A Theoretical Explanation of German Foreign Policy in the Kosovo Conflict    | 298 |
| <b>Chapter VII – Conclusion</b>   | 300 |
| <b>Bibliography</b>   | 307 |