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THE EUROPEAN UNION HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY USED AS A SOFT POWER IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TURKEY

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The European Union has always been practicing good diplomatic and neighboring relations with the Middle East and Turkey, but with the outbreak of the Syria war and the enormous inflows of refugees on its continent the EU is trying to use humanitarian diplomacy to protect itself but also to help the Middle East and Turkey. The EU is using the humanitarian diplomacy as a soft power tool to balance and stabilize the conflicting and vulnerable situations. Humanitarian diplomacy is used for the purpose to protect and find solutions by methods of negotiations and relief for refugees, migrants and other vulnerable categories of people. It is persuading decision makers to act in the interests of the refugees and vulnerable groups with respect for human rights, and it derives from the traditional diplomacy which deals with specific activities in war and peace, and governments functions. The main difference between the two is that humanitarian diplomacy does not use military and political tools although it is influenced by them. The common ground is International human rights law and the respect for human rights and principles. The EU humanitarian diplomacy has not lost the sense of strategy, influence and power and it is able to meet the moral, political and international directives to address and protect the human rights of all.

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1. HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY USED AS A SOFT POWER

With the spread of globalization, new kinds of diplomatic activities have been practiced that are related to climate change, environment, culture, health, knowledge, that developed as parallel entities of traditional diplomacy. Humanitarian diplomacy is also a new entity, which is not part of traditional diplomacy, but it manages International relations of states and it focuses on operations, programmes and builds partnerships for human objectives. It also refers to the policies and practices of national and international aid relief agencies. (Regnier P. 2011; pg. 1212) Furthermore, Humanitarian diplomacy covers risk prevention and crisis management. It is not limited to International humanitarian assistance, and it can operate at the national or local level in order to ensure the mobilization of the actors and the resources. (Regnier P. 2011; pg. 1213) The literature dedicated to humanitarian diplomacy is very new and the definition that dates from 2007 is the following:

“The concept of humanitarian diplomacy encompasses the activities carried out by humanitarian organizations, to obtain the space from political and military authorities, within which to function with integrity. These activities, comprise such efforts as arranging for the presence of humanitarian organizations in a given country, negotiating access to civilian populations in need of assistance and protection, monitoring assistance programmes, promoting respect for international law and norms, supporting indigenous individuals and institutions and engaging in advocacy objectives.” (Regnier P. 2011; pg. 1215)

Humanitarian diplomacy does not oppose, and it is not part, but it is linked to traditional diplomacy. Humanitarian diplomacy goes beyond international relations, but what they have in common is that they collect and analyze the information similarly as well as the conduct of negotiations and immunity. (Regnier P., 2011; pg. 1216-1217) Furthermore, Humanitarian Diplomacy ranges from negotiating the presence of humanitarian organizations to have access to civilian populations in need. It consists of monitoring assistance programs, respect for international law, and broader humanitarian goals. (De Lauri Antonio, 2018) Humanitarian diplomacy is in need of regulatory consent within the international system, it creates opportunities for good international citizenship, multipolarity, institution building and it promotes peace. (Gilley Bruce, 2015; pg.51)

After summarizing what is humanitarian diplomacy, the question appears as to how it can be seen as an actor of a soft power. Therefore the question is, what is a soft power? Soft power is a form of meta-power. Meta-power is the product of power which is fixed within social relations that influence the relations and the outcomes that develop from the interactions between actors. The boundaries are determined by bargaining in the processes of the social relations. (Gallarotti M. Giulio. 2011) To be more clear, soft power is getting others to want the same

things as you, and that requires an understanding of how your message is heard. (Jr. Nye S. Joseph) It is taking the national resources that can help the country's ability to affect others through accepting the means, persuading, and extracting positive attraction in order to gain preferred outcomes. (Trunkos Judit, pg. 4) Opposite of soft power is the hard power which is the ability of a country to use its military or economic might and it is a forceful force. All the elements which cannot be measured such as ideology, culture, values, history are a soft power. Hard power and soft power are linked because they are both aspects of the ability to achieve one's purpose by affecting the others. The distinction between them is in the nature of the behavior and in the distinction of the resources. (Bayer Erler Ozgun, 2016; pg. 9) Therefore, Humanitarian diplomacy is used as a soft power since it is persuading countries and organizations to want to help or negotiate for civilian populations in need, without any forceful measures.

To continue with, humanitarian diplomacy and soft power are linked to the EU. In other words the EU uses its humanitarian diplomacy as a soft power to influence and help the countries and civilians in need. On the other hand the US have been using soft power as well but the difference between them is their preference. The EU chooses to use soft power in the Middle East region while the US is using hard power. The US have been trying to reshape the Middle East as their Project after 9/11, and the EU has been shaping its foreign policy for democratization of the region. EU prefers to apply membership or neighborhood perspective in the region and uses Europeanization as a center of attraction. (Bayer Erler Ozgun, 2016; PG.10-11)

2. EU HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

As we mentioned, humanitarian diplomacy it is not traditional diplomacy and it consist of international aid and help. The European Union, through the humanitarian diplomacy it wants to help and protect people in third countries who are victims of natural or man created disasters. It is, without a doubt, the biggest humanitarian aid giver worldwide. The European Commission spends more than 1 billion Euros annually, and in 2012 it helped 122 million people in more than 90 countries. (Dany Charlotte, 2014)

The EU, in order to implement the idea of humanity has developed and implemented two programs: a global assessment of humanitarian needs in crisis areas (Global Needs Assessment – GNA), and an assessment of crises in under-funded programs (Forgotten Crisis Assessment – FCA). The GNA helps in the identification of regions and people who are in need of help. The FCA does the selection of areas in crisis from those identified in the GNA that are outside the priority of the donor states. The FCA addresses humanitarian crises caused by natural disasters and current armed conflicts, but can also help in humanitarian aid being given to unstable regions, or weak, or failing states. Also the EU is developing strategies for responding to crisis and warning systems to address

military, political threats. The goal is to enable itself to respond to situations of fragility. (Dobrowolska-Polak Joanna, pg.121-122)

The EU must implement the challenges in order to be able to influence all the actors involved, to promote politics, effective humanitarian action, and commitment to fundamental humanitarian principles. (Dany Charlotte, 2014; pg. 4-5) The EU could, be the world's most important humanitarian actor, not only because of the amount of money it transfers to affected regions, but also because of its respect for humanitarian values. (Dany Charlotte, 2014; pg. 5) The use of humanitarian aid can be used to gain regional or international power and influence and it can be a threat for states, in order for the humanitarian aid giver to attain or demonstrate regional leadership and influence. (S. El Taraboulsi-McCarthy, V. Metcalfe-Hough, B. Willitts-King, 2016; pg. 6) But of course this is not the case with the EU. Because the EU uses the humanitarian diplomacy to practice soft power in order to attain a respect for rule of law, democracy and respect for human rights and respect for the good of the people in the countries in need.

3. EU HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Middle East has been a region of a great importance to the EU. But the EU member-states are struggling to preserve peace, prosperity and good governance in the neighborhood. The Lisbon treaty should have given more integrity to EU's foreign policy, but it was not able to address the broader challenges. The economic crisis, created additional difficulties for the EU in the attempt to stabilize the region. But the EU despite all its problems, in order to support the economic development and good governance in the region, it has developed bilateral ties with most of the countries in the Middle East and it has offered Turkey the prospect of EU membership. It has provided development aid and trade concessions. Through the Barcelona Process, and the Union for the Mediterranean, the EU has encouraged regional co-operation. It has also been involved in the Middle East peace process as the aid donor, helped in nation-building, and etc. (O'Donnell Marina Clara, pg. 73) There are features in the EU approach to the region which are overlapping:

- ‘Soft security’ issues and socioeconomic strategies (“the power of soft power”);
- The involvement of particular countries (like Britain, France, Germany – the famous EU-3);
- A bilateral approach of the EU (policy towards each country) still outbalances a regional approach toward the Middle East as a whole. This is embedded in bilateral association agreements;
- The EU is a complex structure, and all three institutions (the European Commission, Parliament and Council) have different (although

overlapping) competences and instruments in the foreign policy domain. The Commission (representing the I Pillar – community or supranational) obviously has a higher profile in the Middle East due to the primary objective (the development, promotion) and necessary instruments (aid, trade, financial resources etc), while the Council (responsible for the II Pillar, CFSP – a coherent foreign policy) is represented by diplomatic activities. (Kuzmicheva Larisa)

These are all features which are exceptional, but there is also the security threat which should be taken for question, like the direct exposure to the regions instability, and, the exposure to Turkey. Issues, events and trends from Iraq, Syria and the MENA region, are geopolitically vital for the EU. Europe hosts large and growing migrant communities. The EU, treats counter-terrorism and counter-radicalisation, as both domestic and foreign policy concerns. In its 2003 European Security Strategy (ESS), for example, EU interests for a secure, peaceful and well-governed MENA region were stronger; and regional security cooperation and prevention of the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction were on the top of the agenda. (Palani Kamaran, Ala'Aldeen Dlower, Cersosimo Susan, pg. 10)

The Middle Eastern and South-East Mediterranean region are geographically close to Europe and economically very important for EU. The EU is importing energy from Middle Eastern countries and they are trade partners. The EU tries to support democracy and stability in the region for its own self interest but it wants to solve the regional problems with dialog. Because of this, EU developed some policies and regional strategies which are the means of soft power. These policies are: European Neighborhood Policy, The Union for The Mediterranean and its predecessor The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, The Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean. EU tries to keep the Middle Eastern countries within the European Neighborhood Policy since 2004. The purpose of this policy is to prevent division between the member states and its neighbors and strengthen welfare, stability and security in the region. The EU offers privileged relations related to common values, democracy, human rights, governance, market economy, sustainable development, etc. The countries part of European Neighborhood Policy are: Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine. Also there is the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership which focuses on three aspects: 1) the political and security aspect for peace and stability; 2) the economic and financial aspect; 3) and the social, cultural and human aspect aims to develop human resources. The main aim of the partnership is to develop the standard of life, cultural level, respect for human rights and democracy. (Bayer Erler Ozgun, 2016; pg. 13-14)

Aware that it has been losing its credibility due to its safe response, the EU is attempting to clear up its image. The European Commission has proposed the establishment of a new 'Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity' with the region. This new partnership is a new beginning that promotes democracy

and human rights. This new partnership will consist of three elements: 1) supporting democratic transition and institution-building; 2) a stronger civil society; 3) and sustainable and inclusive growth. (Bayer Erler Ozgun, 2016; pg.16)

All of these programs and projects are excellent ideas but without the aid given in this region there is no prosperity. Therefore the soft power presented by the EU has no credential without its humanitarian diplomacy.

Therefore, the transfer of EU humanitarian aid is the responsibility of the European Commission and its Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (ECHO). The ECHO mission is to coordinate financial support for humanitarian aid operations. The ECHO was created in 1992 as the Office for Humanitarian Aid and had a limited scope. But the EU increasing work in global humanitarian aid and the widening of ECHO operations led to its transformation in 2004 to a directorate-general. In 2010, the areas of responsibility of ECHO were expanded. In order to provide a suitable response to humanitarian crises, the activities of the ECHO include: provision of humanitarian aid; protection of civilians living in crisis areas; and physical security. In 2011, ECHO's coordination activities brought EU humanitarian aid to 91 countries and supported around 117 million people. The ECHO coordinated support in 2011 was: 42% for victims of humanitarian crises and infrastructure reconstruction; 38% for victims of natural disasters; and 20% for victims of other emergencies. (Dobrowolska-Polak Joanna. Pg. 121-122)

The directive of DG ECHO is to save and preserve life, to reduce or prevent suffering, to safeguard the integrity and dignity of people affected by humanitarian crises. The priority is to ensure that the aid is managed in the most effective way, whilst respecting the principles of international law and the principles of equality, neutrality, humanity, non-discrimination and independence. The emergency support can only be provided where disaster is severe with wide-ranging humanitarian consequences. (“Commission Staff Working Document...”, 2017; pg. 3) Aid effectiveness and result actions will be the basis of the EU's humanitarian agenda in 2018. (“Commission Staff Working Document...” 2017; pg. 5)

The Middle East region has witnessed growing instabilities, and it has been caught in a complex geo-political situation and rising terrorist threats. The long-lasting conflicts in Iraq and Syria have created lasting humanitarian crisis, which resulted in the displacement of millions of people. The blockade of Gaza and the occupation of the West Bank have provoked a continuous crisis. Yemen, the poorest country in the world, is politically unstable, with armed conflicts, and is under-developed. The breaches of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law undermine the safety of civilians and humanitarian workers and make it harder for them to work in the region. The funds provide medical emergency relief, protection, food and nutritional assistance, water, sanitation and hygiene, shelter, health, and logistics services. The Commission also gives aid to Iraqi people and refugees in Jordan and Lebanon. The EU is supporting a principled and fair humanitarian response, without taking sides. (“Middle East”)

But despite all of the initiatives, the EU has failed to make progress with its foreign policy objectives in the region. Poverty remains, the political reform has been slow, and the conflicts remain. The EU has been criticized for responding too slowly and for failing to have united strategic leadership. (O'Donnell Marina Clara, pg. 74)

To conclude, the European Union is an excellent example of a power that uses the soft power skills through its humanitarian diplomacy. Although the region is not stable and the conflicts are still enduring, still without the help of the EU the Middle East region would have been in a worst condition than it is now. The EU just needs to be more persistent and more persuasive in its means to have positive outcomes.

4. EU HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN TURKEY

Turkey's geographical position makes it a recipient and a transit country for many refugees, migrants and vulnerable people. The country hosts 3.5 million registered Syrian refugees and it tries to provide them with humanitarian aid and support. The EU wants to assist Turkey in dealing with this enormous problem. The European Commission is providing humanitarian aid to support refugees who fled violence in need of immediate aid, and those in need of health assistance and access to education. ("The EU facility for refugees in Turkey") Furthermore, the EU has contracted 50 projects with 19 humanitarian organizations, which are cooperating with Turkish organizations. The refugees living in Turkey are Syrians, Iraqis, Afghans, Iranians, Somalis and many others. Out of these, almost 180.000 people are in camps where they have access to shelter, health, education, food, and social activities. But most Syrian and other refugees live outside the camps, under very challenging conditions with few resources. ("Turkey")

The EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey is funded from both the EU budget and from EU Member States funds. The humanitarian fund of EU in Turkey is €1.45 billion in the period between 2016 and 2018. The Facility's humanitarian programme flagship is the Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN), which is a social assistance design that allows the vulnerable refugees to have their basic needs. With €998 million from the EU, the World Food Programme (WFP), in collaboration with the Turkish Red Crescent and Turkish government institutions, are giving debit cards to refugee families and they can purchase what they need the most. The ESSN assists 1.4 million beneficiaries, it is the largest humanitarian project in history. Furthermore, the European Union funds the Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE) project in partnership with UNICEF. The EU funds €84 million bi-monthly a cash transfers to families whose children attend school. The project also includes a child protection to ensure refugee children schooling and child protection services. In July the CCTE supported more than 312.000 children. These projects are followed by other humanitarian aid projects addressing protection issues, providing non-

formal education and specialized health care. All these projects are guided through the European Commission's Directorate-General for Neighborhood and Enlargement Negotiations. (“Turkey”)

The EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey helps for additional funding to support refugees and manages a total of €6 billion (€3 billion for 2016-2017 and €3 billion for 2018-2019). The main focus areas are humanitarian assistance, education, migration management, health, municipal infrastructure, and socio-economic support. The operational funds of €3 billion for the Facility for 2016-2017 have been fully used, with 72 projects. Out of the operational budget of €3 billion for 2018-2019, €400 million have been used. With the adoption of the amended financing decision, €2 billion has been taken from the EU budget and €1 billion from the Member States in the period of 2018-2019, these enable the continuity of the work of the Facility. (“The EU facility for refugees in Turkey”)

Besides the enormous funding given by the EU and its member states, Turkey works by itself to help refugees and migrants and it uses Humanitarian Diplomacy as a useful tool to explain its engagement with new foreign policy actors, including non-state actors, providing legitimate entry into unstable regions. Also, Turkey has extended its humanitarian and development aid in Africa and Asia, and characterizes its foreign policy as Humanitarian Diplomacy. In the last few years, Turkey has become one of the biggest aid donors. The growing humanitarianism of Turkey's foreign affairs has produced challenges and opportunities for its development and security in the region. (De Lauri Antonio, 2018)

Humanitarian diplomacy does not consist only of humanitarian aid it has a more broad mission. But the humanitarian diplomacy of Turkey covers a wide geographical area. It consists of three different stages. The first stage is associated with the citizens of the Turkish Republic. It encompasses the problems of its own citizens, and it wants to improve the people's living conditions and make their life easier. The second stage is related to people found in crisis regions. Turkey normally respects the national borders of countries and international law; but as mentioned before humanitarian diplomacy has a feature that is beyond the borders. The third stage is with humanitarian attitude at the global level. (Sadik Giray, Zorba Hilal, 2017; pg. 18-19)

The emergence of Turkey as a major actor in humanitarian diplomacy raises important questions for both Turkey and humanitarianism as a form of “middle power activism” in international affairs. (Gilley Bruce, 2015; pg. 37) In 2013, Turkey gave US\$ 1.6 billion in humanitarian aid, which is accompanied by diplomatic efforts. Between 2007 and 2012, the Turkish Red Crescent provided humanitarian aid to 70 countries. (Gilley Bruce, 2015; pg. 38)

The EU presence in the region and in Turkey is of mutual interest because, Turkey's popularity in the region comes from its offering of openness towards the West, and its influence in the region guarantees the European Union influence in the regional conflicts, preserving European interests and acting as a

“buffer state”. (Dr. Mustafa Al-Labbad. Pg. 51-52) Which are all positive outcomes for the EU.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the European Union is exceptional in conducting the humanitarian diplomacy through the soft power tools because it does it by getting others in this research the countries from the Middle East and Turkey to want the same outcomes, and they do wish to bring back peace, stability, prosperity, respect for the rule of law and democracy in their region. And it does all of this through humanitarian diplomacy, because as we saw from the definition it arranges the presence of organizations and aid workers in the region, it negotiates in order to have access and to help civilian populations in need. Therefore it combines the two perfectly, the only problem is that although its intentions are pure and honest the region where it operates is not. The Middle East region will hardly ever come to a point of peace and prosperity due to many factors like history, influence of other actors who have the interests and benefits for the wars to be ongoing. Therefore the EU does not fight one battle but many. The probable solution is to keep doing what it was doing so far, that is practicing the humanitarian diplomacy, but also securing and stabilizing its territory as well, because the influx of refugees from the region will bring its own problems.

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KORIŠĆENJE HUMANITARNE DIPLOMATIJE EVROPSKE UNIJE KAO MEKE MOĆI NA BLISKOM ISTOKU I U TURSKOJ

Evropska unija je oduvek imala dobre diplomatske i susedske odnose sa Bliskim istokom i Turskom, ali uz izbijanje rata u Siriji i ogromnog priliva izbeglica na njenom kontinentu, EU pokušava da koristi humanitarnu diplomatiju kako bi se zaštitila, a istovremeno i pomogla Bliskom istoku i Turskoj. EU koristi humanitarnu diplomatiju kao meku moć za smirivanje i stabilizaciju konfliktnih i kritičnih situacija. Humanitarna diplomatija se koristi u svrhu zaštite i pronalazjenja rešenja metodom pregovaranja i pružanja pomoći izbeglicama, migrantima i drugim ugroženim kategorijama ljudi. Njome se utiče na donosiocice odluka da postupaju u interesu izbeglica i ugroženih grupa, uz poštovanje njihovih ljudskih prava, a potiče od tradicionalne diplomatije koja se bavi specifičnim aktivnostima u ratu i miru, i načinu funkcionisanja državne vlasti. Osnovna razlika između ova dva oblika diplomatije sastoji se u tome što humanitarna diplomatija ne koristi vojne i političke metode, iako je pod njihovim uticajem. Zajednička osnova im je međunarodno pravo i poštovanje osnovnih ljudskih prava i principa. Humanitarna diplomatija EU nije izgubila osećaj strategije, uticaja i moći i sposobna je da isprati moralne, političke i međunarodne smernice kako bi doprinela zaštiti ljudskih prava.

KLJUČNE REČI: Evropska unija / humanitarna diplomatija / Bliski istok / Turska