

The prospects of the EU-Turkey relations

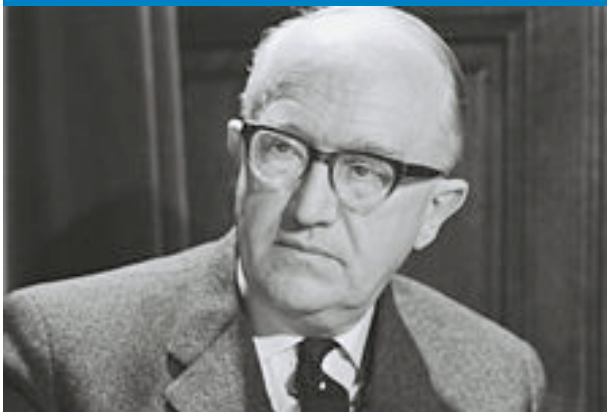
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Turkey's European wishes old as the European Building Project

- 1947 : Turkey is taking part in the Marshall Plan.
- 1949 : Turkey joins as a member state the Council of Europe.
- 1952 : Turkey member of NATO.
- 1959 : Turkey applies for associate membership in the European Economic Community.
- 1960 : Military Coup.
- 1963 : Association Agreement signed in Ankara. This agreement plans a full membership for Turkey (Walter Hallstein).



A Euro/Turkey relations with Tops and Bottoms



- 1970 : « Additional Protocol » (timetable for the abolition of tariffs and quotas of goods traded).
- 1974 : Turkish intervention in Cyprus.
- 1980 : Freeze in Turkey/EC relations following the 12 September military « coup ».
- 1981 : Greece becomes member of the EC.
- 1982 : The Constitution provides a poor human rights protection.



The Turkish Application since 1987 - 1



- 1983 : Turgut Özal and ANAP Victory at the first general elections after the Coup
- 1987 : Application for formal membership into EC
- 1989 : European Commission refuses to immediately begin accession negotiations, citing Turkey's economic and political situation, poor relations with Greece and their conflict with Cyprus, but overall reaffirming eventual membership as the goal.
- The 1989 : Fall of the Berlin wall
- 1991 : Collapse of the USSR
- 1995 : EU-Turkey Customs Union is formed
- 1997 : « Post modern Coup » dismisses Erbakan Cabinet



The Turkish Application since 1987 - 2



- 1999 : European Council of Helsinki recognises Turkey as a candidate on equal footing with other potential candidate.
- Nov. 2002 : Victory of the AKP at the general elections.
- Dec. 2002 : European Council of Copenhagen states that "the EU would open negotiations with Turkey 'without delay' if Turkey fulfils the Copenhagen Criteria.
- 2004 : Turkish government and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus back the Annan Plan for Cyprus but Cyprus Greek part rejects it.

The difficult start of the negotiations for full membership

- December 2004 : EU agrees to start negotiations
- Spring 2005 : The ratification of the Treaty for a European Constitution shows a great turco-scepticism specially in some member states like France (art. 88-5)
- 3 October 2005 : opening of the negotiations between Turkey and the EU for a full membership
- December 2006 : Taking into account the Greek Cypriot refusal of the Annan Plan, Turkey refuse to open its ports and airports to Cyprus. EU freezes 8 chapters of the acquis
- 2006-2007 : development of euro scepticism in Turkey



The Turkish Elites and the European Application

- Since the 50's, the Turkish Elites and the military establishment back European intégration. All the governments (kemalist or center right gvts) supported the Turkish application for a full membership.
- After 1983, the center right and islam oriented ANAP handles Europe to support its liberal economic and political options.
- In the 90's, the European project is supported by center right (DYP-ANAP) and center left (CHP). Only the islamist party (Refah Partisi) is rejecting the European integration which they consider as Christian Community.





The Civil Society and the European Project

- Since the agreement association in 1963, an important network of institutions has been developed in Turkey to support the European project.
- 2 kinds of institutions are active :
 - Economic institutions like TÜSIAD (*Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği*), TOBB (*Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği*), İKV (*İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı*)
 - NGOs and Think tanks like TESEV (*Türk Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı*)
- In Brussels : more than 250 Turkish organizations are lobbying since the 60's and these organizations are generally more efficient than the Central and Eastern European ones.



TESEV



TÜRKİYE ODALAR VE BORSALAR BİRLİĞİ





The AKP and the European Project



- Since its creation in 2001, AKP always strongly support the European application as all the previous islamist parties (MSP in the 70's, *Refah* in the 90's) rejected it.
- European strategy is seen by the AKP as a solution to avoid new military interventions
- During the first term of the AKP government, the president of the Republic and the establishment vetoed sometimes reforms impulse by Recep Tayyip Erdogan considering that they could be dangerous for the centralized and secularist Turkish Republic.
- The Turkish paradox today : former islamists support European application while a large part of the Kemalists and secularists reject it





The Copenhagen Criteria - 1

- Since 1946, Turkey is a parliamentary representative democracy which use to hold regularly local and national elections.
- But the Military regularly interfered in Turkish Politics, making « Coup » (1960, 1980) or soft interventions (1971, 1997).
- Since 2001: important reforms specially concerning the National Security Council
- But demilitarization of the Civil Sphere is also a problem of culture.



The Copenhagen Criteria - 2

- Turkey is a developed country (founding member of the OECD) and considered at present as the 18th largest economy in the world (list of the IMF).
- Turkey main trading partner is the EU (59% of exports and 52% of imports)
- GDP-person : 9000\$
- Turkey would take the benefit from the membership that the Southern Countries which entered the EU during the 80's
- But taking into account the budgeting reductions of the EU after 2013, Turkey won't get the support of the structural Funds

The Copenhagen Criteria - 3

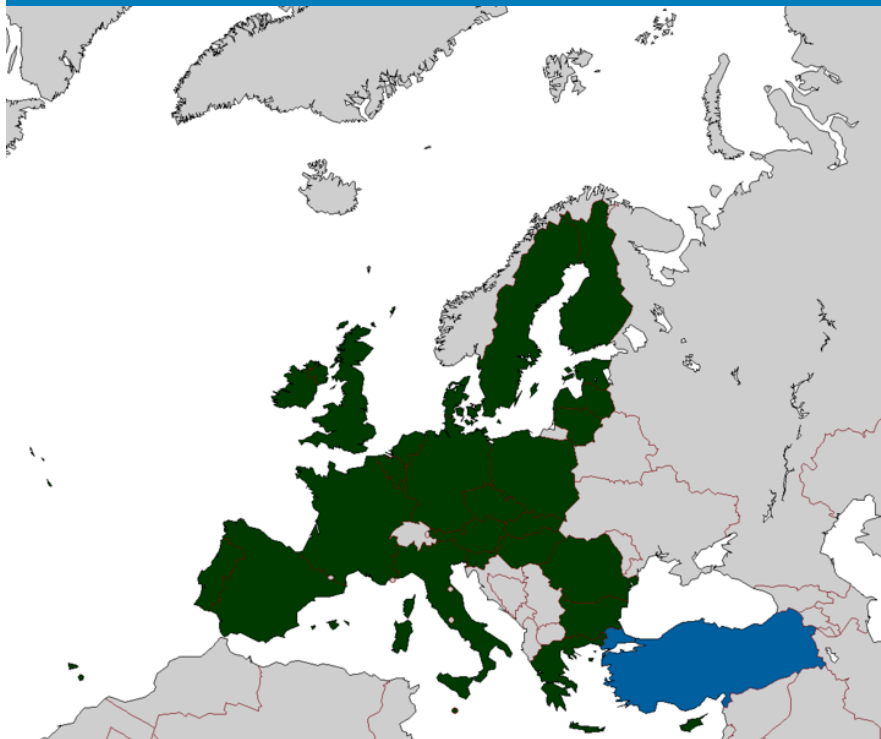


- Concerning the Human Rights, important reforms have been done (amendments of the part 2 of the Constitution of 1982)
- But important efforts have still to be done :
 - independence of the Judiciary
 - Reform of the new Penal Code (specially the famous article 301)



The other Problems regarding the Turkish Application - 1

- Only the Copenhagen criteria are required officially to enter the UE, but in the case of Turkey is there unofficial criteria ?
- The geographical argument : only a few part of the Turkish territory (23 000 km² out of 783 000km²) is located in Europe. Nicolas Sarkozy repeats during the TV debate against Segolène Royal : « Turkey is located in Asia Minor ».



The other Problems regarding the Turkish Application - 2

- Only the Copenhagen criteria are required officially to enter the UE, but in the case of Turkey is there unofficial criteria ?
- The religious argument : the demo-Christian in Europe argue that Europe has a Christian Identity (Helmut Kohl and Angela Merkel in Germany).





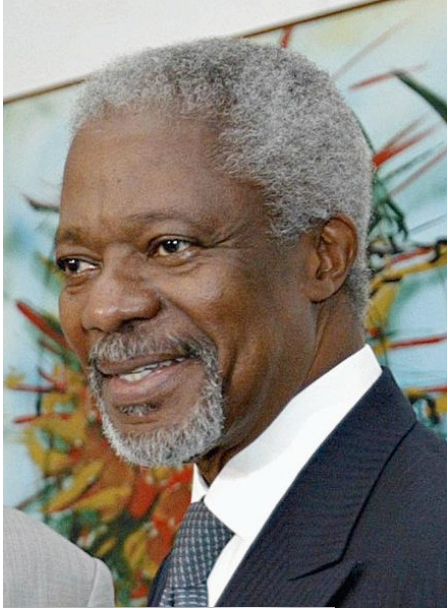
The positions of the Member-States towards the Turkish Application

➤ Countries supporting :
United Kingdom, Spain,
Italy, Poland

➤ Countries opposing or
hesitating :
France, Germany, Cyprus



The Cyprus Crisis of 2006



- Since 1974 the internationally recognised Republic of Cyprus has been divided. The dividing line which cuts across the country has created a physical and social barrier between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot Communities. The Turkish Cypriot community declared itself Turkish republic of Northern Cyprus, condemned by UN Security Council Resolutions as legally invalid. It is recognised only by Turkey
- 2004 : the Annan Plan would only come into force if accepted by both communities in simultaneous referendums.
- 24 April 2004:
 - Turkish Community : Yes (64,90%), No(35,09%), turnout (87%)
 - Greek Community : Yes (24,17%), No(75,83%), turnout (88%)
- 1st May 2004 : Cyprus becomes a member of the EU
- Considering that the Greek part was henceforth responsible of the dispute, Turkey refuses to recognize Cyprus and to open its ports and airports to Cypriot boats and planes
- December 2006 : EU decide to freeze 8 chapters of the acquis.

The current situation after the presidential crisis of 2007

- 2005: in the prospect of the presidential and legislative elections of 2007, the AKP cabinet decides freeze the reforms
- July 2007 : AKP wins the elections
- August 2007: Abdullah Gül is elected as the President of the Republic
- EU congratulates Erdogan for his victories but asks actual acts to demonstrate his European choice (for instance: the abolition of the art.301 of the Penal Code.
- September 2007: The new cabinet announced the preparation of a « Civil Constitution » and a plan to relaunch the negotiations with the EU
- For the Third time consecutively, EU gives a sad and poor Progress Report concerning the Turkish candidacy



THE END

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