

Turkey & beyond

- I) May Turkey join the EU?
- II) Turkey & the EU's “absorption capacity”
- III) European identity
focus: Turkish accession

May Turkey join the EU?

- Is Turkey prepared to enter the EU?

Its challenges:

- 1 domestic policies
- 2 human rights and fundamental liberties
- 3 economy
- 4 foreign policy

Historical review of Turkish-European relations

- Turkey took part in the creation of the Council of Europe in 1949
- It entered the NATO in 1952
- Turkey asked its association to the Common market since 1959 obtained only in 1963
- first official candidature: 1987 (refused 2 years later)
- 3rd October 2005: Turkey is allowed to negotiate its accession



- Prime Minister Erdoğan
- Government party: AKP (« party for justice and development »)
- Crucial reforms (economy, institutions, human rights...)

1 Domestic policies

- The problem of corruption has to be solved.
 - Turkey's corruption index : 3,5 (Transparency International, 2005)
- The judicial system has to be clarified.
 - Structural and procedural problems
- The controversial role of Turkish army has to be limited
 - Important role of the army in the political life of Turkey; attempt to regulate it.

2 Human rights and fundamental liberties

- Human rights
 - Situation of the Kurds; death penalty and torture, gender-equality
- Fundamental liberties
 - Expression, press and association

3 economy

- A dynamic economy thanks to the IMF
 - economic growth: 2004: 9,9 % 2005: 5,5 %
 - inflation: 2001: 68,5 % 2004: less than 10 % 2005: 8 %
 - reasons: tourism, aerial transport, structural reforms
- An economic situation which is still fragile
 - public dept: 70 % of the GNP in 2004
 - weakness of Foreign Direct Investment
 - importance of informal economy (50 % of the GNP, 40 % of the handcraft)

Source: ministère des Affaires Etrangères Français (01.2006)

4 foreign policy

- Relation to Cyprus
 - Occupation of Northern Cyprus
 - Republic of Cyprus not recognised yet by Turkey
 - Turkey is the only state recognising the Republic of North-Cyprus
- Relation to Armenia
 - Refusal of the word « genocide » to qualify the massacre of 1915
 - Frontier closed since 1992
 - No diplomatic relations

Turkey

&

the EU's “absorption capacity”

“We are firmly convinced that Turkey's membership would overtax the EU politically, economically and socially and endanger the process of European integration”

Source: letter of Angela Merkel and Edmund Stoiber/ August 2005



Angela Merkel & Recep Tayyip Erdogan

Eu's "absorption capacity":

- 1993: Copenhagen criterion
- introduced in 2005 into the "negotiating framework":

"Enlargement should strengthen the process of continuous creation and integration in which the Union and its Members States are engaged. Every effort should be made to protect the cohesion and effectiveness of the Union. In accordance with the conclusions of the Copenhagen European Council in 1993, the Union's capacity to absorb Turkey, while maintaining the momentum of European integration, is also an important consideration in the general interest of both the Union and Turkey."

- "We need to ensure that the EU functions effectively, that it can be financed and can execute foreign policies"
(Olli Rehn, Enlargement Commissioner)



Turkey & Eu's "absorption capacity":

- 1 A challenge for the decision-making process
- 2 An insurmountable financial burden
- 3 EU's foreign policy at the crossroads
- 4 Taking "into account the concerns of the citizens"

1 A challenge for the decision-making process

- institutional reforms (Amsterdam 1997 and Nice 2000)
- Turks: 71 millions in 2003 / 82 millions in 2015

--> 99 Turkish MEP ?

97 millions in 2050 --> predominant place within the EU?

--> crises ?

The Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe as solution of crises?

- Too many Members of the European Parliament:

Article I-20: “The Parliament shall be composed of representatives of the Union’s citizens. They shall not exceed seven hundred and fifty in number. Representation of citizens shall be digressively proportional, with a minimum threshold of six members per Member State. No Member State shall be allocated more than ninety-six seats.”

- The ineffective and inappropriate system of “rotating Presidency” of the “European Council”:

Article I-22: “The European Council shall elect its President, by a qualified majority, for a term of two and a half years, renewable once. In the event of an impediment or serious misconduct, the European Council can end his or her term of office in accordance with the same procedure.”

- Conflicts about voting weights:

Article I-25: “A qualified majority shall be defined as at least 55 % of the members of the Council, comprising at least fifteen of them and representing Member States comprising at least 65 % of the population of the Union. A blocking minority must include at least four Council members, failing which the qualified majority shall be deemed attained.” → and a growing number of decisions taken by qualified majority.

- Too many members of the European Commission

Article I-26: “The Commission shall consist of a number of members, including its President and the Union Minister for Foreign Affairs, corresponding to two thirds of the number of Member States, unless the European Council, acting unanimously, decides to alter this number.”

--> The EU-Constitution, “enhanced co-operations” or “vanguards” as solutions

2 An insurmountable financial burden?

Wolfgang Schüssel: “Turkey's EU accession would cost as much as the recent accession of all ten new members. Before saying there is full membership for Turkey, someone has to explain to me how to finance that. We have to keep the absorption capacity of the EU in mind. This is what we owe to the anxieties and worries of our citizens.”

(Der Spiegel, 21st August 2005)

- Financial questions are already acute problems
 - “Pre-accession financial assistance” to Turkey: approximately €250 millions in 2004, €300 millions in 2005 and it will receive €500 millions in 2006
 - Today Turkey's economy: only 1.9% of the GDP of the EU 25; average annual growth of 5%; GDP per head (at purchasing power parity): only 27% of the EU average; major regional inequality and a third of the workforce is of agricultural kind
- > Necessity of a new EU budget with redefined priorities

3 EU's foreign policy at the crossroads

Turkey, a strategic location but often difficult relations to:

- Caucasus (concurrence with Russia, conflict with Armenia)
- EU's members (conflicts with Greece and Cyprus)
- south-eastern neighbours (Turkey is seen as a traitor)

--> An influence on EU-foreign policy?

Growing security thanks to Turkey's accession:

- stabilization of the Middle-East (energy networks)
- a strong army

--> Contribution to security & peace

4 Taking « into account the concerns of citizens »

- Jose Manuel Barroso, in June 2005:

“We should seriously discuss the signals sent by the electorate regarding Turkey. We need the support of Member States and citizens for the enlargement of the European Union”

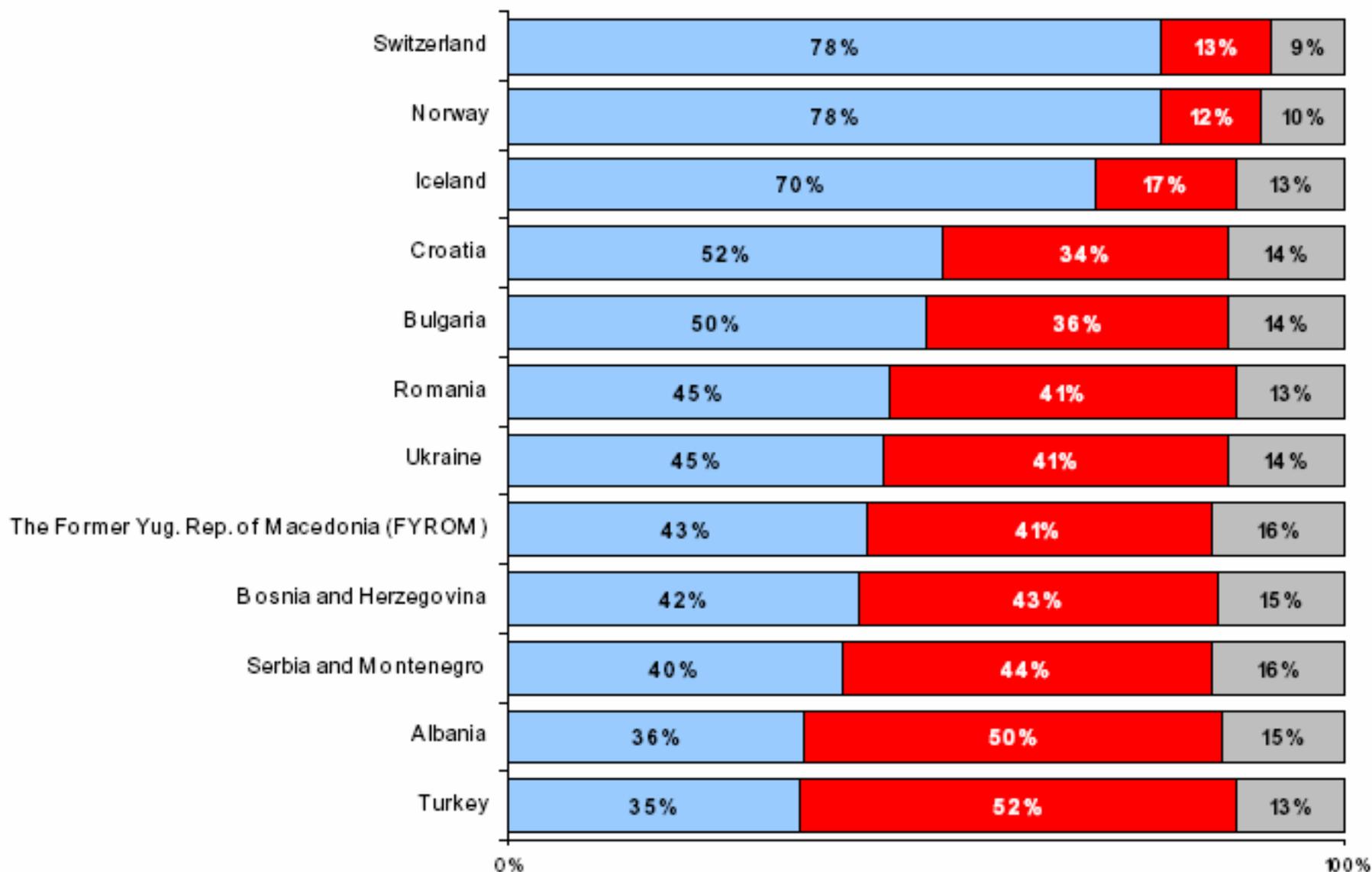
- referendum in Austria and France at least
- Eurobarometer May/June 2005

For each of the following countries, would you be in favour or against it becoming part of the European Union in the future?

□ In Favour

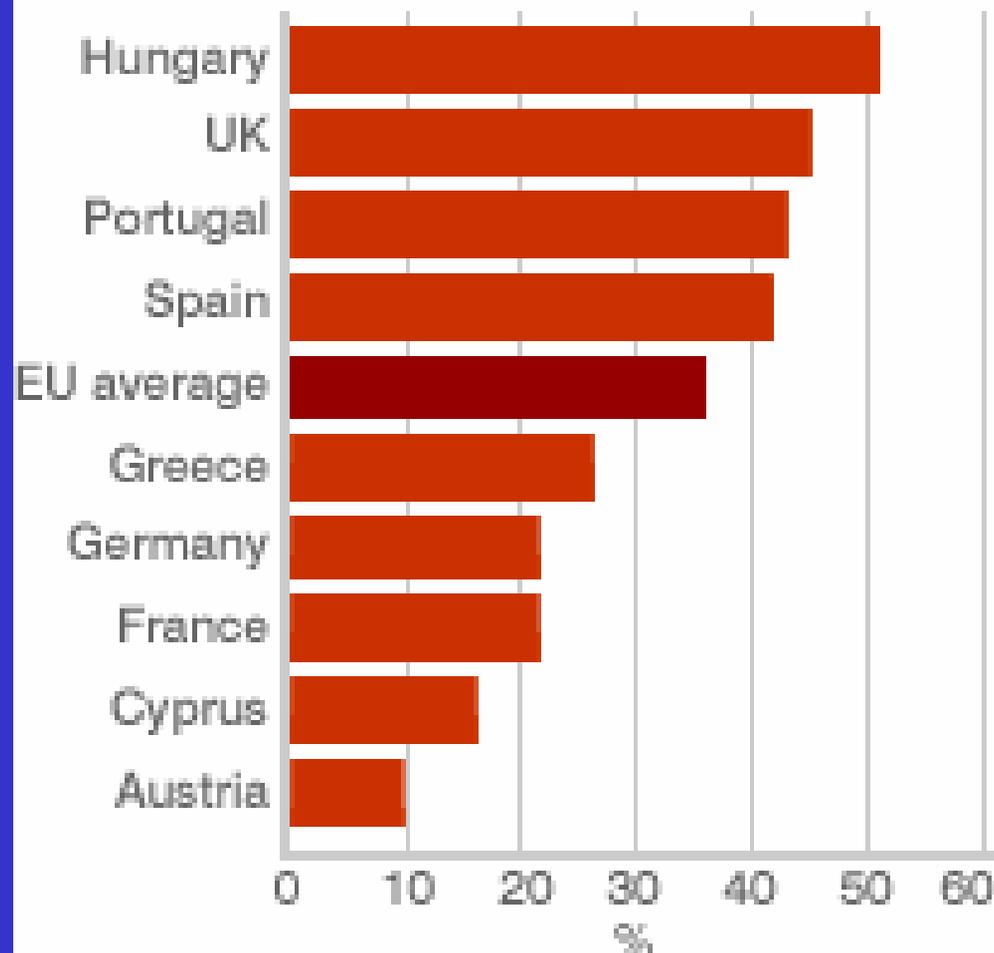
■ Against

□ DK



SUPPORT FOR TURKEY

Percentage of population in favour of Turkish EU membership



SOURCE: Eurobarometer May/June 2005

Fear of:

- a vast immigration (role of actual perception of Turks)
- relocation of industries
- insecurity because of the insecure Schengen border area

Table Seven: Turkish Population in Selected EU Countries 2000

	Thousands	as % of total foreign population
Germany	1998.5	27.4
France	208.0	6.4
Austria	134.5	17.7
Netherlands	100.8	15.1
UK	58.0	2.2
Belgium	56.2	6.5
Denmark	35.2	13.6

Source: OECD - Not including those of Turkish origin who have taken on citizenship of country of residence.

--> solution: transition periods

Joschka Fischer, in 2000:

“The danger will then be that enlargement to include 27 or 30 members will hopelessly overload the EU’s ability to absorb, with its old institutions and mechanisms, even with increased use of majority decisions, and that it could lead to severe crises. But this danger, it goes without saying, is no reason not to push on with enlargement as quickly as possible; rather it shows the need for decisive, appropriate institutional reforms so that the Union’s capacity to act is maintained even after enlargement.”



The EU seems to be able to absorb Turkey as a new Member State if:

- institutional and financial reforms are adopted
- Turkey manifests goodwill concerning European cooperation
- “long transitional periods, derogations, specific arrangements or permanent safeguard clauses [...] in areas such as freedom of movement of persons, structural policies or agriculture” are decided. (from the “negotiating framework”)

--> Question: May Muslim Turks take part in a so-called “Christian Club” such as the European Union?

European identity

focus: Turkish accession

1 European identity at the beginning of the 21st century

1.1 European identity: a definition

1.2 Challenges for European identity in the 21st century

2 Turkey's EU-compatibility

2.1 Historical substantialism

2.2 Empirical substantialism

2.3 Process-orientated approach

1 European identity at the beginning of the 21st century

1.1 European Identity: a definition

European identity = identification of EU's citizens with the EU in its territorial as well as in its institutional dimension (a specific cognitive and affective relation to the EU)
(Gerhards)

1.2 Challenges for European identity in the 21st century

- The European Integration process marked by economic integration has not been dependent on a strong feeling of identification.
- Current and future challenges such as EU's democratisation or the transfer of resources from rich to poor member-states call for stronger identification.

2 Turkey's EU-compatibility

2.1 Historical substantialism

Scholars approving historical substantialist's assumptions: Hans Ulrich Wehler, Heinrich August Winkler, Anthony Smith, Samuel Huntington

Interest of knowlege:

- May Turkey be considered as part of historical and cultural Europe?

Basic assumptions:

- Further political integration will fail if not based on a shared sentiment of belonging together.
- European identity is based on a common historical and cultural heritage constituted of Christianity as well as of Jewish – Greek – Roman antiquity, renaissance, the Enlightenment, scientific revolution etc.

May Turkey enter the EU?

- Turkey may not be considered as part of historical and cultural Europe.

2.2 Empirical substantialism

Scholar approving empirical substantialist's assumptions: German sociologist Jürgen Gerhards

Interest of knowledge:

- The values reflected in EU's primary and secondary law, are they shared by citizens of the EU as well as by Turkish citizens?

basic assumption:

- There are empirical values constituting the EU.

May Turkey enter the EU?

- Values currently held in the EU are refused by a majority of Turkish people.
- Turkey may adopt values held in the EU throughout a long and difficult process.

2.3 Process-orientated approach

Scholars approving process-orientated approach: German historian Burgdorf, German sociologist Habermas, British sociologist Gerard Delanty etc.

Interest of knowlege:

- May Turkish accession to the EU be considered compatible with an ever constructing European identity?

Basic assumption:

- European identity as an open process

May Turkey enter the EU?

- Historical substantislist's assumptions are refused.
- Turkish EU-accession as a reaffirmation of European identity