

## EDITORIAL

Against all odds, accession negotiations between the European Union and Turkey were initiated on October 3, 2005. They might last a decade or so and their outcome is anyone's guess. Despite hopes and fears on all sides, the relationship between the EU and Turkey has reached a new quality. The beginning of accession negotiations constitutes a new reality. This reality will change anew in the course of the processes ahead. Knowledge about this process, its background and possible implications are a key in assessing the developments ahead. Relations between the European Union and Turkey are not those of a bilateral nature. They are aimed at integrating Turkey under the roof of the community of law that is the EU. This process will broaden the realities which constitute the EU, but moreover it will transform Turkey as understood by its current realities.

The Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI) at the University of Bonn intends to monitor EU-Turkey accession negotiations. This newsletter, prepared along with Turkish colleagues, will be published three times per year and intends to strengthen knowledge, to look at the background and to not shy away from sensitive matters. We hope to enhance mutual knowledge and deconstruct reciprocal prejudices.



Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt  
Director at the Center for European  
Integration Studies (ZEI)



*At the signing of the Constitution in Rome, 29 October 2004. Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan (second from left) and Minister for Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gül flanked by the Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi and the Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende.  
The Council of the European Union*

## CONDUCTING ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS

### Principles, Substance and Procedures

Ali Aybey and Zübeyde Öztürk

EU-Turkey relations have always constituted an important part of the European Union's policy in the Mediterranean. The general framework of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, celebrating its tenth anniversary in November, has always been surpassed by a set of special and even privileged arrangements with Turkey. In accordance with the decisions taken by the European Council on 17 December 2004, a new process within this relationship is about to start: accession negotiations. For this purpose and upon request of the European Council, the Commission has drafted a framework document for conducting the negotiations with Turkey. The document - presented to the EU member states on 29 June 2005 for later adoption -

lays down the general principles, the substance and concrete procedures of the upcoming negotiations.<sup>1</sup>

#### Principles Governing Negotiations

Just like the European Council in its December 2004 decision, the negotiation framework proposed by the Commission underlines that the objective of negotiations is accession. Success or failure will substantially depend on Turkey's efforts. This is clearly in line with recent enlargements since accession negotiations with the EU are an asymmetric process: it is up to the candidate state to take over the *acquis communautaire* and not up to the EU to transform. Concerning Turkey, the Commission urges "Turkey to sustain the process of reform and to work towards further improvement". However, further

▶ progress can only be ensured if accession as generally accepted aim of negotiations is maintained. As can be seen from the EU's efforts to promote reforms in other Mediterranean countries, these efforts are rarely successful because the major driving force - the option to become a member of the EU - is not a given.

In accordance with its particular focus on political reforms, the EU reserves the right to suspend negotiations if Turkey persistently violates central principles. Besides a functioning democracy, respect for human rights, guarantee of fundamental freedoms and liberties, the EU also requires Turkey to uphold good relations with its neighbours. This implies a commitment to settle the conflict over Cyprus, leading eventually to Turkey's recognition of the Republic of Cyprus.

### The Substance of Negotiations

For Turkey, the substance of negotiations is the takeover of the entire *acquis communautaire*. Exceptionally, there might be transitional measures put into place in order to soften the impact of entry into the Union to a reasonable degree in areas where this seems necessary. What has widely been criticised by supporters of the Turkish cause is that the option for "permanent safeguard clauses" has - again - been included in the Commission document.

As Turkey's accession is likely to have substantial financial consequences, negotiations cannot be concluded before the Financial Framework for 2014 onwards is established.

### Procedures

Even though negotiation procedures are of vital interest to the formulation of a negotiation strategy, the Commission document is quite brief in this respect. As has been the case in former enlargements, the Commission first undertakes a screening, i.e. examining the *acquis* and assessing the state of preparations by Turkey. Already in this stage - as well as in negotiations - the *acquis* is subdivided in 35 different chapters. Even though these chapters are negotiated separately, no specific agreement will be considered as final unless overall agreement on all chapters has been reached. Nonetheless, if a negotiated chapter is to be closed provisionally, the Council will lay down benchmarks for doing so. Where appropriate, this might already apply to the opening of certain chapters. In this process of benchmarking, it again becomes evident that most efforts in the process are up to Turkey.

However, the strength of the Union lies in its *acquis*, establishing a common legal basis for all European citizens and thereby fostering security, predictability and prosperity. Therefore, any reform that brings Turkey closer to the EU is a worthwhile effort, even though it might only pay off after a considerable time - the time needed to successfully conclude membership negotiations and to become fully accepted member of the European Union.

1) The document is available at: [http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/docs/pdf/negotiating\\_framework\\_turkey.pdf](http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/docs/pdf/negotiating_framework_turkey.pdf).

*Ali Aybey and Zübeyde Öztürk are Master Fellows at ZEI*

## THE 35 CHAPTERS Preliminary Indicative List

- 1 Free movement of goods
- 2 Freedom of movement for workers
- 3 Right of establishment and freedom to provide services
- 4 Free movement of capital
- 5 Public procurement
- 6 Company law
- 7 Intellectual property law
- 8 Competition policy
- 9 Financial services
- 10 Information society and media
- 11 Agriculture and rural development
- 12 Food safety, veterinary and phytosanitary policy
- 13 Fisheries
- 14 Transport policy
- 15 Energy
- 16 Taxation
- 17 Economic and monetary policy
- 18 Statistics
- 19 Social policy and employment
- 20 Enterprise and industrial policy
- 21 Trans-European networks
- 22 Regional policy and coordination of structural instruments
- 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights
- 24 Justice, freedom and security
- 25 Science and research
- 26 Education and culture
- 27 Environment
- 28 Consumer and health protection
- 29 Customs union
- 30 External relations
- 31 Foreign, security and defence policy
- 32 Financial control
- 33 Financial and budgetary provisions
- 34 Institutions
- 35 Other issues

## ZEI PUBLICATIONS

### ZEI Discussion Papers

Erol Esen: Grundzüge der Kommunalverwaltung und die europäische Integration der Türkei, ZEI Discussion Paper, C 147/2005.

Ioannis Kasoulides: Cyprus and its Accession to the European Union, ZEI Discussion Paper, C 47/1999.

### ZEI Working Papers

Konstantinos Drakos, Ali M. Kutan: Opposites Attract: The Case of Greek and Turkish Financial Markets, ZEI Working Paper, B 6/2001.

Sübidey Togan, Hasan Ersel: Foreign Exchange Regime, the Real Exchange Rate and Current Account Sustainability: The Case of Turkey, ZEI Working Paper, B 17/2004.

## EU-TURKEY

### A Brief Statistical Comparison

EU 25		Turkey		
3,976,000 km <sup>2</sup>	Area	781,000 km <sup>2</sup>		
456,950,000	Population	69,660,000		
0.2%	Population growth rate	1.1%		
39	Median age	28		
5%	Share of labor force in			
27%			agriculture	36%
68%			industry	23%
	services	41%		
18,341 Euro	GDP/capita	4,952 Euro		
2.4%	GDP growth rate	8.2%		
2.1%	Inflation rate	9.3%		

Sources: [www.cia.gov](http://www.cia.gov) / [europa.eu.int](http://europa.eu.int)

# TURKEY'S CAPABILITY TO BECOME MEMBER OF THE EU

Ludger Kühnhardt

Since Mustafa Kemal's secularist reforms, Turkey has been almost irreversibly oriented towards Europe. Overcoming the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the country was quite plain in its refusal to consider itself as part of the Arab world. On the contrary, Turkey stressed determinedly its independence from the Arab world: The Ottoman Empire belonged to the European community of states ever since the peace negotiations in Paris after the Crimean War (1856). As an early member of the Council of Europe (1949) as well as of NATO (1952), Turkey manifested its continuing orientation towards Europe, an orientation that has been widely recognized within the Atlantic community and Europe. The Association Agreement between the European Economic Community and Turkey (1963) explicitly opened the possibility for later EEC-membership. Furthermore, agreeing on the Customs Union in 1995 and the recognition of Turkey as a candidate to the EU in 1999 symbolised continuity and acceptance of

Turkey's European orientation. It would constitute a blatant betrayal of trust if Turkey's orientation towards Europe and European promises to Turkey were refused by the EU itself. Honesty is at the core of European credibility. It must not be destroyed carelessly.

For 1500 years, Anatolia has been part of early Christianity and - somewhat later - of Byzantium as well. The oldest Christian parishes outside of Jerusalem were situated on modern Turkish soil, just like the places of the early synods, that were of central importance for Christian development. Anatolia constituted the bridge for Christianity from the holy places of its origin to Europe. Without this bridge, it is hard to imagine how Europe could have become Christian. It is only possible, at the price of denying these roots, to declare Turkey an area that is a priori alien to Europe, notwithstanding the fact that the Muslim character of Anatolia over the past five centuries has become significant for today's appearance and perception of Turkey. Instead of claiming a principal and persisting difference, it would be more useful to

get Turkey involved in a debate on the Christian tradition of Anatolia. In this way, the respect for Turkey could be strengthened in the eyes of many Europeans. The example of Spain might be helpful in studying the difficulties of this process in a converse way. It took a very long time before the Islamic elements of the Andalusian tradition and identity were not only acknowledged, but even cherished.

From its beginnings, the European integration process implied the idea of reconciliation, as symbolised by the Franco-German rapprochement. The unresolved conflicts in the Aegean Sea and in the Balkans can only be overcome if the European Union treats all involved states and peoples in the region coherently. Consequently, a general stability in the whole of South-eastern Europe can only be guaranteed if all states of the region - including Albania - will be part of this community of law together with Turkey.

*Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt is Director at the Center for European Integration Studies*

## "HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT TURKEY?"

### The Debates in the European Union

Andreas Marchetti

In Goethe's probably most well-known drama, Margaret asks Faust "How do you feel about religion?" If it comes down to the question of a potential EU-membership of Turkey, it is not only a question of religion - even though this aspect is widely discussed - but implied, as in Goethe's drama, is the question after guiding principles and general views. Concerning the European integration project, "How do you feel about Turkey?" then is one of the central questions being asked these days. Apart from the Constitution, only few questions over the past years have known so much public attention and generated so many controversies throughout Europe as the issue of a potential Turkish EU-membership.

The question evidently is not an easy one to answer and one comes to a similar picture of Europe as Henry Kissinger who once complained that there was no unique telephone number to call in Europe. Accordingly, *the* opinion of Europe on Turkish EU-membership does not exist. On the contrary, the answer is characterized by an evident ambiguity. This ambiguity is due to very different layers of discussions

as well as the very structure of EU politics since there are multiple actors actively involved in the process.

#### QUOTE

"The Contracting Parties shall examine the possibility of the accession of Turkey to the Community."  
Ankara Agreement, 1963

Although the first contractual relations between the European Economic Community and Turkey were concluded over forty years ago, it is up to today's politicians to decide whether former solemn declarations are still to be taken seriously or are merely relics of a time passed fifteen years ago. Even though the European Union and Turkey have intensified their relations over the past years and the Union confirmed Turkey's candidate status in 1999, the basic question whether Europe *wants* Turkey in or not is far from being answered today.

The most consequent institutional supporter of Turkey's ambitions can be seen in the European Commission, although it emphasizes its role as a referee in the process. So far, it has clearly highlighted the poten-

tial of Turkish EU-membership, while at the same time also pointing to the challenges the EU as well as Turkey will have to face. Besides weighing and articulating arguments for and against Turkish EU membership, the Commission has also emphasized that apart from the technical process of negotiating and implementing the acquis, Turkey will have to "win the hearts and minds of [...] European citizens"<sup>1</sup> if it wants to succeed. With its positive but realistic stance on Turkish accession, the Commission will act as a connective band between supporters and opponents.

#### QUOTE

"Turkey is a candidate State destined to join the Union on the basis of the same criteria as applied to the other candidate States."  
Helsinki European Council, 1999

Whereas the Commission has quite a clear standpoint, the dividing lines within the European Parliament are evident. The conservatives (EPP-ED) are even split on the question. The ones opposing Turkish full membership favour the concept of a "privileged partnership". This position, ►

▶ quite common in the EU, might have been the cause for the continuous emphasis that negotiations are "open-ended", leaving enough room for interpretation. The Socialists, the second largest group in the EP, are more in favour of Turkey's ambitions even though they articulate fears of overstressing the EU. The liberals are even more clearly supportive of Turkish accession. All in all, the supporters currently hold a majority in the EP.<sup>2</sup> However, this might change, just as the positions of governments do. The United Kingdom is - in accordance with British public opinion<sup>3</sup> - rather supportive, whereas the French political elite is increasingly

## QUOTE

"The Commission considers that Turkey sufficiently fulfils the political criteria and recommends that accession negotiations be opened."

Commission Recommendation, 2004

sceptical, especially after the failed referendum on the European Constitution in May. Politicians finally seem to have become more cautious and more aware of public opinion - in France, 70% of the population are opposed to Turkey entering

the EU. Whereas President Jacques Chirac still cautiously supports Turkey, one of his major opponents, Nicolas Sarkozy, clearly favours the concept of a privileged partnership. In Germany, the green-socialist government under chancellor Gerhard Schröder had been defending Turkey's ambitions, however, the conservatives have left no doubt that they want a privileged partnership instead of full membership for Turkey - just in line with the German public as 74% are against Turkish membership in the EU.

Considering the current standpoints and latest developments, the major problem for Turkey is less that there are opponents - in any democratic system, opponents are natural, even necessary - but rather that there seems to be a tendency that the number of supporting governments is substantially decreasing over time. This decline in support seems mainly due to public opinion. As for the latest survey, in the enlarged EU, 52% of citizens are opposed to Turkish EU-membership and public opinion will - as it is a democratic process - certainly and substantially influence governments' positions. It is therefore of central importance to take European publics seriously in the accession process. This

## QUOTE

"Turkey sufficiently fulfils the Copenhagen political criteria to open accession negotiations."

Brussels European Council, 2004

conviction might just be the major driving force behind the Commission's suggestion to intensify the civil society dialogue. The necessity is clear: If Turkey wants to be successful, its government and supporters in Europe will have to convince people of the merits and advantages of Turkey joining the EU without neglecting the challenges. If they fail to do so, people will feel cheated and turn their back on Turkey. The substantial question, whether there will eventually be a European "yes" at the end of Turkey's quest for membership, will substantially be a question of citizens' feelings.

- 1) Cf. [http://europa.eu.int/comm/external\\_relations/news/barroso/sp04\\_545.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/news/barroso/sp04_545.htm).
- 2) Cf. the vote on 15 December 2004 in favour of opening accession negotiations.
- 3) Cf. for the following references to public opinion Eurobarometer 63.

*Andreas Marchetti is Research Fellow at ZEI*

## CHRONOLOGY

compiled by Rebecca Miltsch

**1959 September:** Turkey applies to join the European Economic Community as an associated member

**1963 September:** The Association Agreement ("Ankara Agreement") as well as the first financial protocol are concluded. The agreement aims at including Turkey into the Customs Union and opens the prospect to full EEC-membership

**1970 November:** Signature of the Additional Protocol and the second financial protocol

**1973 January:** The Additional Protocol enters into force

**1980 June:** The Association Council agrees to abolish customs duties on nearly all agricultural products by 1987

**1980 September:** Following a military coup d'état, relations between Turkey and the EEC are being intermitted

**1986 September:** Under president Turgut Özal a revival of the association process between Turkey and the EEC is initiated

**1987 April:** Turkey applies for full EEC membership

**1989 December:** The EEC-Commission acknowledges Turkey's eligibility for membership

**1996 January:** The Customs Union enters into force

**1999 December:** The Helsinki European Council officially recognises Turkey as a candidate state

**2001 March:** The EU Council agrees on the EU-Turkey Accession Partnership

**2001 March:** The Turkish government decides on its National Programme for the adoption of the *acquis* and enters into a process of political reforms

**2002 December:** The Copenhagen European Council declares that the EU will start accession negotiations with Turkey, provided the country fulfils the political criteria set out in Copenhagen

**2003 May:** The EU Council defines basic principles of the Accession Partnership

**2004 6 October:** The Commission issues its progress report on Turkey with a recommendation to start accession negotiations

**2004 17 December:** The Brussels European Council decides to open accession negotiations with Turkey on 3 October 2005

**2005 23 May:** The Turkish Economy

Minister Ali Babacan is appointed chief accession negotiator for Turkey

**2005 29 June:** The Commission proposes a draft negotiating framework to the EU Member States

**2005 29 July:** Turkey signs the additional protocol to enlarge the scope of the Ankara Agreement to the ten new EU Member States, implying a recognition of the Republic of Cyprus

**2005 3 October:** Start of accession negotiations with Turkey

Sources: [www.euractiv.com](http://www.euractiv.com) / [ue.eu.int](http://ue.eu.int)

*Rebecca Miltsch is currently working as an intern at ZEI*

## ZEI PUBLICATIONS

### ZEI Schriftenreihe

Susanne Baier-Allen (ed.): Looking into the Future of Cyprus-EU Relations, Baden-Baden 1999 (ZEI-Schriftenreihe, 5).

Hüseyin Bağcı / Jackson Janes / Ludger Kühnhardt (eds.): Parameters of Partnership: The U.S. - Turkey - Europe, Baden-Baden 1999 (ZEI-Schriftenreihe, 14).

# WILL THE EUROPEAN SUN RISE FROM THE BOSPORUS?

Volkan Altintas

Discussions on Turkey's eligibility for EU-membership have been dominant throughout debates on further enlargement of the European Union. One of the central issues has been and still is the question of whether Turkey can be considered European. Opponents often deny this by referring to geography. The Ahtisaari-Report, published in September 2004, however, disputed the validity of these geographic concepts because of their arbitrariness: "After the break-up of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey's territory was reduced to the point where only 3% fell within continental Europe. However, 11% of the Turkish population as well as Turkey's economic and cultural capital, Istanbul, are to be found within that space. Turkey lies clearly on the dividing line between Europe and Asia, its territory forming part of both continents. Whereas Europe's borders to the north, west and south are undisputed, those to the east and south-east remain fluid and open to interpretation."<sup>1</sup>

## QUOTE

"The Union shall be open to all European States which respect its values and are committed to promoting them together."

Constitution for Europe, Art. I-1

Since geography fails to give a clear answer, the response must be political. As Turkey is located between Europe and Asia and borders on the Mediterranean, Aegean and Black Seas, it can serve as a bridge between the two spheres, as it has done since the founding of the republic. Turkey's development in the 20th century has resulted in a synthesis of westernization, secularism and democracy, combined with a free market philosophy. This mixture has become increasingly attractive for outside observers after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. On the other hand, as Turkey is directly adjacent to the Balkans, the Caucasus and even the Middle East, it has to also be regarded as front-line state. With its population approaching the mark of 70 million, a solid infrastructure and a competitive work force, Turkey is not only of unique economic but also strategic importance.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, former enlargement Commissioner Günter Verheugen realized that "at the latest with the accession of Turkey the EU will become a world wide player", indicating Turkey's importance for Europe since Europe has - until now - mostly been an actor with a rather regional focus. Nonetheless, relations between Europe and Turkey are far from recent.

Already in 1963, the European Economic Community and Turkey signed an Association Agreement ("Ankara Agree-

ment"), which already included a perspective for later full membership. However, a formal application for membership was not put forward until 1987. When in 1995 the Customs Union was established, the process of bringing the EU and Turkey together intensified. In 1997, the Luxembourg European Council confirmed that Turkey was eligible for membership and just two years later, the Helsinki European Council granted candidate status to Turkey. After the European Council in 2002 had decided that if Turkey fulfils the Copenhagen political criteria, the EU would open accession negotiations, the European Council decided on 17 December 2004 to start negotiations with Turkey on 3 October 2005 provided six specified pieces of legislation were put into force. By June 2005, Turkey had fulfilled this condition as well and is now eagerly awaiting the opening of accession talks.

Whereas in Europe it is rather the centre-left that is supporting Turkey's accession to the European Union, the driving force behind Turkey's recent efforts is the centre-right Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (Justice and Development Party). The AKP, having its roots in Islamic political movements, came to power in November 2002. Ever since then, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his government have been pushing for extensive reforms in order to prepare Turkey for EU-membership. These reforms have not only been greeted with enthusiasm. To the contrary, the government has made substantial efforts to convince rather skeptical groups of the importance of these reforms and thereby of the necessity to join the European Union. By now, the political fate of Prime Minister Erdogan seems directly linked to progress towards accession. This situation is due the fact that the AKP managed to form and maintain a coalition with the armed forces in favor of accession. By doing so, the prospect of EU-membership has served as the binding force between central groups in Turkish society, i.e. Muslim

democrats, secularists, military and business. However, this coalition is quite fragile and could easily be split and even turn itself against Erdogan and his government if the EU decides against what it has already committed itself to, as for example negotiating with Turkey in an open-ended process that is aiming at Turkish EU-membership nonetheless.<sup>3</sup> This peculiar situation might explain the sometimes harsh and often even provocative tones by the government, demanding that the EU sticks to commitments. After all, the current government - voted into power by a vast majority in the last elections - has linked its fate closely to the issue of EU-accession. Nonetheless, as understandable as this might be, Turkey should also be very aware of the sensitivity of this issue in Europe. Therefore, the Turkish government needs to do its homework properly. This homework consists first of all in a good preparation of the negotiation process. Hence, it is quite surprising that besides Ali Babacan as chief negotiator, Turkey has failed so far to name a team of experts in charge of negotiations. In addition, if it comes to the adoption of the *acquis*, Turkey will have to look not only to the legislation passed but also to its implementation because any evaluation will be based on that. If all this is met and Turkey manages to even win the hearts of the people, the European sun might eventually rise from a Bosphorus that will no longer indicate a divide between two continents but serve as a bridge.

1) Independent Commission on Turkey: Turkey in Europe: More than a promise?, available at: <http://www.independentcommissiononturkey.org/pdfs/english.pdf>.

2) Cf. [www.tusiad.org](http://www.tusiad.org).

3) Cf. Heather Grabbe: From drift to strategy: Why the EU should start accession talks with Turkey (CER essays), London 2004, p. 3.

Volkan Altintas is Research Assistant at Akdeniz University, Antalya



*The Bosphorus: Separating or connecting?*

A. Marchetti

# THREE QUESTIONS to Rainer Korten

*Prelate Rainer Korten, priest of the diocese Hildesheim, is the first catholic priest in Antalya with an official Turkish work permit.*

The debates on Turkish EU-membership often focus on the terms "Muslim" and "Christian" that are frequently considered as antagonisms. In the upcoming accession negotiations with Turkey, do you see a chance to improve the mutual understanding between Muslims and Christians? What, precisely, would have to be done to achieve this?

I suppose that it is less reason that tells us to "do" something, but rather the challenges of our time that will force religions to converge increasingly. Particularly in the field of biomedicine, many urgent questions have emerged, reflecting on humans' value and dignity at the beginning and at the end of life. These questions cannot only be resolved technically. Basic questions like "what is a human?", "what gives him dignity?", "what constitutes his individuality?" cannot be answered by merely taking into account technical, biological, or medical knowledge. The monotheistic religions - Judaism, Christianity, and Islam - are founded on the firm belief that humans are more than what they eat. Religions will have to converge to conjointly maintain mankind's faith in its innate dignity, individuality, and future beyond death. If all questions concerning the "how" of personal and universal relations can be clarified, the search for the "why", the "what for", and the general meaning in all this persists. For millenniums, religions have preserved the answers to these fundamental questions. Together, they owe these responses to the world. I believe that with today's multiplication and fragmentation of knowledge, the questions of humans after themselves will challenge religions in such a way that they will have to approach each other.

*Intensifying the inter-religious dialogue also implies a mutual aptitude to learn. What can Christians learn from Islam and what can Muslims learn from Christianity?*

Muslims certainly can learn from Christianity that the Holy Scriptures, that must be at the basis of religions, contain a core of truth that is well preserved in a shell adapted to prevailing circumstances. This means: It is a permanent task to search for the core, to clearly proclaim the essential, and by doing so to adapt to the needs of time so that people do not get lost in the accessories. Conversely, Christianity can learn from Islam that religion is not just a private matter. It should rather provide an

imprint for the whole of social structures, always respecting individuals' consciences.

*The work of non-Muslim clergy in Turkey has repeatedly been described as problematic. What perspectives do you see for your work with regard to a possible membership of Turkey in the EU?*

As a foreign priest of the German-speaking parish, the Turkish state has granted me all I need to exercise my service. However, this is still different for domestic churches. There indeed exist massive obstructions. But let us keep in mind: Turkey is a coun-

try with a 99.4% Muslim population. The road leading to Europe has to be built with the people. Changes in the religious sector, implemented at the speed of a high-speed train, can cause derailments. Where the very depths of people are being affected, everything has certainly to be treated with caution. I can imagine that in a ten-year-process on the way to Europe, Turkey and its people will realize that other religions do not pose a danger, but - on the contrary - religious minorities can enrich society.

*The interview was conducted by Andreas Marchetti, Research Fellow at ZEI*



*The Hagia Sophia (Ayasofya) in Istanbul - Symbol of Turkey's Christian and Muslim heritage.*  
A. Marchetti

## MUSLIMS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

EU member state	Total population <sup>1</sup>	Muslim population	Percentage of Muslim population <sup>2</sup>
Austria	8.208.000	372.800	4.2 %
Belgium	10.457.000	382.870	3.7 %
Cyprus	762.000	210.000	22 %
Czech Republic	10.239.000	20.000-30.000	2-3 %
Denmark	5.419.000	151.500	2.8 %
Estonia	1.341.000	5.000-10.000	0.36-0.72 %
France	62.095.000	5.000.000	8.1 %
Finland	5.246.000	21.000	0.4 %
Germany	82.583.000	3.400.000	3.9 %
Greece	11.085.000	372.600	3.5 %
Great Britain	59.754.000	1.591.000	2.7 %
Hungary	10.064.000	3.000	0.02 %
Ireland	4.177.000	10.000	0.2 %
Italy	58.344.000	705.000	1.2 %
Latvia	2.306.000	3.000	0.12 %
Lithuania	3.423.000	7.000	1.9 %
Luxembourg	462.000	7.500	1.6 %
Malta	404.000	3.000	0.8 %
Netherlands	16.338.000	750.628	4.6 %
Poland	38.091.000	4.000	0.005 %
Portugal	10.609.000	40.000	0.4 %
Slovakia	5.380.000	10.829	0.2 %
Slovenia	1.998.000	30.247	1.6 %
Spain	41.545.000	402.000	1.0 %
Sweden	9.077.000	305.500	3.4 %

Sources: <sup>1</sup>europa.eu.int / <sup>2</sup>Zentrum für Türkeistudien

# TURKEY

## Accession to the EU

Sübüdey Togan

The recognition of Turkey as a candidate for accession at the Helsinki European Council in December 1999 ushered in a new era in the relations between Turkey and the EU. After the approval of the Accession Partnership by the Council and the adoption of the Framework Regulation on February 26, 2001, the Turkish Government announced its own National Program for the adoption of the Acquis Communautaire on March 19, 2001. In late 2004 another milestone was reached with the recommendation of the Commission of the European Communities that the European Council endorse the launching of formal accession negotiations and establish a timetable. The Copenhagen European Council in December 2002 concluded that "if the European Council in December 2004, on the basis of a report and a recommendation from the Commission, decides that Turkey fulfils the Copenhagen political criteria, the European Union will open accession negotiations with Turkey without delay". The December 2004 Council decided to start membership talks with Turkey on October 3, 2005.

Even though the process has now been launched, great uncertainties continue to prevail as to whether Turkey will be able to achieve its goal of accession to the EU. The EU, bogged down in constitutional referendums in France and Holland during May 2005 - supposedly by nativist resentments of immigrants - seeks a way out of its commitment to put Turkey on track for membership. Although it is too early to say that Turkey's prospects of joining the EU are over, they have been damaged not only by the French and Dutch referendums, but also by the expected return to power in Germany of the Christian Democratic Union, which is opposed to Turkish membership, and the lack of enthusiasm in other EU quarters to incorporate Turkey's predominantly Muslim and hence culturally different population as an equal partner. Time will reveal the ultimate outcome. What matters in the short to medium term for Turkey is the impact that continued progress towards achieving the conditions for membership will have. Turkey realizes that the EU is the focal point for reforms in a large number of policy areas, and that the pre-accession process will provide the means for using international harmonization as a tool in implementing a comprehensive reform strategy.

*Prof. Dr. Sübüdey Togan, Department of Economics at Bilkent University, Ankara*

## "HOT ISSUES"

### The Tough Topics in Accession Negotiations

Volkan Altintas and Andreas Marchetti

European as well as Turkish elites generally agree that accession negotiations with Turkey will take about a decade. Even though no one can predict how this process will eventually end, some issues merit special attention because they are likely to be crucial for success or failure. Besides rather technical matters that arise from the need to take over the *acquis communautaire*, there are other topics that might prove just as important.

The **free movement of persons** is one of the few issues already explicitly taken into account for some kind of derogations. It is a sensitive topic, even though former enlargements have proven any fears of large migratory movements as false.

**Recommendation:** Turkey should try to negotiate this issue after having concluded other substantial chapters, leading perhaps to a sort of spillover if it comes to the willingness to find agreement here. Since Turkey strives for full membership, it should not accept any permanent derogations. It will, however, not be able to avoid any transitory arrangements.

With over 35% of its labour force working in **agriculture**, Turkey questions the EU's CAP arrangements.

**Recommendation:** Turkey's EU-membership prospect must facilitate the long-awaited and necessary reform of CAP. Here - as well as in other issues - Turkey needs to make clear that it wants full membership and cannot opt for any second class treatment. With this legitimate stance, it will be

up to the EU to move on the issue and reform its CAP *before* Turkey enters.

Out of the 25 EU-members, Turkey does not recognize **Cyprus**.

**Recommendation:** What holds true for Turkey, holds true for the EU as well - any second class treatment is not acceptable, therefore, Turkey will eventually have to recognize the Republic of Cyprus.

The issue of **human rights and civil liberties** is at the core of current opponents' concerns.

**Recommendation:** Turkey needs to take care that legislation in this area is not only passed but also strictly implemented.

More generally speaking, it will eventually depend on **public opinion** if Turkey can join the EU or not. Current surveys leave a devastating picture: a majority of Europeans oppose Turkish accession.

**Recommendation:** Turkey needs to put into practice a proper and sincere public relations policy, including civil dialogue. It should focus on its function as a bridge between Europe and Asia and stress its roots that can to a large degree also be considered "European" (Greek and Roman heritage, early Christianity, just to name the most prominent ones). If this last point is not met, the solution of the more technical issues is likely not to be sufficient to grant Turkey EU-membership. If it is met, however, even more technical problems might be overcome.

*Volkan Altintas is Research Assistant at Akdeniz University, Antalya / Andreas Marchetti is Research Fellow at ZEI*



*Leading the way through a tough negotiation process? Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn and Commission President José Manuel Barroso with Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan.*

# FROM ANKARA TO BRUSSELS - VIA BONN

## The Master of European Studies provides Turkish students with EU-know-how

Barbara Giordano

After long and difficult negotiations, on October 3, 2005 the accession negotiations with Turkey started. Exactly two weeks later, on October 17, 2005, the Master of European Studies-program begins the new academic year 2005/2006.

The program director, Dr. Cordula Janowski, welcomes 32 new Master-fellows, among them three students from Turkey. The Turkish fellows and their fellow-students from all over the world are looking forward to an interesting and challenging year of EU-studies. In the Master-courses, an international faculty acquaints students with the political, legal and economic aspects of the EU. Besides this theoretical knowledge, "Europe-Dialogues" guarantee a practical approach to topical European issues. In various workshops, EU-experts from governmental and NGOs, as well as prominent business, provide the Master-fellows with

This mix of theoretical and practical program elements together with the international and interdisciplinary approach was evaluated "excellent" by the international accreditation agency FIBAA (Foundation for International Business Administration Accreditation) in June 2003. This reputation attracts many applicants from all over the world every year. Out of more than 130 applications for the upcoming academic year 2005/2006, 17 graduate students from Turkey applied for a place in the Master-program. "This considerable number of Turkish applications shows that the Master-program is one of the leading programs in the field of European integration studies. When talking to colleagues from Turkish universities, they give me the feedback that ZEI is a well known think tank and the Master-program's reputation is excellent," says ZEI-director Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt.

The high number of Turkish applications for the Master of European Studies-program

2004/2005 In the academic year 2003/2004 there was one a Jean-Monnet-scholar, in the upcoming year the Master-program will host two more. The Jean-Monnet-program for Turkey was launched by the European Commission for the period of four years. It aims at recruiting and preparing young Turkish EU-experts for a possible accession of Turkey to the EU. The fact that EU-knowledge is necessary for an international career is underlined by Turkish Master-Alumna Serah-Kekec, Jean-Monnet-scholar of the study-year 2003/2004, now working for the Union of Chambers of Turkey. "The job is quite related to my studies," Serah Kekec remarks in an email to the program director, Dr. Cordula Janowski.

Knowing about the importance of "soft" skills for an international career, Dr. Janowski has extended the "Europe-Dialogues" to workshops for personal development and management skills. The timetable includes personal profiling training for future applications, intensive training on the EU-Concours and similar entry competitions and a simulation of negotiations in the EU-Council of Ministers. After the seminar, the Master-students have a much clearer idea of how for example the Turkish accession negotiations starting on October 3, 2005 work. The ability to adapt to a multi-cultural environment is another paramount skill required for all high ranking posts at an international level. Dr. Janowski gives a workshop on the issue "Culture and Identity in Europe and beyond", which trains the Master-students for a career in an international surrounding. In their professional life, the students will have to work in multi-national teams. Presenting their home country to the class and gaining new information about other countries and cultures represents a good practice not only for Turkish students for a future career in an EU-surrounding. ZEI-director Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt sums it up: "At the dawning of the accession negotiations with the EU, there is the need for a well trained Turkish elite with a sound knowledge of the EU. Our Turkish Master-students are provided with the necessary EU-knowledge and practical insight into the functioning of the EU to face the upcoming challenges."

Contact: Dr. Cordula Janowski  
Tel.: +49 (0)228-73-1899  
europeanstudies.zei@uni-bonn.de

*Barbara Giordano is Assistant to the Program Director*



*Looking forward to an international career: Master of European Studies class of 2004/2005 together with program director Dr. Cordula Janowski (first on the left) at final ceremony.*

exclusive insights into their fields of work and offer the chance to establish valuable contacts for a future career. Within the framework of the Europe-Dialogues, in the past academic year 2004/2005, Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Bağcı from the Middle Eastern Technical University in Ankara, gave a seminar and discussed the Turkish EU-Relations after the December 17, 2004 decision with the Master-fellows. In addition to seminars and workshops the Europe-Dialogues include field trips to German governmental and EU-institutions as well as international organizations at the heart of European politics in Brussels, Strasbourg, Luxembourg, Frankfurt and Berlin.

also corroborates another fact: The need for "Europe-savvy" young professionals in Turkey. The rapid progression of the European integration process, which is now about to tighten EU-Turkey relations with the beginning accessions negotiations, has augmented the need for EU-experts in Turkey at all levels of the government and the private sector. Still, "In our country, there is a considerable information deficit regarding the EU," says Turkish Master-student Erman Topcu in an interview with ZEI report at the beginning of the study-year 2004/2005.

Erman Topcu was one of four Jean-Monnet scholars in the last academic year



### IMPRINT

ISSN 1817-1729  
Center for European Integration Studies  
Walter-Flex-Str. 3  
53113 Bonn, Germany  
Tel.: +49 (0)228-73-4952 Fax: -1788

Editors: Andreas Marchetti, Volkan Altintas  
The ZEI *EU-Turkey-Monitor* is published three times a year.  
www.zei.de