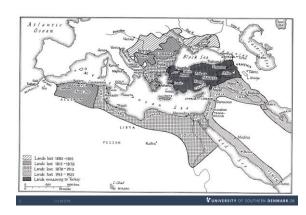
| University of Southern Denmark, 10 October 2011: Mediterranean Perspectives | |
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| Turkey and the EU – the bumpy road towards membership of the EU | |
| + Student Presentation by Lasse: Is it meaningful to speak of de-radicalization in Turkey? | |
| Associate Professor, PhD Peter Seeberg Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies University of Southern Denmark | |
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| - Hours | |
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| Outline: | |
| A short historical introduction to Ottoman history and the Kemalist | |
| reforms The bumpy road to the EU and its reasons | |
| Europeanization and the "cultivating" effects of EU membership | |
| Turkish political culture and the European challenge | |
| See the EU-Turkey homepage: http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/candidate-countries/turkey/index_en.htm | |
| See also Google Maps | |
| http://www.worldcountries.info/Maps/GoogleMap-Turkey.php | |
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Important years in Ottoman history

- Appr. 1.000 : the Oghuz Turks migrate to the west, south of the Caspian Sea and settle in Anatolia
- 13th century: Osman (1258–1326) settles in western Anatolia, considered to be the founding father of what became the Ottoman empire
- 1453: Constantinople is conquered by Mehmet II
- 1520-1566: Suliman the Magnificent is ruling
- 16th century: Bagdad falls to the Turks 1534, Basra 1538, Bahrain 1554 almost like an explosion, due to military superiority
 1683: the siege of Vienna ends in defeat normally mentioned as the turning point for Ottoman greatness, in reality this happens earlier
- 1798 French Egypt-invasion ends with inauguration of Mehmet Ali in
- 1918: The Ottoman empire is destroyed at the end of WW1 and modern, kemalist Turkey is established

- The reforms of Atatürk after 1923, examples:
- The European calendar, Sunday as day off

- Name reform (mandatory surname)
 Introduction of latin letters
 Legislation organized after Italian/Swiss model

- Ban against the fez
 Ban against the veil in public buildings
 Political reforms, securing of a single party system
- Etc.



"The six arrows" of Kemalism (Turkish: Altı Ok)

- Republicanism
- Populism
- Secularism
- Revolutionism
- Nationalism
- Statism





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Turkey on its way to Europe...

- 1959 Turkey applies for being associated member of the EEC
- 1963 The association agreement (the Ankara-agreement) is signed and begins working in 1964
- 1987 Turkey applies for full membership of the EEC
- 1989 The European Commission refuses the application pointing to the economic and political situation of Turkey
- 1999 The EU recognizes Turkey as a candidate state partly because of the earthquakes the same year (in Izmit east of Istanbul)
- 2002 The EU declares, that "the EU would open negotiations with Turkey 'without delay' if Turkey fulfils the Copenhagen criteria"
- $^{\circ}$ $\,$ 2002 The AKP comes to power through the elections in November
- 2004 The EU accepts to start accession talks with Turkey
- 3 Oktober 2005 the accession talks start...

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The Bumpy Road and its reasons

- · The accession process in chronic difficulties, see:
- http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2008:051:0004:01:EN:HTML
- A difficult situation as to the relation between Turkey and the US related to Iraq – of increasing importance for the EU-relation (the Kurds, the energy issue, oil from Iraq, pipelines though and around Turkey...)
- Economically the situation has improved dramatically the export growth is outstanding (!), the balance of payments the same, but the trade balance is problematic (too much import...)
- Relative political stability due to the absolute majority of the AKP in parliament, this of course is not stable in the long run (a "monopoly" situation has a tendency to create protest) – and can the AKP avoid to split internally?
- New foreign policy possibilities Russia (Belarus, Ukraine...), the Arab world (the Gulf), the stan-states in a new dimension (oil, gas, pipelines)
- · The EU-option still, however, the dominating issue and the best option...

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The Bumpy Road and its reasons

- A significant factor has been the geostrategic importance of Turkey: the role of the state as a part of the Western security-community – but without being a part of the value-community – a central dimension of the discussion in the EU where the following views can be found:
- Germany: traditional "ethnically" motivated skepticism combined with a turn towards the political right after Angela Merkel became chancellor
- In the UK a predominantly positive attitude, due to English foreign policy interests traditionally pro-Turkish, but also because of the support to the US policy in the Middle East (changes on the way here)
- France: inconsistent, but mostly negative very explicitly under Sarkocy and with a "threat" to use the EU referendum possibility
- The rest of Europe: In some states (Austria, Denmark?), a critical focus
 on different problematic aspects of the Turkey-EU issue (some of which
 slightly mythological). In others a more positive approach (Spain,
 Ireland, Sweden...). Greece still ambivalent...

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The Bumpy Road and its reasons

- The European reservations have primarily been based on:
- the poor, large and growing population (70 mio.) and...
- the need of enormous amounts of € (via EU structural funds) to improve and modernize Turkish agriculture and an outdated production sector
- migration towards Europe still noticeable, but probably decreasing over time
- Islam as "enemy image"; Turkey as "Islamist Rogue State" (see DIIS-paper by Jung) hardly a serious issue, but part of Eur. discourse...
- Terror only very rarely an issue "within" Europe and related mostly to the PKK, being a marxist group, fighting primarily against the Turkish army in Southeast-Anatolia...
- The balance of power within the EU Turkey will become the largest or second largest state as to population
- Notice: some of the obvious advantages not often mentioned in the European discussions...

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| Europeanization and the "cultivating" effects of EU membership | |
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| Europeanization can be defined as "a process of re-orienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organisational logic of national politics and policy making" (Ladrech) | |
| As mentioned (see slide above) a Turkish membership will likely put a strain on EU's budget, affect decision-making and test the EU | |
| commitment to free movement of labour etc. Will 'a grand coalition' in both Europe and Turkey, being against Turkish | |
| membership, lead to reverse democratization? * Under all circumstances, as hinted at by Kubicek, when has democracy or rule of law reached a sufficient level? | |
| The EU has instruments to "cultivate" democracy from below: through influencing political parties, civil society, NGO's, media etc. | |
| Anyway, according to Kubecek, by 2010 both Turkish accession to the EU and the stability of Turkish democracy remain in doubt | |
| 19 111010 PS VUNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN DENMARK. OK. | |
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| Formation and the first of all of FU and the first | |
| Europeanization and the "cultivating" effects of EU membership From early on after 2000 reforms reduced Turkish authoritarian | |
| legacyleading to the accession talks beginning from Oct. 2005 Also a strengthened civil society has been important – and this seems to be a result of EU influence | |
| However, in 2005-2009 the project stalls, due to: | |
| That the EU reports became harsher in their critic of Turkey That the EU reports became harsher in their critic of Turkey | |
| That the EU gradually became unsatisfied with the AKP-government And, in spite of a rapid development of civil society, not much real democratic progress | |
| Apparently the traditional "Turkish issues" (like for instance Cyprus) played an important role – and this led to a growing negative discourse in both Europe and Turkey about the EU-accession project | |
| The question if other options (than the EU) has become a more significant part of the discussion | |
| Summing up: membership is still on the table, but the dynamic is no longer as straightforward as it used to be a few years ago | |
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